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विषय संख्या
पुस्तक संख्या
आगत पंजिका संख्या

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Who was the Pāṇḍya Contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ?

BY

C. V. NARAYANA IYER, M.A., L.T.

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THE paucity of historical details available about the early Chēṛa kings necessitates the acceptance of Śēkkiḷāṛ's narrative of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanāṛ's life in the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam* as the main source of information on the subject. But unfortunately in that poem, truth is obscured by fiction and the historian has to sift out relevant details and verify them by means of the information furnished by inscriptions.

According to the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam*, Prince Chēṛamān manifested even in his boyhood a distaste for the pleasures of the palace, and impelled by a higher yearning for spiritual life, left the capital, where his father ruled, to become an ardent Śiva devotee in Tiruvanjikkuḷam.[1]

[1] *Chēṛamān Peṛumā Puṛāṇam*— st. 7.

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He took delight in picking flowers, cleaning temple premises and rendering innumerable other services to the God of his heart.[1] While he was thus engaged, his father, who was perhaps in no way inferior to him in *Bhakti*, abandoned the kingdom to become an ascetic.[2] The perplexed ministers finally sought out the prince, and requested him to take charge of the administration.[3] He thereupon consulted God Śiva, gained his consent, returned to the capital and mounted the throne.[4] Yet he could not forget that his main duty in life was to render service to God and all His true devotees.[5] One day, Pāṇa Pattiṛan, a musician, came from Madura with a note from God Somasundaṛa Himself.[6] Chēṛamān received him as an honoured guest and loaded him with presents.[7] Later on, he came to know of Sundaṛamūrti of Tiṛuvālūr.[8] When he went there, he was cordially received by the saint and by his wife Paṛavai Nāchiyār.[9] He took this occasion to go to the innumerable shrines in the Chōḷa country.[10] Afterwards both Sundaṛamūrthi and Chēṛamān went to Madura and were most cordially received by the Pāṇḍyan monarch who assigned to them for their temporary stay a beautiful palace adorned with precious stones.[11] Enjoying this hospitality for some time, the saintly guests visited the shrines of the Pāṇḍya Nāḍ, accompanied by the Pāṇḍya king and his son-in-law, a Chōḷa monarch who was living with him.[12] After finishing this pilgrimage, Chēṛamān returned to Kēṛaḷa[13] with Sundaṛamūrti who stayed in Tiruvanjikkaḷam for some time and took that opportunity of visiting the Kēṛaḷa shrines. Later on, he went to Tiṛuvālūṛ[14] much against the will of Chēṛamān though he afterwards returned and stayed for a pretty long time in Tiruvanjikkaḷam.[15] It was there that Sundaṛamūrti appealed to God to free him from the bondage of earthly life.[16] God granted his request by sending him a white elephant which was to take him to Kailāsa.[17] Sundaṛamūrti mounted it and when he was proceeding to Kailāsa, he could

[1] *Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Puṛāṇam*— st. 8 and 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, st. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, st. 11.
[4] *Ibid.*, st. 13.
[5] *Ibid.*, st. 25.
[6] *Ibid.*, st. 28.
[7] *Ibid.*, st. 32 to 36.
[8] *Ibid.*, st. 44.
[9] *Ibid.*, st. 64 and 70.
[10] *Ibid.*, st. 81.
[11] *Ibid.*, st. 91.
[12] *Ibid.*, st. 92 and 97 *et seq.*
[13] *Ibid.*, st. 144.
[14] *Ibid.*, st. 159 and 163.
[15] *Vellanaich chaṛukkam*, st. 19 and 28.
[16] *Ibid.*, st. 29.
[17] *Ibid.*, st. 31.

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not help thinking of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ.[1] Just at that time, the king was bathing. It then struck him that Sundaṛamūrti[2] was leaving him and so he hurriedly got upon a horse,[3] which happened to be close by and uttering the *Panchākshaṛa mantra* in its eaṛs, he also started. This was witnessed by his devoted warriors who slew themselves being unable to endure their beloved sovereign's departure. Thereby they too reached Kailāsa.[4]

The chief points in this account that can be utilized for historical investigation are the following :—

1. One Pāṇa Pattiṛan (Bāṇa Bhadra), a musician obtained presents from Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ.

2. Chēṛamān visited a Pāṇḍya king who had a Chōḷa[5] as his son-in-law.

3. Chēṛamān suddenly left his kingdom and hurriedly fled away from it.

4. His army soon afterwards perished.

Mr. Śrīnivāsa Piḷḷai of Tanjore has taken notice of the first two and attempted to fix the date of Chēṛamān Peṛumāl Nāyanāṛ. He has reached the conclusion that he ought to have been the contemporary[6] of Vaṛaguṇa Mahārājā, the grand-father of Vaṛaguṇa Varman who is now known to have ascended the Pāṇḍya throne in 862 or 863. A.D. I am not able to see the force of his reasoning, and so I shall briefly examine his main arguments. They are as follow :—

1. Sundaṛamūrti has not mentioned the name of Vaṛaguṇa in his *Tiṛuttoṇda Togai*, though Vaṛaguṇa was a great Śaiva devotee about whom Māṇikkavāśagaṛ, Paṭṭinattāṛ and Nambi Āndāṛ Nambi have all sung. Vaṛaguṇa has the known date 862-3. A.D. Hence Sundaṛaṛ lived before Vaṛaguṇa II.

[1] *Veḷḷānaich chaṛukkam*, st. 34. [2] *Ibid.*, st. 35.
[3] *Ibid.*, st. 36. [4] *Ibid.*, st. 38 and 39.
[5] The old Chōḷa dynasty came to an end in the sixth century A.D when Simhavishṇu brought the Chōḷa territories under his rule ; but phantom Rājas of the line must have existed during the age of Pallava sovereignty till Vijayālaya, their descendant, revived the Chōḷâ rule Circa 850. A.D. A parallel is found in Chāḷukya history where the names of kings, who intervened between the dynasty of Bādāmi and that of Kalyāṇî, are found in the genealogical lists.
[6] Śrīnivāsa Pillai : *Tamiḷ Vaṛalāṛu* : vol. ii., p. 64.

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2. When Sundaraṛ came to the Paṇdya country, there was a weak Chōḷa king who had married the Pāṇdya king's daughter and was living in the court of that monarch. This could have been only before the rise of the powerful Chōḷa Vijayālaya who came to the throne about 849. A. D.

3. According to the *Tiṛuvilayāḍal Puṛāṇam* of Paṛanjōti, it was during the time of one Vaṛaguṇa that the musician Pāṇa Pattiṛan went from Madura to the Chēṛamān and received much wealth.

There is nothing to say against his argument No. 2. But the first and the third are open to objection. Mr. Srīṇivāsa Piḷḷai has no warrant to assume that the Vaṛaguṇa alluded to by Māṇikkavāśagaṛ and others was Vaṛaguṇa II and not Vaṛaguṇa I. Even allowing for the sake of argument that Sundaṛamūrti was a contemporary of Vaṛaguṇa I, it does not follow that Vaṛaguṇa became a saintly person during the life-time of Sundaṛamūrti. It might be that he died before he could recognize the saintliness of Vaṛaguṇa. All that can be reasonably inferred is that Sundaṛamūrti did not know of any Vaṛaguṇa who was a saint. It is sure therefore that with the exception of Niṇṛa Sīṛ Neḍumāran, the patron of Sambandaṛ, there was no Pāṇḍyan king who was a saint before Sundaṛamūrti's time. As for the third argument, that at the time Pāṇa Pattiṛan went to Kēraḷa the ruling Pāṇdya monarch was Vaṛaguṇa, it must be remembered that much value cannot be attached to the names of the Pāṇḍya monarchs found in the *Tiruviḷayāḍal Puṛāṇam*; for, its account of the achievements of the king is so exaggerated and mythological that, at present, it is impossible to discover which are to be accepted as true historical facts and which are to be rejected as legends. Vaṛaguṇa, occurring in the *Puṛāṇam* can only be taken to mean a Pāṇḍya king who was very pious. The name Vaṛaguṇa was pitched upon, because it was the name of a great devotee king whose praises have been sung by Māṇikkavāśagar and others. The only point, therefore, that can be accepted in Mr. Srīnivāsa Piḷḷai's arguments is that Chēṛamān Peṛumāl ought to have lived before 849 A.D..

To discover the Pāṇḍya contemporary of the Chēṛamān, we must examine the genealogical list drawn up by the late Mr. Venkayya in the Epigrapical Report of 1908,[1] which is given on the next page.

[1] *Epigraphical Report*, 1908, p. 66.

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Pāṇḍyādhirāja Paramēśvara Palyāgaśālai—Mudukuḍumi– Peruvaḷudi

Kaḷabhra Interregnum

1. Kaḍuṅgōṇ Pāṇḍyādhirāja

2. Adhirāja Māravarman Avaniśūḷāmaṇi

3. Śeḷiyaṇ Śēndaṇ

4. Māṟavarman Aṟikēsari Asamasamaṇ, defeated the army of Vilvēli at Nelvēli.

5. Kōchchaḍayaṇ Raṇadhīra ; fought the battle of Marudūr ; defeated the Mahāratha in the city of Mangalapuram.

6. Arikēsari Parānkuśa Māravarman Tērmāran ; defeated the Pallava at Kuḷambur ; conquered the Pallavas at Śankara mangai ; Rājasimha I ; defeated Pallavamalla ; renewed the walls of Kūdal, Vanji and Kōḷi.

7. Jatila Neḍunjaḍayaṇ Paṟāntaka ; defeated the Kāḍava at Peṇṇāgadam ; (donor of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant), 769-70 A. D.

8. Rājasimha II.

9. Vaṟaguṇa Mahāṟāja ; Jayantavarman (?)

10. Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha Ēkavīra Parachakra Kōlāhala ; conquered Māyāpāṇḍya, Kēṟaḷa, Simhala, Pallava and Vallabha ; Pallavabhanjana.

11. Vaṟaguṇa Varman ; ascended the throne in 862-63. A.D.

12. Parāntaka Vīra Nārayaṇa Saḍaiyan ; fought at Kharagiri and destroyed Peṇṇagadam ; married Vāṇavaṇ Mahādevi ; Jatila Neḍunjaḍayan (donor of the Madras Museum and smaller Śinnamannūr plates ?).

13. Rājasimha (III). Mandaragaurava Abhimāṇa mēru.

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Of these, No. 4 has been now generally accepted as Niṉra Sīr Neḍumāran, one of the sixty-three Śaiva saints included in Sundaṛamūrti's *Tiuttoṇḍa Togai*. He was the contemporary of Sambandaṛ and so lived much earlier than Sundaṛaṛ. So he could not have been the monarch visited by Chēramān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. Nor could the Chēṛamān have been later than Vijayālaya Chōḷa of Circa 849 A.D. Hence his contemporary Pāṇḍyan monarch ought to have been some one among kings Nos. 5 to 10. Of these, Māran Ari Kēsarin (king No. 6) is recognized as the hero whose glories have been sung in the *kōvai* of Irayaṇāṛ Ahappoṛuḷ. Those verses furnish ample evidence of his victories of his Chēra contemporary at Viḻiñam, Kōṭṭāru, Chēvur, Cape Comorin, and other places. The hostile relations between these two monarchs clearly prove that the then Chēṛa king was not Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. Coming down to his successor Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D., the first test to be applied ought to be whether his religious propensities were such as to admit of the possibility of his welcoming the Śaiva Saints Sundaṛamūrti and Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. I am persuaded that he was a Śaiva, though his Śaivism was not of the bigoted type which could not tolerate Vaishṇava worship among his officers or ministers. But in finding out his religious views as well as other details about him, much difficulty has been caused by the wrong identification of the Mārans and Śaḍayans starting from Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D. onwards. For instance, Mr. Gopinatha Rao thinks that only one and the same individual is referred to in the Madras Museum plates, the Ānamalai Record, and the Trevandrum Museum stone inscription.[1] Mr. Venkayya has a different view. To arrive at the truth of the matter, so that the events belonging to one Śadayan may not, by mistake, be attributed to another, an infallible test must be applied. I believe that there is such a test.

Examining the fashion of dating adopted by the Śaḍayans and and Mārans, a difference can be noticed between one monarch and another. Some Śaḍayans merely mention 'in the seventeenth year' or 'in twenty-seventh year,' etc. In other words, they mention only one year to indicate the date. Some others employ the 'double-date' method (as it may be designated) e.g. thus:—'in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year'. The Śadayan who employs the

[1] *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. i, p. 156.

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single-date method cannot be the Śadayan who employs the double-date-method. Again, the Śadayan who gives the date 'the . . . . th year opposite to the *fourth* year' cannot be the one who gives the date 'the . . . . th year opposite to the *second* year'; for, one Śadayan consistently gives the *fourth year* as the second figure in the date, while the other is equally consistent in giving the *second year* as the second figure in the date. Dr. Hultzch probably arrived at the correct explanation of the double-date system. His interpretation is that one of these figures refers to the *Yauvarājya* of the king, and the other to the actual reigning year after he mounted the throne. Accepting this interpretation, only one of the dates can vary, because the period of *Yauvarājya* indicated in the date will always be constant. So, when two different figures are given to indicate the *Yauvarājya*, the legitimate inference is that these apply to two different monarchs.

Picking out all the relevant Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions, and analysing them, the following results are obtained :—

1. Some Śaḍayans adopt the single-date system.
2. One Śaḍayan has a *Yauvarājya* period of four years.
3. One Śaḍayan has a *Yauvarājya* period of two years.
4. One Māran has a *Yauvarājya* period of two years.

In the Ambāsamudram inscription[1] from which the date of Varaguṇa II has been obtained, it is found that the king dates the document 'in the twelfth year *opposite to the fourth year*'. It is clear that all the inscriptions dated in 'the . . . . th year opposite to the fourth year' belong to him. From the inscriptions it is possible to infer that he had Śaiva leanings. But that detail is now unimportant since he was not the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār.

The larger Śinnamannūr plates are found to be given by Rājasimha III, in the fourteenth year *opposite to the second year* of the reign.[2] Rājasimha was a Māran and so he was the Māran whose *Yauvarājya* period was two years. As for the double-date-Śadayan whose Yauvarājya period was two years, my view is that he must have been some successor of Rājasimha III, about whom no information is available. I come to this conclusion because he could not have been either Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D. or Varaguṇa I, neither of whom had a *Yauvarājya* period as I shall presently show. It could not be

[1] *Ep. Ind.* vol. ix. pp. 89–91.

[2] *Epigraphical Report*, 1907, p. 67.

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Vaṛaguṇa Varman's successor Vīra Nārāyaṇa Neḍunjaḍayan, the Vaishṇava donor of the Madras Museum plates, who also adopted the single-date-system. Since these happen to be later monarchs, it is certain that the double-date-system was of later origin. The later Pāṇḍyas (Jaṭila Sundara Pāṇḍya and others) resorted to this practice. If so, it may be asked, why the donor of the Madras Museum plates did not have a double date? The answer is quite simple. He was only the younger brother of Vaṛaguṇa III. Vaṛaguṇa did not leave a son behind him and the younger brother came to the throne without having any *Yauvarājya* period. So he could not give two dates in his grant—the Madras Museum plates. But being a Māran's son he assumed the name of Neḍunjaḍayan.

Now that it has been demonstrated that the double-date-Śaḍayans were later monarchs, only one of the single-date-kings could have been the contemporary of Chēramāṇ Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. The Mārans Rājasimha III and Śri Māra Kōlāhala have to be given up; for about the former we have no materials to build any theories upon, and as for the latter, he was, generally speaking, a fighter who would take more delight in conquering the Chēṛa monarch than in accompanying him to holy places. Further, he must have had Vijayālaya as his contemporary in the Chōḷa kingdom. Thus there are left only Māranjaḍayan of 769 A.D. and Vaṛaguṇa I. Mr. Srīnivāsa Piḷḷai decided in favour of Vaṛaguṇa, but I think that there is more reason to believe that the contemporary was Māranjaḍayan.

In support of my hypothesis, I shall take up for investigation an inscription which relates to Māranjaḍayan. The document can be properly understood only if it is read in the light of the Purāṇic details (Nos. 3 and 4) mentioned above, about the sudden flight of Chēramān Peṛumāḷ and the perishing of the army.

The Trevandrum Museum Stone Inscription

Text

Śrī Kō-Māranjaḍayarku irupatteḷāmāṇḍu . . . Chēṛamāṇār paḍai Viḷiñattup purattu viṭṭuḷakkak kaṛaikkōṭṭai aḷippāṇvaṛa perumāṇaḍigaḷul aṇbu mikkuḷa iraṇakīrtiyum Amarkkaḷiyum uḷvīṭṭiṇ oṛṛaich chēvakaṛ kōṭṭai aḷiyāmai kāttu erindu palaṛum paṭṭa iḍattu iraṇakīrti uḷvīṭṭu oṛṛaichchēvagaṇ koḷūvūr kūṛṛattup peṛumūr Tādan peṛundiṇai attiṛattāḷ palaṛōḍum kuṭṭip paṭṭān. . . .

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Translation: [1]

The twenty-seventh year of the reign of Śrī kō-Māranjaḍayan . . . when the army of the Chēṛamāṇār, which was left in confusion outside Viḷiñam, advanced to destroy the fort of Kaṛaikkōṭṭai, Raṇakīrti, and Amarkkaḷi, the loving subjects of the Peṛumān (Pāṇḍya monarch), fought and saved the fort of the Oṛṛaichchēvagar of Uḷvīḍu from destruction; (but) in the place where many lost their lives, Raṇakīrti fell slain by an arrow from the Uḷvīṭṭuchchēvagan Tādan Peṛundiṇai of Peṛumūr in the Koḷuvūr kūṛṛam.

This inscription was intended to commemorate the valiant defence of an outpost (probably in front of Kaṛaikkōṭṭai), by one Raṇakīrti when it was besieged by the Chēṛa army. Unfortunately the hero was shot dead in the field by a stray arrow from Tādan, one of his own party. Coming to know of this untoward event, the king put up the inscription taking particular care to mention how the valiant warrior met his death.

But it is enough to notice that the fight was between a Chēṛa army and a Pāṇḍya army and that the kings were not in the neighbourhood of the battle-field. The Pāṇḍya was far away, possibly in his own capital. The Uḷvīṭṭu Oṛṛaich Chēvagaṛ Kōṭṭai might have been one of the outposts of Kaṛaikōṭṭai, and Raṇakīrti and Amarkkaḷi were probably the men left in charge of the outpost. But where was the Chēṛa monarch then? Did the army advance according to his orders or was it an act done on its own initiative? An answer is possible to these questions if the meaning of the two words *viṭṭu* and *uḷakka* in the inscription is understood. They indicate that the army was left in confusion (as Mr. Gopinātha Rao also has taken it to mean), and if the Chēṛa monarch had been present during the fight or if he had sent the army for the purpose of taking the fort of Kaṛaikōṭṭai, there should have been no confusion at all. Again, the word *viṭṭu* comes after the phrase '*Viḷiñattuppurattu*' (which means, 'outside *Viḷiñam*'). It is clear then that the army was outside Viḷiñam when this confusion was noticeable in it. If it was in a state of confusion and disorder, how could such an army proceed to destroy one of the strong forts of the Pāṇḍya? It appears then that the inscription is not as intelligible

[1] Mr. Gopinātha Rao's translation is hardly accurate. Hence I have translated it myself.

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in the present day as it ought to have been when it was set up. It becomes therefore necessary to reconstruct the history of the period, as far as it is possible to do so, in order to make some sense of the inscription. That can be done by a comparison of the incidents related in the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam* about Chēṛamān with those alluded to in the inscription. I take it that the army which advanced upon Kaṛaikkōṭṭai was the army of the Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ. The confusion caused in it was due to the sudden disappearance of the king from Viḷiñam. It is the destruction of the Chēṛa army in the vicinity of Kaṛaikkōṭṭai that is faintly echoed in the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam* as the self-slaughter of all the valiant warriors of the Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. These points of agreement between the *Puṛāṇam* and the inscription need a little elaboration since they throw light on the rationale of the action of the army immediately after the departure of the monarch. The king suddenly took to flight, in a manner absolutely inexplicable. The army could not understand that he had a spiritual call and that he was hurrying away to overtake Sundaṛamūrti, who had already proceeded to Kailāsa. All that it could see was the terrific speed at which he was fleeing away from Viḷiñam, and in its attempt to find a solution for the riddle it imagined all sorts of possible and impossible things. The first thing that suggested itself was danger. Naturally the army believed that the king might have got scent of an invasion from the only possible enemy, the neighbouring Pāṇḍya monarch. If that were so, it was imperative that no time should be lost in averting the danger. To add to the difficulty there was no heir to the throne, and the officers had to take the matter entirely in their own hands. They felt that since the safety of the kingdom was at stake, they must make a desperate attempt to guard it at its most vulnerable side, however hopeless a task it might be. The Chēṛa kingdom was quite secure on the eastern side being protected by the Western Ghats, but just in the south-eastern corner there was a pass, the Aruvāyvaḷi pass, where the Pāṇḍya armies could cause trouble. So on its own initiative, the Chēṛa army might have decided to forestal a Pāṇḍyan attack by destroying the Pāṇḍyan's fort of Kaṛaikkōṭṭai. It was a risky undertaking which could be justified only by the exigencies of the moment. A leaderless army, in a state of confusion, or perhaps even panic, could not be expected to have its wits under its control, and that was the reason why it did such a rash thing. But after all, was it such a rash thing? If

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the topography of the places mentioned in the inscription is examined it will be found that the venture undertaken by the army was not extraordinarily dangerous.

Viḷiñam was a strong Cheṛa fortress about eight or ten miles to the south of modern Trevandrum. Kaṛaikkoṭṭai could not have been Kāṛikōd now in ruins at the foot of the hills between the rivers Toḍupuḷa and Vaḍakkār, in the Mīnachal Taluk ; (this was clearly Chēṛa territory, and a Chēṛa army could not be expected to go there to fight a Pāṇḍyan army). Karaikkoṭṭai must be searched for on the route which branches off in the north-easterly direction from Nāgerkōil. It ought to have been very near the Aruvāyvaḷi pass (Āramboḷi) which is even now the gateway opening into Tinnevelly from the Travancore side. The stone inscription was found in Āramboḷi, very probably in exactly the very same place where the battle was fought. Kaṛaikkōṭṭai must therefore have been about thiry to thirty-five miles from Viḷiñam. Thus the army which advanced with the intention of destroying Kaṛaikkōṭṭai had ample opportunity of retracing its steps and falling back upon Nāgerkōil, a distance of about six to eight miles, if it did not succeed in the attempt. In any case a counter-attack upon Viḷiñam was impossible. But the gallant defence of the fort by Raṇakīrti ended in the final annihilation of the Chēṛa army. It is this that is reflected in the *Peṛiya Puṛāṇam*.

If the above explanation is acceptable, the theory of the contemporaneity of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ and Māranjaḍāyan of 769 A.D. becomes acceptable also. By itself the Trevandrum Museum stone inscription cannot be taken to be conclusive evidence. But luckily, there is an inscription relating to Vaṛaguṇa I which gives some relevant particulars. It is dated in the twenty-third year of his reign. It has been published by Mr. Gōpinātha Rao in the *Travancore Archæological Series*.[1] The translation runs as follows :—

'The twenty-third year of the prosperous king Māranjaḍayan . . . That year when the army marched against Śaḍayan-Kaṛu-Nandan of the Malai Nāḍu and destroyed the fort of Aṛiviyūṛkkōṭṭai, two servants of Eṭṭimaṇṇaṇ alias Maṇgaḷa Ēnādi . . . . fell.'

Mr. Gōpinātha Rao comments upon it and rightly establishes the fact that Śaḍayan-Kaṛu-Nandan was only Kaṛu-Nandan son of Śaḍayan.

[1] Vol. i, pp. 3-4.

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There was fighting between a Māranjaḍayan (Pāṇḍya) and a Malai Nāḍ chieftain Kaṟunandan. Aṟiviyūrkōṭṭoi of the inscription has been identified by Mr. T. Rāghaviah with Aṟiyūr which is about eighteen miles north-west of Kaḷugumalai in the Tinnevelly District.[1] The identification must be accepted, because the inscription has been obtained at Kaḷugumalai in whose proximity the fight must have taken place.

To discover which Māranjaḍayan is referred to in the inscription it is necessary to utilize the material available in another inscription known as the Huzūr office plates published by Mr. Gopinātha Rao in pages 5 to 14 of the same volume. The first of these gives definite information about the accession of one Aḍakkaṉ to the throne of Malaināḍ, who could have been no other than Kaṟunandan's son. The date in the inscription is 'the fourteen hundred thousand forty-nine thousand and eighty-seventh day after the beginning of the Kaliyuga . . . . . the fifteenth day of the ninth year of the reign of the king Karunandan Aḍakkaṉ being current . . . . .' The Kali day given in the inscription has been utilized to arrive at the year of Aḍakkaṉ's accession which has thus been found to be 855--856 A.D.[2] Aḍakkaṉ ought to have ascended the throne seven years before Vaṟaguṇa II became the king of Pāṇḍya. Aḍakkaṉ must also have been the contemporary of Śrī Māran Kōlāhala, who must be dated 832--862 A.D. Śaḍayan Kaṟunandan, the father of Aḍakkan, ought similarly to have been the contemporary of Śrī Māran and also of Vaṟaguṇa I. Hence it is clear that the fight at Aṟiyūr should have been between Vaṟaguṇa I and Kaṟunandan. That is the Māranjaḍayan of the inscription. Now that the kings have been fixed, the subject matter of the inscriptions may be scrutinized.

Aṟiviyūṟkkoṭṭai was the mountain stronghold of Kaṟunandan, which was destroyed by Varaguṇa I, and that is in the neighbourhood of Kaḷugumalai in the Śankaṟanainār koil taluk, Tinnevelly district. Some more particulars are obtained from the inscription relating to Aḍakkaṉ. 'On this day, having gradually acquired from the *sabha* of Mīnchirai, by granting other lands in exchange for the plot of land known as Uḷakkuḍiviḷai which belonged to them . . . . . raising on it a beautiful temple; setting in the temple (the image of) Vishṇu Bhaṭṭāraka and calling (the village) Pāṟthiva Śēkhaṟam, king

[1] *Tr. Ar. Ser.* vol. i, p. 4, n.

[2] *Tr. Ar. Ser.* vol. 1, p. 3.

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Kaṟunanda Aḍakkaṉ established . . . . Śālai . . . . ' Then the inscription goes on to mention the boundaries, many of which happen to be at present villages in the close proximity of the present village of Parthivēśvaṟapuṟam about twenty-five miles (judging from the map) to the south-east of Trevandrum, near the coast.

Some points now call for explanation. During the time of Aḍakkaṉ's father (about thirty years before the building of Pārthiva Śēkhara temple) the Malai Nāḍ chieftain or king lost his fort of Aṟiyūṟ at the foot of Kaḷugumalai. Evidently his head-quarters must have been some place near Kaḷugumalai. But his son is found well established in Kēṟaḷa. How was it that the Malai Nāḍ kings gained power in South Kēṟaḷa within such a short space of time? If it is assumed that they shifted their sphere of operations from the neighbourhood of Kaḷugumalai to South Kēṟaḷa, when did they migrate to or conquer the land lying to the west of the Western Ghats? It stands to reason that such a thing would have been possible only when Kēṟaḷa was in a condition of disorder. After Chēramān Peṟumāḷ Nāyanār died, since he left no son behind him (he did not even marry) the country became exposed to invasions by border chieftains and even perhaps by ambitious spirits within the country itself, and that ought to have been the time when these Malai Nāḍ chieftains encroached upon the Chēṟa's dominions. This reading of the situation will become clear if we enquire into the question ' which might have been their original habitation and what possibilities had they for expansion to the west of the Western Ghats?'

A mere glance at the map of the Tinnevelly district will give an idea as to the original habitat of these mountain chieftains. They ought to have occupied the region now occupied by the zemindars of Śivagiri, Chokkampaṭṭi, Ūttumalai and Kaḷugumalai. Of these, Chokkampaṭṭi and Ūttumalai are very close to the Tenkasi taluq and since they must have formed part of the kingdom of the Malai Nāḍ kings who were the contemporaries of the Mārans and Śaḍayans, there can be no doubt of the fact that they had ample opportunities of entering into the land of the Chēṟas whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself. They could very easily have taken the Śenkōṭṭa route in the close proximity of which the railway now runs to Trevandrum, but instead of taking the roundabout route via Quilon now traversed by the railway they branched off straight southwards from

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Teṇmalai and reached Trevandrum *via* Neḍumāṅgāḍ. Being rulers of the mountain-country, it was quite easy for them to win victories over the more peaceful plain-dwellers below. They would not have troubled the Pāṇḍyan kings very much because they were all very powerful. But they ought to have descended into the Kēraḷa country several times and profited by the confusion which prevailed in that land after the departure of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār. Evidently it was this success which they readily gained in Kēraḷa that made them try their luck in the Pāṇḍya's dominions also. But since that venture proved ruinous, and since they had no longer any chance of advancing in the east, they decided after the reign of Kaṛunandan, to concentrate their attention upon the improvement of their position in the neighbourhood of Trevandrum. That they succeeded in this endeavour is amply evidenced by the fact that Aḍakkaṇ, the son of Kaṛunandan, ruled safely in the newly-formed western kingdom. His position was so great that one of his officers Muṛugaṇ Śēndi, who was apparently entrusted with the business of governing Teṅganāḍ (near Trevandrum) occupied the high social status needed to give his daughter in marriage to a king who called himself Vikramāditya Vaṛaguṇa.[1] In truth, this Vikramāditya Vaṛaguṇa was also one of the mountain chieftains who carved out a kingdom for himself at the expense of the Chēṛas. Thus it is clearly seen that the Chēṛa dominions became the field of conquest by a number of border chieftains and all these could have happened only if sufficient time were allowed for the decline of the Chēṛa country. If Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār is taken to be the contemporary of Vaṛaguṇa I, it will be difficult to explain all these happenings. The interval would then be too short. On the other hand, if Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ is understood to have died in the reign of Māranjaḍayan, the grandfather of Vaṛaguṇa I, these things become explicable.

Thus I believe that my theory that Māranjadayan of 769-770 A.D. was the contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ gains additional strength from the Huzūr Office copper plates.

As against this view one objection is likely to be raised. Mr. M. Rāghava Aiyangār believes that Māranjaḍayan was a Vaishṇava.[2] But that is because he has wrongly identified the Māranjaḍayan of

[1] *Tr. Ar. Ser.* vol. i, p. 17.
[2] *Journal of Oriental Research*, vo . i, p. iv, pp. 158-66.

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सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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769 A.D. with the Śaḍayan of the Madras Museum plates. I have shown above that these two were different. But Mr. Rāghava Aiyangār has advanced astronomical arguments to prove that Āṇḍāḷ lived in the eighth century A.D. His theory is that Māranjaḍayan was influenced in favour of Vaishṇavism by Periyāḷvār and Āṇḍāḷ. He quotes a stanza of Āṇḍāḷ from her *Tiṟuppāvai* and interprets one line in it to support his theory. The line is *veḷḷi eḻundu viyāḻam uraṅgiṟṟu*. This means 'Venus has arisen and Jupiter has gone to sleep'. He assumes that the rising of Venus and the setting of Jupiter ought to have happened simultaneously, for according to him the intelligent Āṇḍāḷ would not have otherwise taken the trouble of recording it; and since such a phenomenon could occur only very rarely, he holds that it should be taken to be a correct indication of the date of Āṇḍāl. The interpretation is open to question, for there is no indication in the stanza of the simultaneity of the two occurrences; yet, even allowing that, it can be noticed that there are four dates given by him on which the phenomenon could have occurred, viz., 600 A.D., 731 A.D., 855 A.D. and 886 A.D. He chose 731 A.D. but the year 885 or 886 is equally suitable, for the Vaishṇava Pāṇḍya king alluded to could have been in that case Vīra Nārāyaṇa Neḍunjaḍayan, the donor of the Madras Museum plates.

From the above discussion it will be evident that Māranjaḍayan was not one who declared himself to be a Vaishṇava, but it may be argued that he might have had Vaishṇava leanings. If so, he could not have been the contemporary of Chēṟamān Peṟumāḷ Nāyanār. Some support may be obtained for this view from the Ānamalai inscriptions and the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant, both of which relate to him. I shall first take up the arguments which may be employed to prove that he was a Vaishṇava. It is known that the king's minister one Māran Kāṟi constructed in 770 A.D. a temple to Lord Naṟasiṁha in the Ānamalai cave.[1] Again, 'four of the concluding verses of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant are stated to be from the *Vaishṇava Dharma*.'[2] The Ājñāpāti of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant was the same Māran Kāri who constructed the Narasimha temple.

It will be seen from the above-mentioned facts that the minister of he king was a staunch Vaiṣhṇava. To me it does not appear that

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 320. [2] *Epigraphical Reports*, 1908, p. 63.

यह पुस्तक वितरित न की जाय
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the monarch should have been a Vaishṇava as well. It is impossible from the facts noticed above to discover whether the king was a Vaishṇava or a Śaiva. One thing is certain. He was not a bigot. He did not have any objection to his minister stating in the grant that four of the verses written there were from the *Vaishṇava Dharma*. It is clear that he kept an open mind. Even in the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant itself, there is evidence of his open-mindedness. It is stated there that the musician who used to sing in the palace got angry one day; when the king sent for him and asked him what his grievance was, the musician replied that the village of Vēḷvikkuḍi had been in the olden days made the subject of a grant by the ancient Pāṇḍya monarch, Palyāga Śālai Mudukuḍumi. The king was disposed to laugh at this, for he did not believe that the account was true; but later on, when he discovered that it was true, he ordered that the village might be granted exactly as it had been given by his ancestor. This account about Māranjaḍayan is proof of the fact that the king was open to conviction. Such a person could not have been a bigot. There is therefore nothing to prevent him from welcoming Saints Sundaramūrti and Chēramān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār into his kingdom and even accompanying them when they went to visit the Śaiva shrines of the Pāṇḍya Nāḍ.

Thus the hypothesis that Māranjaḍayan of 769 or 770 A.D. was the contemporary of Chēṛamān Peṛumāḷ Nāyanār does not appear to be unacceptable.

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A History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

(Based on Original Persian Sources)

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

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ADDITIONAL[1] ABBREVIATIONS

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[1] See list at head of Chapter I.

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CHAPTER II

The City of Agra at the beginning of Shāh Jahān's Reign

While Shāh Jahān is waiting for his enthronement we may utilize the opportunity by looking round to form an idea of what Agra looked like at this period. The reader will agree that a bird's-eye view of the place and some mention of its size and resources will enable us to

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visualize the spin and bustle and the mad gaieties of the days before and after coronation.

In the spacious times of Mughal greatness and glory Agra was a wonder of the age—as much a centre of the arteries of trade both by land and water as a meeting-place of saints, sages and scholars from all Muslim Asia. For we know that the Mughal emperors were Maecenases one and all, infinitely greater that the proverbial Maecenas himself; and the beneficent influence of imperial patronage was felt in far-off Turkey and part of Europe: so that the Mughal metropolis was a veritable lodestar for artistic workmanship, literary talent and spiritual worth.

Before, however, we take a view of Shāh Jahān's Agra it will conduce to continuity and clearness if we make a rapid survey of its historical antecedents For the past always makes the present what it is, and every historic city is a palimpsest, where traces of past greatness lie scattered, half embedded, often encrusted, in picturesque profusion. No city, however great, is to our eyes respectable unless it has a history, and the Agra of Shāh Jahān's times is eminently respectable in this sense.

The early history of the Agra of the Hindu period is nothing but legend or conjecture. Nor are there many data from which we could determine the exact locality of Hindu Agra, though Carleylle[1] imagines that the site of it was some ten miles to the south of the present city, on the bank of the ancient bed of the Jumna, near the village Kolara (Kaulāra Kalān, to south-east of Agra city, on the Survey of India large-scale map) on the old left bank of this ancient river-bed. The earlier authorities, however, are in conflict on the point: 'Abdullāh Khān (*Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*. P.U.L. MS., ff. 41B–42A) says, 'according to . . . [name of authority omitted in the MS.] the city of Agra came into existence in his [Sikandar Lodī's] time. Before Sulṭān Sikandar Agra was an ancient village; and some Indians are of opinion that Agra had a fort in the time of Rāja Kishan,[2] who ruled at Mathra, and that whoever incurred the Rāja's

[1] *A.S.I.R.* vol. iv (1871–72), 97–98. Carleylle's observations are seldom reliable and his conjectures often wide. He does not come up to the high standard of accuracy and research which we have learnt to associate with the reports and monographs issued by the Government of India Archæological Survey.

[2] Abdul Latif (*Agra*, 2) reads it Rāja Kans.

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displeasure was imprisoned there. For a long time it continued thus. In the year when the army of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded India, Agra was so ruined that it was reduced to an insignificant village. Again from the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Agra regained its prosperity.'

The author, instead of indicating the spot where Hindu Agra stood, implies that the old Agra village was situated on or very near the site of the city built later by Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, or else he is confusing the two. But this is at variance with the account of the founding of Agra by Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī in Ni'matullāh, *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (f. 116A–116B).[1] For according to Ni'matullāh, who knows nothing of Hindu Agra, Sikandar Lodī's Agra had no antecedents. It is difficult to give a final decision between these authors.

'Abdullāh Khān's statement about Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn invading Agra, however, is open to doubt, since this event is not noticed by any known historian of Maḥmūd, contemporary or other. It is possible that the author is confusing Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn with his great-grandson, also called Maḥmūd[2] (appointed Viceroy of India, 469 A.H.=1076-77 A.C.), who, as we know from a *qaṣīda* or eulogy written in praise of the latter by Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān,[3] besieged and captured Agra fort after a sanguinary fight. This necessarily discounts in some measure 'Abdullāh Khān's judgment as historian.

While we are on the subject, it will repay us to study Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's *qaṣīda* with care. The poet came with Maḥmūd and actually took part in the fight; so that his evidence is that of an eye-witness. We give below a summary of the relevant passages:

Saif ud-Daula Maḥmūd, after a dreary journey of hundreds of miles through difficult mountains and arid deserts, came down upon the virgin fortress of Agra—which tickled his ambition and pride precisely

[1] Quoted below, p. 133.

[2] A mistake occasioned or helped by the fact that this Maḥmūd had the surname *Saif ud-Daula*, by which his great-grandfather was also known as prince; the title having been bestowed on him by the Samanid king of Bukhārā about A.H. 384 ('Utbī, *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, pp. 81–82). Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, apparently, gave his grandfather's name and earlier title to his son. Abdul Latif (*Agra*, 2–3) and even historians of position like Vincent A. Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 254) have uncritically accepted this careless statement in *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*.

[3] '*Qaṣīda* in praise of Saif ud-Daula and congratulating him on the victory of Agra' (*Dīwān-i-Amīr Mas'ūd bin Sa'd-i-Salmān*, pp. 88–90).

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because it was reputed impregnable—with an army of 40,000 picked horsemen, in the spring of a year which is not named.[1] Rulers and chieftains, attracted by his spirit of adventure and the antecedents of his family, joined him on the way and helped with money and clothing.

The night after the laying of the siege, Jaipāl, the commander of Agra fort, saw a dream of evil portent, which struck terror into his heart. Next morning he humbly sued Maḥmūd for peace, offering unconditional surrender—with untold wealth if his life was spared him. But this invasion was to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the nature of a 'crusade', and voluntary surrender or treaty did not enter into his idea of a victory. He refused, therefore, to have the spiritual fruits of his valour snatched from him at the most critical moment, and answered the overtures of peace with a general attack on the fort.

The battle raged hot and fierce, day and night, for several days, till one black night Sulṭān Maḥmūd's kettledrums thundered and his heroes, leaping forward, scaled the walls of the fort. The land of Agra ran with the blood of the besieged. A breach was soon effected, through which the victorious hosts poured in.

Princes from all sides sent in loads of gold and strings of elephants as peace-offering.[2]

Taking everything into consideration, we have no hesitation in accepting this account in preference to that in *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*; so that poetry has for once better historical value than history itself!

But where was this Hindu Agra? We have given Carleylle's opinion above. Vincent A. Smith[3] and Messrs. Havell[4] and Nevill[5] apparently follow *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī* in assuming that Sikandar Lodī built his capital on the site of the old Agra village, taking

[1] Calculating on the basis of the careful chronology given in the article on Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān by Mīrza Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Qazwīn, translated by E. G. Browne (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 693–740 and 1906, pp. 11–51), the year must fall between A.H. 469 and 480 (=A.C. 1076 and 1088).

[2] We have given the details in full seeing that historians have paid no attention to Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's Eulogy which is unusually rich in historical facts. Abdul Latif's account (*Agra*, 3) is inadequate and somewhat confused; and even the excellent article by Mīrza Muḥammad *bin* 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Qazwīnī referred to above makes no specific mention of this *qaṣīda*.

[3] Vincent A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 254.

[4] Havell, *Agra*, 4–5.

[5] H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. viii; *Agra*, 190.

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no notice of Ni'matullāh's elaborate account. Under the circumstances we can only hazard a conjecture that the Agra village of Hindu times was possibly where the modern city of Agra stands, or close to it—*i.e.*, on the right bank of the river. And the Agra fort attacked by Maḥmūd was probably identical with the ancient Hindu fortress under Rāja Kishan (or Kans) of Muttra mentioned in *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*, quoted above.

Abū'l-Faẓl[1] tells us that the modern Agra fort was built by Akbar on the site of an old fort known as Bādalgarh, which, as Cunningham attests,[2] is 'almost certainly' a Hindu name. Besides, according to a tradition mentioned by Mr. Nevill [3] Bādalgarh was built by Bādal Singh about 1475.[4] There is nothing in the way of our assuming that Bādalgarh was built on the site of the old Hindu fort—possibly only remodelled and renamed, so that the older fort and Bādalgarh and the modern fort of Akbar occupied the same spot in succession.

Our hypothesis about the site of Hindu Agra—and it is no more than a hypothesis—enables us to locate it quite close to the old Hindu fort, which probably overshadowed and protected it. It is significant in this connection that when the nobles of Akbar settled at Agra (*i.e.*, the modern city) the historians [5] don't speak of the founding of a new city as they do when speaking of Sikandar Lodī's settlement at Agra. Akbar's courtiers seem to have simply adopted residence in an already existing city.

This old Hindu Agra was, according to Abū'l-Faẓl,[6] a village in Biana district. And it must have been of a size sufficient to justify

[1] *A. N.*, ii, 246-47.

[2] *A.S.I.R.*, vol. iv (1871-72), p. 98, footnote.

[3] H. R. Nevill, *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, vol. viii : *Agra*, p. 137.

[4] I have found no evidence in support of a statement made by Abdul Latif (*Agra*, 74) and repeated by Mr. Havell (*Agra*, 40) that Bādalgarh was constructed and so named by Salīm Shāh Sūr. It is true that Sher Shāh and his successors resided at Bādalgarh and the palace (called Salīmgarh) the 'fragments' of which Fergusson saw in the fort, and to which he pays such an eloquent tribute of praise (James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, ii, 287) *was* possibly built by Sher Shāh or his son, as he thinks (though Mr. Havell disputes it and on internal evidence would rather place it in Akbar's period, quoting a tradition in favour of his hypothesis, and naming it after Prince Salīm (*Agra*, 68)); yet in either case it was only an addition to a pre-existing fort.

[5] *E. g.*, Abū'l-Faẓl, *A.N.*, ii, 122-23.

[6] *Ā'īn*, ii, 54 (*A'īn* (B. & J.), ii, 179-80).

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the mention of a 'great earthquake' there by historians,[1] which is said to have occured in A.H. 911 (= A.C. 1505). And Jahāñgīr leaves hardly a doubt on the point when he says, 'Before the rule of the Lodī Afghans, Agra was a great and populous place, and had a castle described by Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān in the ode (*qaṣīda*). . .'[2]; where, although he is speaking on the authority of the *qaṣīda*, he is probably referring to the remains of Hindu Agra, which were in the course of being assimilated by Akbar's city before his eyes.

Sikandar Lodī (A.C. 1489-1517) was, however, the first monarch to make Agra his residence. The founding of Sikandar Lodī's Agra is thus described by Ni'matullāh in the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (f. 116A-116B) (my own translation):

'At this time it occurred to the Sulṭān [Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī] that he should found a city on the banks of the river [Jumna] which would serve for a capital and a military station, that the unruly chiefs of the neighbourhood might not rise in revolt. Accordingly a few wise and discreet persons were commissioned to take a boat and survey both banks of the river from Chandwār to Dehlī, and report about the place which they considered fit for founding a city and a fort in. In compliance with the orders, the party went on surveying both banks of the river till they came to the site of modern Agra. The report was submitted [in favour of this spot]. The Sulṭān visited it. Seeing the spot he approved of the plan of building a city and a strong fort here. In the year [A. H.] 911 the capital of Agra (may it be protected from all misfortunes and afflictions!) was founded.'

The spot thus chosen was on the left or east bank of the river over against modern Agra. This was the royal residence of the Lodīs occupied by Bābur after the victory of Panipat (1526).

Sikandar Lodī also founded Sikandra, which is called after him, and built there a fine redstone *bāgadarī* or summer-house, afterwards converted into the tomb of Maryam-zamānī, Jahāñgīr's mother. Sikandar died at Agra (Sunday, December 14, 1517).

Bābur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, defeated Ibrāhīm Lodī,

[1] *Ā'īn*, ii, 151 (*Ā'īn* (B. & J.), ii, 309); Muḥammad Qāsim, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, 183.

[2] *Tūzuk*, 2 (*Tūzuk*, (R. & B.) i, 4).

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the son and successor of Sikandar Lodī, on the historic plain of Panipat, and occupied, as we have said, his palace at Agra (Thursday, *Rajab* 28, A.H. 932 = May 10, A.C. 1526).

We have more details about Bābur's Agra: It stood on the east or left bank of the river and occupied the whole tract included within the river's bend up to the village of Nunihai.[1] Here we have still remains of the following gardens or garden-residences built or begun in the reign of Bābur: (1) The *Gul-afshān* garden built by Bābur himself for his residence. A small building of red sandstone and a mosque on one side of the garden existed here in Jahāngīr's time and probably later.[2] Sīlchand (*Tafrīḥ ul-'Imārāt*) and Jahāngīr[2] agree that Bābur intended to build a fine palace here; according to the former, however, even Humāyūñ could not complete the plan. (2) The garden-palace of *Nūr-afshān* or *Rām Bāgh*. (3 and 4). The *Bāgh-i-Zahrā* and the *Achānak Bāgh* (both remarkably extensive) named respectively after two of the princesses of Bābur's time.[3]

The Humāyūñ Masjid was built by Humāyūñ in 937 A. H. (= 1530–31 A. C.) immediately after his father's death.[4]

During the reign of Akbar[5] Agra grew in size, wealth and power, with dramatic swiftness; so that when Abū'l-Faẓl was writing *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* the Jumna ran for five *kos* (about ten miles) through the

[1] See Government of India Survey Map (scale 1 mile to an inch): Sheet 54½, or *I.G.*, xxvi (Atlas), Plate 56.

[2] *Tūzuk*, 3 (*Tūzuk* (R. and B.), i, 4–5).

[3] These gardens remind us of Bābur's vivid description, in the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, of how he laid out gardens and built wells and tanks and baths and palaces at Agra (*Tūzuk-i-Bāburī*, 210–211; Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs*, ii, 257–58). See also in this connection C. M. Villiers Stuart, *Mughal Gardens*, pl. vi., facing p. 40, and Binyon, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pl. iv, facing p. 12.

Bābur's mortal remains were temporarily deposited in the *Rām Bāgh* before being removed to Kabul, where they lie in the terraced garden known to the modern visitors of the Afghān capital as *Bāgh-i-Bābur*. The *Rām Bāgh* was later used as a pleasure-resort by Empress Nūr Jahāñ.

[4] Mr. Havell is therefore not quite accurate when he says that 'Humayun left no memorial of himself at Agra.' (*Agra*, 17). For fuller details of these gardens and their huge dimensions see Carleylle, *A. S. I. R.*, vol. iv (1871–72), pp. 103–109.

[5] The buildings erected (1564) at Nagarchain (near Kakrālī village, seven miles to the south of modern Agra) by the order of Akbar—the emperor of shifting capitals—need not be mentioned since they soon vanished, possibly destroyed by order. See J. F. Fanthome, 'A Forgotten City' (in *J. A. S. B.*, 1904, part i, pp. 276–281).

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city, with imposing mansions and pleasant gardens overlooking it on either side.[1]

We are told that the nobles began to build fine houses on both sides of the river (1560–61).[2] Orders were issued (A. H. 972 = A.C. 1565) for the building of the fort, which was completed (according to *Akbarnāma*[3] and *Bādshāh Nāma*[4]) in eight, and (according to *Tūzuk*[5] and the chronogram given in Budā'ūnī[6]) in fifteen or sixteen years, at a cost of thirty-five lakhs of rupees. We have seen above that Akbar's fort was built on the spot occupied by the mouldering brick citadel of Bādalgarh.

It is hardly the place to go into the details about Agra fort. We can only remark that the following is all that remains of Akbar's buildings: The outer walls, Jahāñgīrī Maḥal, and Akbarī Maḥal. The rest are later additions, most of which we shall have to note when we come to Shāh Jahān's architecture.

Besides the Fort Agra does not owe much to Akbar, except a few mosques and tombs of minor importance.

The Emperor Jahāñgir left three clearly distinguishable landmarks in the history of Agra: (1) Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra (finished, A.H. 1022)—a unique monument. (2) *I'timād ud-Daula*, built by Nūr Jahāñ on the east bank of the river (commenced, 1622; finished, 1628). (3) The huge garden known as *Bāgh-i-Nūr-Manzil* or *Bāgh-i-Dahra*[7] (to the south-west of modern Agra city and west of cantonment), where, as we have seen in the last chapter, Shāh Jahān encamped before entering Agra. It covered, if we are to believe Carleylle,[7] the huge area of 3840×2064 feet on a spot between Khawāspura and Sultānpura, now partly occupied by the Agra Cantonment station of the G.I.P. Railway.

[1] *Ā'īn*, ii, 84. [2] *A. N.* ii, 122–23.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii, 247. *M. U.* (iii, 63) copies from *A. N.*, and is no independent evidence.

[4] *B. N.*, I, i, p. 154–55. [5] *Tūzuk*, 2 (*Tūzuk*, R. and B., i, 3).

[6] Budā'ūnī, ii, 74 (Lowe, ii, 74–75). Budā'ūnī's text gives five years, but the chronogram reproduced by him yields 986, which gives us fourteen years for the building. This latter period nearly agrees with that in *Tūzuk*. So the text of Budā'ūnī stands obelized on this point.

[7] Carleylle's account of its origin (*A.S.I.R.* vol. iv, 1871–72) is erroneous, and should be read with caution. Sīl Chand (*Tafrīḥ ul-'Imārāt*), whom he cites and rejects, is in complete accord with the contemporary authorities when he says that this garden was built by Jahāñgīr.

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The Ziārat Kamāl Khān shown on the Survey of India large-scale map, was once in this garden.

Now we come to the Agra of our own period. It had so far been known by its old name, which dates from Hindu times. But Shāh Jahān, on the day of his coronation, in generous recognition of the fact that Agra owed all its greatness to the great Akbar, named it Akbarābād after him;[1] so that it is invariably so called by the historians of this reign. Since the older name was readopted after Shāh Jahān's deposition, however, we shall take no notice of this change, and shall continue to call it by the better-known name, Agra.

Through the cloud of abundant but somewhat conflicting evidence it is tolerably clear that Agra, at this period, was a large and populous city extending on both sides of the Jumna, with a total circumference of some twenty-five miles. We shall deal with each part of Agra—on the right and on the left bank of the river—separately.

On the west side, linking up the more or less straggling suburbs, it extended lengthwise from where the *Tāj* stands to-day[2] all the way to Sikandra—some nine miles or so; and the maximum breadth was from the edge of the water to Shāhganj—a matter of three miles. But this gives us no adequate idea of the size of the city. We shall therefore let John Albert de Mandelslo, who visited Agra in A.C. 1638, and who is a fairly reliable witness, speak on the subject:

'It is at least twice as big as *Ispahan*, and it is as much as a Man can do to ride about it on horse-back in a day. It is fortified with a good Wall, of a kind of red Free-stone, and a Ditch, which is above thirty fathom broad. Its Streets are fair and spacious, and there are some of them vaulted, which are above a quarter of a League in length, where the Merchants and Tradesmen have their Shops, distinguished by their Trades and the Merchandises which are there sold; every Trade, and every Merchant having a particular Street and

[1] Statements of Thevenot, Bernier and Tieffenthaler to the contrary notwithstanding. See *B.N.*, I, i, 156.

To avoid confusion it is, however, to be noted that numismatically the new name was not adopted until A.H. 1038, *i.e.*, the second year of Shāh Jahān's reign. (H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. iii, Introduction.)

[2] It appears from Tavernier's account (Tavernier, i, 109) that Tājganj or 'Tasimacan,' as he calls it, was a prosperous suburb of Agra and a great resort of merchants and foreigners before the *Tāj* was built.

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Quarter assigned him. There are in it fifteen *Meidans* and *Basars*, whereof the most spacious is that which is before the Castle, where may be seen sixty great Guns of all sizes, but not kept in any order so as to be made use of. There is also in that place a high Pole, as at the *Meidan* of *Ispahan*, where the Court Lords, and sometimes the *Mogul* himself divert themselves with shooting at the Parrot fastned [fastened] at the top of it. There are in the City fourscore *caravanseras*, for the accommodation and convenience of Forreign Merchants, most of them three Stories high, with very noble Lodgings, Store-houses, Vaults and Stables belonging to them, together with Galleries and private Passages for the correspondence and communication of the Chambers. Every one of them hath a certain person, whose charge it is to lock them up, and to take care that the Merchandises be safely kept. He does also supply the place of a Sutler, and sels all sorts of Provision, Forrage, and Wood, to those that lodge in them.'[1]

He further tells us that in the city of Agra there were seventy great mosques (six of which were *Ādīna* or cathedral mosques) and 800 baths or 'hot-houses,' which seem to have been state-owned and state-managed. These mosques, it is interesting to note, served also as sanctuaries for criminals and other refugees.[2]

M. de Thevenot (who visited India in 1666–67) has also a pleasant description of Agra. He was much impressed by the long range of buildings and garden enclosures along the edge of the water on the city side :

'This palace [*viz.*, Agra Fort],' he says, 'is accompanied with five and twenty or thirty other very large ones, all in a line, which belong to the Princes and other great Lords of Court ; and all together afford a most delightful prospect to those who are on the other side of the River, which would be a great deal more agreeable, were it not for the long Garden-walls, which contribute much to the rendering the Town so long as it is. There are upon the same line several less Palaces and other Buildings. All being desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the Water of the *Gemna*, endeavoured to purchase ground on that side, which is the cause that the Town is very

[1] Mandelslo, pp. 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 35–36.

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long but narrow, and excepting some fair Streets that are in it, all the rest are very narrow and without Symmetry.

Before the King's Palace, there is a very large Square, and twelve other besides of less extent within the Town. But that which makes the Beauty of *Agra* besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervanseras* which are above threescore in number; and some of them have six large Courts with their Portico's, that give entry to very commodious Apartments, where stranger Merchants have their Lodgings: There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great number of Mosques, of which some serve for Sanctuary. There are many mognificent Sepulchres in it also, several great Men having had the ambition to build their own in their own life-time, or to erect Monuments to the memory of their Fore-fathers.'[1]

No statistics for Agra are available; but we can well understand that the population must have fluctuated appreciably from time to time, the number swelling considerably when the Emperor was in station, and some big reviews[2] in progress, or else at the time of a military concentration preparatory to an expedition. Mandelslo asserts that 'were there a necessity, there might be rais'd out of it [*i.e.*, Agra] two hundred thousand men able to bear Arms.'[3] Assuming this to refer to civil population the number of the inhabitants of Agra would be in the neighbourhood of 700,000; and including the military, when the Emperor was in headquarters, the figure would easily approach a million. Father Manrique, who came in 1640, estimated the population of the city 'excluding strangers' at 600,000[4]—a figure not far short of the number we have independently arrived at.

Bernier, Tavernier and de Thevenot agree that even in 1666 Agra was the largest city in India, *i.e.* bigger than Delhi or Shāhjahānābād. It is not by any means unlikely that Agra was at this period the largest city in the world.

[1] Thevenot, *Travels*, part iii, p. 34.
[2] For these see a later chapter.
[3] Mandelslo, 41. This statement is challenged by M. de Thevenot (part iii, p. 35), who tries to make out that Agra was more extensive than populous. The true explanation of this difference of opinion lies in the fact that the former came early in Shāh Jahān's reign, while the latter did not arrive until 1666, when Shāh Jahān was no longer emperor and Agra no longer capital.
[4] Stanley Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India*, 336.

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London is out of the running: According to Baedekar (*London*, Introduction, p. xxxi) its population was about 700,000 in 1700; and must have been much less in 1628. Salbancke describes even the Fatehpur Sikri of 1609 (then a deserted capital) as 'a city as great as London, and very populous';[1] while from a curious remark of William Hawkins[2] it appears that the area of London in 1609–11 did not exceed the space covered by the Emperor's camp.

As for Paris, we consider it significant that Bernier, in his excellent and dispassionate comparison of Delhi, Agra, and Constantinople with Paris, does not definitely assert that Paris was bigger or more populous than Agra (which he would have done if he had known it to be a fact), although he does say that 'after making every allowance for the beauty of *Dehli*, *Agra*, and *Constantinople*, *Paris* is the finest, the richest, and altogether the first city in the world'.[3]

Again, Agra was probably the most cosmopolitan town in Asia; though, as Mandelslo says, 'most of the Inhabitants are Mahumetans'.[4]

Every observer of note agrees that, excepting the great thoroughfares, the streets were so crowded with people that one could hardly pass.[5] 'Four or five of the streets, where trade is the principal occupation, are of great length and the houses tolerably good; nearly all the others are short, narrow, and irregular, and full of windings and corners: the consequence is that when the court is at *Agra* there is often a strange confusion.'[6] The bazaars and passages in the

[1] Purchas iii, 84. The statement in Abdul Latif, *Agra* (p. 30) is misleading.

[2] 'When hee [the Emperor] rideth on Progresse or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of London and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is provided, as for a Citie.'

Captain William Hawkins' *Relations* (Purchas iii, p. 35-36).

[3] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), p. 286. 'Toutes ces beautez de Dehli, d'Agra et de Constantinople bien considerées & balancées, [Paris est] la plus belle, la plus riche, la premiere Ville du monde.—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 97.'

[4] Mandelslo, 41.

[5] *Tūzuk*, 2. (*Tūzuk*, R. and B., i., 3); Peter Mundy, ii, 207; Finch (Purchas iv, 72); and Bernier, *Suite*, i, 93. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 285).

[6] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 285.—'Hormis quatre ou cinq de ces principales ruës marchandes qui sont tres-longues et assez bien bâties; tout le reste n'est la pluspart que petites ruës estroites sans symmetrie, que détours et que recoins; ce qui cause des embarras étranges quand la Cour y est.'—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 93.

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neighbourhood of the fort, including the great square in front of it, were every day, about durbar time, entirely taken up by the *umarā* and their long retinues, the usual traffic being either diverted or held up: 'such a number of Eliphants, horses, Coaches, Soldiers, peons, etts. [and other] people that is incredible', says Mundy.[1] And on the occasion of some festival, some great reception or a state ceremony, this great, crowded Agra proved totally inadequate—one of the reasons that ultimately brought about, as we shall see, the transfer of capital from that city to Delhi.

The city presented a pleasant variety of stately mansions of princes and nobles (many of which, according to 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī,[2] had been erected at a cost of from one to five lakhs), gardens, mosques, caravanserais, baths, tombs and open squares; and the lowlier houses of brick or of stone (most of which, according to the Emperor Jahāñgīr,[3] were three or four storeys high), and the shops of every degree of prosperity must have given the town a quaint and picturesque appearance.

Tieffenthaler, who was there in the fifties of the eighteenth century, only caught an echo of the past glory of Agra. In the outlying parts of the city, the houses are in ruins, he says, owing to desertions and lack of repair, and the suburbs, once so populous, have all but ceased to exist. Yet, he hastens to assure us, 'alle diese Trümmer sind Zeugen der ehmaligen Pracht und Grösse einer glänzenden Stadt.'[4] As for the houses nearer the heart of the city, he tells us, hey are high and well-built on foundations of hewn stone, and though their external appearance is not very imposing their inside is elegantly appointed. The palaces of the great are throughout large and luxurious.[5]

We have said that Agra was a huge emporium: Taking into account the extent and population of the metropolis and the enormous scale on which the exchange of wealth took place on such occasions as feasts and functions of state, the reader will have no difficulty in realizing that Agra was probably the largest single trade-centre in the

[1] Peter Mundy, ii, 207.
[2] *B.N.*, I, i, 157.
[3] *Tūzuk*, 2. (*Tūzuk*, R. & B., *i*, 3).
[4] Tieffenthaler, i, 115.
[5] 'Die Häuser der Stadt sind hoch und vest auf einem Grunde von Werkstücken; ihr äusseres Ansehen ist nicht sehr erheblich, das innere dagegen ist ziemlich geschmückt; die Palläste der Grossen sind durchgehends gross und prächtig.' Tieffenthaler, i 114.

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world, specially as regards the more valuable commodities, the prices of which, at the time of a celebration, must have pointed to a high index-number. Joseph Salbancke, with a keen eye for trade, speaks of Agra as a 'great resort of Merchants from Persia, and out of India,' enumerates among the valuable merchandise silks and cloths and precious stones (including diamonds from Bisnagar, Delhi and Agra itself, and rubies, sapphires and spinels from far-away Pegu); and tells his countrymen that here there was great demand for 'our richer Silkes and Velvets, but especially our clothes of light colours.'[1]

It is worthy of note, however, that the shops did not present the magnificent array we should expect from such a trade-centre. Costly merchandise such as carpets, shawls and precious stuffs, and gems, jewels and rarities of all sorts, was generally kept in warehouses, as Bernier tells us;[2] the high-class merchants (including foreign merchants like Tavernier), who dealt only with the pick of the aristocracy, preferring to sell their goods from house to house. Since the highest classes seldom made their purchases in the streets, jewellers, artists, manufacturers, and all those who catered only for the rich, had no occasion to expose their wares and work for sale. The art of window-dressing, consequently, found no scope in India. No wonder that Bernier saw nothing at Agra or Delhi to match the street of St. Denis in Paris.[3]

The only class of shops that made any impression on Bernier were the fruiterers'. By Bernier's account, which relates to Delhi but applies equally to Agra, the fruit-shops were stocked during the summer 'with dry fruit from *Persia*, *Balk*, *Bokara*, and *Samarkande*; such as almonds, pistachios, and walnuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are, however, very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half.'[4] Among fresh fruits are also mentioned the

[1] *The Voyage of M. Joseph Salbancke* (Purchas, iii, 83-84).
[2] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 24. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 248-49). [3] *Ibid.*
[4] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 249. '. . . fruits secs, qui viennent de Perse, de Balk, de Bokara et de Saïnarkande, comme amendes, pistaches, noisettes, raisins, prunaux, abricots et autres; et dans l'Hyver on y voit d'excellens

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indigenous melon (cheap and inferior,—good melons being scarce), mangoes (plentiful, cheap and delicious), water-melons (in great abundance almost throughout the year), apples, oranges, plums, bananas and pine-apples.[1] The fruit-market was presumably situated in the quarter of Agra Peter Mundy calls *Phal Hatti*, where, he says, the factors of the East India Company used to live.

Among other eatables Bernier found sweetmeats filthy and fly-blown. Nor did the Indian confectioner's art make much appeal to him, not even the best bread, which, he says, contained plenty of fresh butter, milk and eggs. He always treated cooked meat, sold in the bazaar, with suspicion. Raw meat was always available in abundant variety: Beef and mutton were common, but the flesh of the goat, specially of the he-goat and the kid, was highly prized. And fowls (including the hen with jet-black skin, the flesh of which was 'delicate and tender'), pigeons and partridges, quails, turtle-doves, ducks, geese, hares and fish (especially the excellent *singī* and the *rohū*, still the best ordinary fresh-water fish in these parts) could be had for the money.[2]

Wine was unobtainable, its use being prohibited. 'If wine be sometimes found in the *Mogol* empire, it is either *Chiraz* [Shīrāz] or *Canary*'—the former coming from Persia *via* Bandar Abbas and Surat, the latter brought to India by the Dutch. Both these wines, however, were almost too costly to drink.[3]

Peter Mundy does not scruple to mention even the 'common stews' in different quarters of the city, each of which 'every eveninge is like a faire'.[4]

As for a bird's-eye view of the city, we notice that the European travellers were invariably struck by the high enclosure-walls of houses

raisins frais noirs et blancs qu'on apporte de ces mesmes Païs bien enveloppez dans du coton, des pommes et des poires de trois ou quatre especes, et de ces admirables melons qui durent tout l'Hyver. Le mal est que tous ces fruits sont fort chers ; j'ay veu vendre des melons jusques à un écu et demy.'—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 25–26.

[1] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 26–27. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 249–50). Peter Mundy, ii, 215–16.

[2] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 27–32. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 250–52). Peter Mundy, ii, 215–16.

[3] Bernier, *Suite*, i, 33. (Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 252–53).

[4] Peter Mundy ii, 216.

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and gardens; while, according to Bernier, '*Agra* has more [than Delhi] the appearance of a country town, especially when viewed from an eminence. The prospect it presents is rural, varied, and agreeable; for the grandees having always made it a point to plant trees in their gardens and courts for the sake of shade, the mansions of *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and others are all interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage, in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of *Banyanes* or *Gentile* merchants have the appearance of old castles buried in forests. Such a landscape yields peculiar pleasure in a hot and parched country, where the eye seeks in verdure for refreshment and repose'.[1]

Now we turn to the part of Agra on the east or left bank of the Jumna. Here, as we have seen, must have stood the garden-palaces of Bābur and Humāyūñ, at this time only a century old and therefore probably in a fair state of preservation. The æsthetical Mughals had not failed to utilize whatever remained of them, and during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāñgīr the whole stretch developed into a tastefully laid-out suburb, where princes and magnates owned villas and pleasure-houses mostly along the water's edge.

The length of this suburb, 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī and the Emperor Jahāñgīr agree, was two and a half miles, running north-east and south-west, from a point on the river near Humäyūñ Masjid to a spot beyond Nunihai; and the breadth, measured on a line across the bend of the river, at right angles to the major axis, one and a quarter miles. There were few residential houses in this garden-city.[2]

Hither the aristocracy of Agra often resorted for a picnic or a holiday-excursion—a welcome refuge from the scorching heat of Agra, the whirl and worry of noisy city life, and the tiresome formalities of an elaborately ceremonious court. We can imagine a

[1] Bernier's *Travels* (Constable), 285. 'Agra ressent plus le champestre que Dehli, principalement quand on le regarde d'un lieu plus éminent, mais ce n'est point un champestre qui luy soit des-avantageux; il est tres-beau et tres-divertissant; car comme il y a par tout entre ces maisons d'Omerahs, des Rajas et autres, quantité de grands arbres verts mélez, chacun ayant esté curieux d'en planter dans son jardin et dans sa cour pour avoir de l'ombre, et que ces hautes maisons de pierres de Banyanes, ou Marchands Gentils, paroissent decà delà entre ces arbres comme quelques restes de vieux Châteaux de Forests; il se fait par là dedans des veuës et des perspectives tres-agreables, principalement dans un Pays sec et chaud, où les yeux semblent ne demander que de la verdure et des ombrages.'—Bernier, *Suite*, i, 94.

[2] *B.N.*, I. i, 157. *Tūzuk*, 2. (*Tūzuk*, R. and B., i, 3).

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minister weighed down by the taxing toils of state, or a choicer spirit in a mood for solitary contemplation, or, again, perhaps a rich roué on the primrose path of dalliance, of a spring forenoon, or else on a sultry day, crossing the swift swirl of the Jumna in one of those gaily-painted row-boats [1]—of the type, low, long, and slender, with sharp ends, sketched by Peter Mundy,[2] with some twenty variously coloured oars and a covered seat either in centre or in front, flags flying and yak-tails streaming.[3]

The Jumna itself was no insignificant part of the charm of the metropolis: The many-coloured craft sailing over its waters from villa to villa and garden to garden, which were provided no doubt with beautiful landing-places flanked with shapely towers, must have cast an additional glamour round the social intercourse among the higher classes. Normally there must have been a perpetual gala day on the Jumna; but on the occasion of some such festival as the *Shab-i-Barāt* or a prince's marriage the illuminations and the fireworks by the waterside, reflected in the moving glass of the Jumna, turned sober earth and sky into a world of grotesque and weird brilliance![4]

Nor was the importance of the Jumna confined to Agra. It appears that navigation had always been a fashionable mode of travel among persons of quality even for longer distances. It is on record that Akbar and his court travelled down the Jumna by boat to Agra more than once.[5] And Peter Mundy saw 'verie great lighters or Gabares [He means a barge—here, an elaborate variety of the Indian *patela*] of 3, 4, or 500 Tonns each, serving for transportinge great men with their howshold and howshold stuffe downe the river to Etaya [Etāwa], Ellahabaz [Allahābād], Puttana [Patna],Dhacca [Dhākā, Dacca] etts. [and other] places on the river Ganges, haveing howses in the midle for the weomen, and many of them on their stemms the figures of the head of an Eliphant, Dragon, Tiger, etts., with double sternes.'[6] There were also, he says, great boats to convey the Emperor's *maḥal* or seraglio 'with severall roomes, able to carry a prettie village with all theyre Inhabitants and goods; such is theire hugenesse'.[7]

[1] Corresponding to the modern *bajra* or *mayūrpankhī*.
[2] Peter Mundy, ii, Illustration No. 11, facing p. 158.
[3] Peter Mundy, ii, 158.
[4] For fuller details of these wait for a later chapter.
[5] Once in October, 1558, and again in October, 1560.
[6] Peter Mundy, ii, 224.
[7] Peter Mundy, ii, p. 224, f. n. (3).

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Again, the river, with its continuation in the Ganges, was a waterway of great *commercial* importance, for we know that barges of a tonnage of three or four hundred, with very high ends,[1] were used for conveying salt, timber, stone, etc., on a main line extending from Delhi and Agra, through Patna, into far-away Bengal.[2]

Of the architectural monuments standing in or near Agra at this date we have said enough in the historical outline. We need only remind ourselves that while Akbar's Tomb at Sikândra was mellowing and getting acclimatized to this world of vicissitudes, *I'timād ud-Daula* had just trembled into existence; and the *Tāj*, the crown and glory of the world's architecture, was yet in the womb of time. But we are on the eve of its creation: and we can imagine all the finer instincts of an artistic people tumultuously gathering power and point—waiting silently, unconsciously for some great tragedy to give them shape and an opportunity for adequate expression.

Our account of Agra will not be complete without a mention of certain large palaces, remains of which Carleylle [3] found at considerable distances from modern Agra. He claims to have noticed traces of Bīrbal's huge palace, called *Hans Maḥal*, on a beautiful locality on the water's edge, nine or ten miles to north-west of modern Agra, and some four or five miles from Sikandra; and of another extensive building near Sāmūgarh (now Fatehabad) also attributed to Bīrbal. On the basis of these and other minor excavations Carleylle tries to make out a case for an outer, far-flung ring of suburbs with the major axis running north-west and south-east, measuring some twenty-five miles. Carleylle's generalizations, as we have said before, have to be received with reserve; and in this case the evidence he adduces, even if acceptable, leads us at best only to a few solitary villas dotted at long intervals. Still the powerful influence exercised by the great city along such an extensive orbit gives a quiet dignity to the metropolis.

SOURCES

A complete list of the works, both Persian and European, which have been consulted, is hardly necessary, since references have been given in their proper places in the body of the chapter.

[1] The modern *patela*. See Peter Mundy, ii, Illustration No. 17, facing p. 230.

[2] Peter Mundy, ii, 87.

[3] *A. S. I. R.* vol. iv (1871–72), pp. 120–21.

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In addition to some of the Persian histories mentioned in the bibliography at the end of Chapter I, which have been used for this chapter also, other Persian works have been referred to. The preparation of this chapter has, besides, entailed a close study of the works of the European travellers, who visited Mughal India in the seventeenth century. For it was soon realized that for the actual facts and conditions of life as well as for the general look of things and places, we have to depend almost entirely on the vivid descriptions of the foreigners, who saw with a curious eye and wrote for the unfamiliar reader. The contemporary historians, generally speaking, take these for granted, and often busy themselves with details much less significant from our telescopic point of view.

The European travellers vary widely in point of veracity, accuracy of observation, and power to understand and record—differences due partly to opportunity or access afforded to the writer and partly to his temperament and capacity.

Among these François Bernier undoubtedly occupies the place of honour. Both as a thinker and as a penetrating observer he stands pre-eminent. Generally speaking, his observation is accurate and his judgment unclouded. His testimony, where it is direct, is invaluable ; and, where he trips, we know that it is his informant who is in fault. Bernier was long enough in India—eight whole years, from 1659 to 1667—to give him ample opportunity for examination and analysis of things and events. He knew Delhi and Agra intimately.

Thevenot was in India for about a year, chiefly in 1666. He gives much picturesque detail about Delhi, Agra, and the provinces, about customs and costumes of people, and about the curiosities and feasts and festivals that he saw.

Neither of the above, however, reached India in Shāh Jahān's reign. Special importance from our point of view, therefore, attaches to Peter Mundy (who served the East India Company in India 1628–1634) and Mandelslo (who landed at Surat on April 29, 1638, and sailed from Indian shores on January 5, 1639). In these two authors we have first-hand evidence of Shāh Jahān's India in its prime and of its metropolis.

Father Manrique, a Spaniard, visited India in 1640. *Itinerario de las Missiones qui hizo el padre Fray Sebastian Manrique* (Roma, 1649 and 1653), one of the most authoritative and valuable of the works by

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early travellers,' according to V. A. Smith,[1] is very rare and not available to us in India. We have therefore used Stanley Lane-Poole's account from the *Itinerario* (in *Mediæval India*, p. 336).

The most leisurely of these travellers was the Frenchman, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who made no less than five voyages to India. During the long period 1631–1667, he repeatedly visited Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia and India. The chief merit of this writer lies in the fact that, besides being a well-travelled man, he was a skilled jeweller and an experienced man of affairs. As regards Agra, however, we are disappointed in him. He visited the city in its palmiest days—in 1640–41—and then again in November 1665 and August 1666, when Aurangzeb had been reigning some seven years and Delhi had long been the capital. Tavernier therefore witnessed both the culmination and the decline of Agra. He might have given us a comparative description of the Agras of Shāh Jahān's and Aurangzeb's times, for which his experience so fully qualified him.

Tieffenthaler is a great mine of minute geographical information about Mughal India, and the author's descriptions of towns and provinces are often full and interesting. He visited India in the middle of the eighteenth century, when Agra had passed its meridian.

Foreign travellers of minor importance like Hawkins, Salbancke, and the rest, have been laid under contribution where it has been necessary.

Abdul Latif, *Agra*, is a useful and comprehensive book, but the information given in it should be carefully checked on every point.

Archæological reports and gazetteers have been freely used wherever the need has arisen.

[1] *Akbar*, 474.

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'Maasir-i-Jahangiri'

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE MAASIR-I-JAHANGIRI

BY

THAKUR RAMSINGH, M.A., *Pleader, Indore, C. I.*

INTRODUCTION

AN apology is needed for using the word 'introduction' here, as the description given below, is the history of the manuscripts, existing at this time of the hitherto unpublished work, called the *Maaser-i-Jahangiri*, together with the accentuation of the importance for publishing and translating the work at this distant date.

According to page 439 of Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. vi, it is evident that the work *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* is by Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat and was commenced in the third year of the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan.

1. The earliest recital of the work is in Gladwin's *History of Jahangir* (Calcutta, 1788).

2. Later on the recital is found in the *Critical Essays on Various Manuscript Works*, also in James Fraser's *Abridged Moghul History* prefixed to his life of Nadir Shah and also in Muhammad Tahir Inayat Khan's *History of Shah Jahan*.

3. Sir H. M. Elliot after noticing the work in the sixth volume mentioned above, gives only two extracts from the life of the Emperor Jahangir. The first refers to the murder of Sheikh Abul Fazal while the second refers to the revolt of Mahabat Khan in the twenty-first year of Jahangir's reign. The extracts from volume vi show that one of the extracts, referring to Abul Fazal's murder, was an event in Jahangir's life before his accession to the throne while the other refers to his reign. Thus Sir H. M. Elliot's manuscript contains Jahangir's entire life both as an heir-apparent and as an Emperor. A reference to Professor Reynold Nicholson, Professor of Persian in the Cambridge University, made it clear that Sir H. M. Elliot's manuscript was not available in the libraray of that University and that the work has not been published as yet.

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4. Professor Beni Pershad of the Allahabad University after supporting Sir H. M. Elliot *in toto*, says in a page 456 of his *History of Jahangir* that he used the manuscript of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* in the Khuda Baksh Khan Library, Bankipore. He also says that the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* was not printed till 1922.

5. The proprietor of the Khuda Baksh Khan Library, Bankipore, Patna (the Bodlein of Persian manuscripts) was addressed through Justice Jaini of Indore High Court and the proprietor, S. Khuda Baksh Khan Saheb very kindly gave full description of the existing manuscripts of the work to the effect that 'Elliot's collections of manuscripts are now in the British Museum' (*vide* preface to vol. i of the *British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* by Dr. Riew). Elliot's copy of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* is referred to by Dr. Riew in vol. ii, page 932 of his *Persian Catalogue*.

'The beginning of Sir H. M. Elliot's copy differs from the three other copies in the British Museum, (*vide* vol. i, page 257 Riew's *Catalogue of British Museum*). 'The beginning in the manuscript in the Khuda Baksh Library at Patna is precisely the same in the three copies in the British Museum, described above. The fact that the author's name, the date of composition (given in the preface) are the same in the three copies in the British Museum which are older than Elliot's copy, and in the one in the Khuda Baksh Library, gives us fair reason to suppose that Elliot's copy does not contain the original beginning.'

6. After perusing the note of S. Khuda Baksh Saheb, I on June 4, 1927, went with my own manuscript to the Khuda Baksh Library at Bankipore, Patna. Syed Raza Ali, the Head Clerk of the Library was very courteous and showed me the Patna manuscript. It was found that the Patna manuscript was divided into three portions. The first portion of the library manuscript ends with the chapter describing the death of Akbar, the installation of Jahangir by Akbar himself and the enumeration of the names of the daughters of Akbar; while my manuscript, describing the same, adds a chapter on the description of the Dahra garden, containing the Mausoleum of Akbar, and this additional chapter has been published in the April number of the *Journal of Indian History, Madras, for 1927*. There is no second portion in my manuscript and the Khatme (conclusion) says there ended the '*Maasir-i-Jahangiri*'. The second portion of the manuscript in the Khuda

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Baksh Library on its title page describes the rest of the portion as *Moasir-i-Jahangiri* and not *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. *Moasir* (معاصر) as distinguished from *Maasir* (ماثر) means the contemporary account.

7. On October 7, 1927, the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London, was kind enough to reply to the queries regarding the various existing manuscripts of the work. He says that the British Museum possesses two manuscripts of the *Maasiri-i-Jahangiri*, namely Or. 171 and Ad. 26220. They differ greatly in the order in which their materials are arranged. They have a like beginning, but a different ending. Both treat in the closing section of the twenty-second year of Jahangir's reign, but Or. 171 deals with it more fully. Both give the names of Akbar's daughters at the end of a short account of his death. Neither of them is divided into two parts and in neither is there mention of the *Moasir*.

8. This account of my search shows that the work *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* has not been published up to date, that the manuscript of Sir H. M. Elliot is different from manuscripts of the work existing in the British Museum, the Khuda Baksh Library and from my manuscript; and that the last chapter regarding the mausoleum of Akbar the Great, found in my manuscript, is wanting in all the manuscripts existing in the British Museum and the Khuda Baksh Library; and that the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* by Khwaja Ghairat, contained the entire life of Jahangir.

9. The Head Clerk of the Khuda Baksh Library gave me to understand that a copy of the manuscript of the Library was being furnished to Doctor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, PH.D., Professor of History in the Allahabad University. It is hoped he would determine the exact position of the above. There is no doubt that Khwaja Ghairat was entrusted with the writing of the entire life of Jahangir (*vide* the introductory chapter of the *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*), but whether he accomplished the entire work, is to be determined because soon after his being entrusted with the work of writing the biography of Jahangir under Shah Jahan's order, the Khwaja was appointed Governor of Thatta where he soon died.

10. So far as my studies of the biography of Jahangir go derived as they are from the perusal of *Toozuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Wadyat*

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Jahangir and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, etc., it is found that the portion dealing with the incidents of the birth of Jahangir and the events of his life as Prince Salim as heir-apparent, are wanting in almost all the biographies. The importance of the first portion of Jahangir's life as detailed by Professor Beni Pershad in his *History of Jahangir* on page 456, is really substantial and the publication in original Persian of the first portion of the work at least, is needed as a separate epoch of Indian History. It is earnestly hoped that Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan would bring the hitherto unpublished *Maasir-i-Jahangiri* to the notice of the savants of history but a literal translation of the same work before the first year of the reign of Jahangir, would not be out of place and is herein undertaken. Strict literal translation has been done to show the trend of imaginative writing of the history in the reign of the Moghul Emperors. No doubt the redundance and repetition of the same ideas with different synonyms and autonyms would be somewhat repugnant to the European ear but the tracery and the exact rendering of the Persian text would have its own value.

Before closing this note I beg to acknowledge the ungrudging assistance I have got from Babu Ram Dayal Saheb, Financial Secretary to the Jaora Darbar for the explanation of some important archaic words absent in modern Persian dictionaries. I also tender my gratitude to Professor Reynold Nicholson and to Mr. Lionel D. Barnett, the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum, London and to S. Khuda Baksh Saheb.

RUBRIC I

'Commence in the name of God Who is very Merciful and Kind.'

'Adoration, universeful in measure, be to the King of Reality Who thrid and fastened the arrangement and management of mankind to the assistance of the leaders of intellect, whose profession is to dispense Justice and, to the power of Kings whose constant attention is for doing equity. Benedictions innumerable be on the Soul of the Commander-in-Chief of the Kingdom of Being who raised the Standard of Pity and the Banner of gnosis in tho fortified city of Becoming and much Salutation be on the progeny and the companions (of the Prophet). Nevertheless, now be it not remain hidden from the heart of the inquirers of information regarding the Reality and the investigators of the traces of subtleties, that the Emperor Abu Muzaffar Noor

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Uddin Jahangir Ghazi, may God illumine his reason (the protector of the world having the status of Solomon and having the sublime dignity of gracing the throne by his setting thereon and of being the happy conjunction predicting victory, and as being inseparable from Justice and, the embellisher of the thrones of the Kingdoms of Reality and metaphor), has himself written the biography of his fortune, which grew in prosperity daily from the beginning of his ascension of auspicious circumstances to about his own becoming a prey (death) and named it the Jahangir Nama ; but the incidents of his birth of good consequences and those of his heir-apparentship did not find place in that book (the Autobiography),—this insignificent particle, Kamgar Husaini who possesses distinction in the hereditary servants of the Royal Household desired that he should complete afresh the entire events of the days of the purest life, and give them the robe of writing in a fitting decoration in brief. In the year 1004 Hijri corresponding to the third year of the perpetual reign of (the best of Mankind, Imperial Victor of the Earth, Ruler of the world and the creatures therein, the Knower of the celestial mysteries, the lamp light of the Gorgan dynasty, the right begotten son of the illustrious race, the Zenith Starred and Exalted) His Majesty Shabuddin Mohammad Sahibqiran Sani Shah Jahan the Emperor Ghazi (may God keep him in glory till the day of rest), the material for the compilation (of this biography) was collected and was named Maasir-i-Jahangiri. And the sublime titles and the exalted names of the illustrious father and eminent grandfather and ancestors of His Majesty Emperor Shah Jahan are respectively these ; Abu-ul-Muzaffar Noor Uddin Mohammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi was the son of Jalal Uddin Mohammad Akbar Badshah, who was the son of Naseer Uddin Mohammad Humayun Badshah, who was the son of Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur Shah Badshah, who was the son of Umar Sheikh Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Abu Sayeed Mirza, who was the son of Sultan Mohammad Mirza, who was the son of Miran Shah Badshah, who was son of Qutub Uddin, whose father was His Majesty Sahib Qiran Amir Timur of Gorgan. In this Book of Prosperity, the 'Firdaus Makani' means Zahir Uddin Mohammad Babur Badhshah ; 'Jannat Ashayani' means Naseer Uddin Mohammad Humayun Badhshah ; the 'Arsh Astani' means His Majesty Jalal Uddin Mohammad Akber and Hazrat 'Shahanshahi' means Noor Uddin Jahangir Badhshah. The meaning of the Heir-apparent

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(Shahzada Wali Ahud) is to denote His Majesty Sahib Qiran Sani Shabuddin Mohammad Shah Jahan Badshah. It is hoped that the above mentioned Mnemonics should ever be kept in memory from the very commencement as given above. As regards the perfect by felicitous birth of Jahangir, the Shadow of God, His Majesty Akbar in order to perpetuate and keep alive the Sovereignty and its constant-increase, always prayed for the fulfilment of the desire from the threshold of Heaven for the grant of a fit heir for the throne, who might be wise and prudent, and the holy heart of the Emperor believed that the homes of the persons near the threshold of disinterestedness and of those who were chosen ones of the Court of Oneness, were, the doors of his cherished desire, and was eagerly waiting for the rising of the world illumining sun : when some that were standing at the foot of the vicegerent throne (towards which all were attentive) submitted that Sheikh Saleem was the name of a pious saint who in all the divine worshippers of God in this country was eminent in the external and internal purity, and his higher self and the efficiency of his prayer was famous, and according to lineage he was the seventh in generation from Sheikh Farid called Shakur Ganj (the Store of Sugar), and that he lived in the town of Sikri which is at a distance of twelve *Kos* (24 miles) from Agra. If that anxious desire is revealed by His Majesty to him (Sheikh), it is hoped that the plant of the supplicated wish might bear fruit with the irrigation of his prayer and the face of the aim might appear in the mirror of manifestation. Necessarily His Majesty went to the residence of the Sheikh and with sincere supplication and pure faith revealed to him the secret. The Sheikh who had an enlightened heart and was perfectly knowing the heart of the Emperor internally, expressly conveyed to the Emperor the rising of the Star in the constellation of the Royalty and thus expressed the message of permanent happiness. His Majesty the Emperor Akbar said that he had vowed to put that fortunate son in his (Sheikh's) lap for education so that through his spritual and mundane help he (the son) may obtain the wealth of greatness. The Sheikh after accepting this meaning proposal brought on his tongue that the same be fruitfully blessed and that he (the Sheikh) himself even now give that young plant of the Government his own name. As it was all with true intention and firm faith, in a short period, the tree of hope became fruitful of the desire. As the time of the delivery of the conception reached nigh,

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the noble mother of Jahangir, with all full faith and pure pleasure, was sent to the house of the Sheikh and in that house, the abode of Prosperity, on Wednesday the 17th of the month of Rabi-ul-Awal, 977 Hijra, in the twenty-fourth degree of the constellation of Libra that Sun of the heaven of Rank and Glory and that Moon of the Sphere of Wealth and Prosperity, shone, from the East of the heavenly ordination and from the exordium of the Almighty's gifts and bestowed of his own accord on the world the working capital of peace in perpetuity.

It is one of the strangest accidents that Emperor Akbar in his fourteenth year of age having placed the Crown of the Empire on the head of honour, himself adorned the throne of sovereignty and then later on, again after fourteen years with a view to get this anxious desire, raised the dignity of the Pleasure to a greater extent. The gist is that this soul pleasing message, the harbinger of Joy adorning reached the Capital at Akbarabad (Modern Agra) and was in the blessed hearing of the Emperor Akbar. The vociferations of congratulations echoed and echoed back in the dome of the ninth firmament. Great meetings and festive gatherings were arranged for. And owing to the appearance of this Soul refreshing eventual message, barnful of gold and lap-ful of silver were dispensed to keep away the evil-eye. For the thanksgiving of this grand gift, orders were sanctioned and issued for the release of all the prisoners that were confined in the forts of the cities. And according to the undertaking that progeny of the illustrious race of sovereignty and world conquering was named as Sultan Saleem. The Learned and the Poets in drawing out the chronogramic date of the birth, composed wonderful subjects expressing astonishing meanings in the bright Panegyric odes in Poetry. Out of these one discovered the "*Durr Shahwar Akbar*" and the other discovered the "*Gauhar Taj Akbar Shahi*"—meaning respectively the 'Pearl befitting Akbar' and 'The Jewel of the Crown of Akbar'. But Khwaja Husain of Merr from his power of intellect and freshness of comprehension composed a panegyric ode of eminence which may fairly be said to be the Book of Deeds or of Perfection Specimens of poetry, and a Manual for Courtiers, and presented the same ode to Emperor Akbar. The first hemistich of the ode gives chronogramic date of the ascension of Emperor Akbar and the second hemistich gives the date of the birth of Emperor Jehangir, the world illuminer. The expediency of

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managing these two difficult matters was performed with all the diversions of the figures of speech and the elegance of words by the composer. Some verses from that ode are written in this unique book.

The Ode

Gratitude be to God Who, for the dignity and glory of the King brought on the bank the Jewel of Grandeur from the ocean of Justice.

A bird came down from the nest of the dignity of existence; a star from the height of grandeur and emblandishment became apparent.

A rose-tree like this has not been seen in the circuit of the flower garden; a tulip like this has not blown out from amidst the garden of red flowers.

The hearts became glad because again came Justice and Equity from the Sky and again the world became alive from the kindness of the spring-tide.

That new moon of the constellation of worth and dignity came in existence and that new plant of the hearty wish of the King's desire came to fruition.

The king is one of the continents of purity and is of the Court of faithfulness.

He is candle to all the lovers and is the object of the candidates' heart. He is the perfect dispenser of Justice and his name is Mohammad Akbar the Lord of the happy conjunction.

The renowned king is the searcher of the aim and is successful; he is perfectly wise, efficient, the most just and learned in the world.

He is the loftiest and the most just and is wise having no equal in the world. He is the shadow of God's graciousness and is fit for the Crown and the Signet.

The King is the defender of the Religion and being just is the pivot of the world.

For his assembly the heaven's astrolabe is the burner for aloe wood.

For his cavalcade the Fish (name of a star) comes joyfully straight.

He is the Sun of the constellation of existence and is the Jewel of

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the river of liberality. From the breeze in the high the hearts of the falcons become glad for the life of the prey.

Oh, King I have brought the string of pearls of faith present from the enormous mine—search again and be attentive. Nobody possesses a present better than this but if anybody possesses, let him who possesses be told to go and fetch it and to go and fetch whatever he may possess.

From the first hemistich eke out the year of the ascension of the King and from the second eke out the year of the birth of the eye of the world.

So long as remains in balance the computation of days, month and year, that computation from the year, month and day may ever revolve for the illustrious (Jahangir). May my king remain permanent and also the Prince for the days without reckoning and for the years innumerable.

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Philosophy of War among the Ancient Hindus

BY

PRITHWISCHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

IN the Psalter we find depicted in striking contradiction both the historic actual and the prophetic ideal concerning war. When the Psalms were written, the historic actual was, 'God teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight;' and at the same time the prophetic ideal was 'God shall scatter the peoples that delight in war.'[1] Humanity has remained much the same in this respect since the days of Jesus.

Man is a warring animal, declared Hobbes. 'I am a man and that means a fighter' is one of Goethe's famous sayings. The instinct of combat is instilled in human nature; and in spite of what theorists might say, and doctrinaires might propound, war has been and still is a universal and inevitable operation in the life-history of states. In fact, the history of humanity is a history of perpetual strifes and conflicts, interwoven on a sand-board of hollow professions and lofty sentiments.

Ancient India was no exception in this respect. The Law of Nature asserted itself on the soil of Hindusthan with no less rigour than in other parts of the world. In primitive times, man fought with man, clan with clan, tribe with tribe. It is out of these conflicts that almost all the states of the ancient and the modern world were born. The Maurya empire, no less than the British empire, was a child of war.

From the remotest days of King Divodāsa in the *Ṛgveda* upto the time when the enfeebled voice of Hindu independence was choked under the iron heels of the Ghaznavide hosts, the history of India presents a record of almost endless series of wars, interrupted by occasional periods of peace and prosperity. Kings were made and unmade, kingdoms set up and overthrown. Mighty conquerors like Çhandragupta, Samudragupta, Harṣavardhana and Dharmapāla passed

[1] *Hibbert Journal*, 1916, p. 29.

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from one end of the country to the other with their nameless hosts, wrecked and plundered the neighbouring states, and on the ashes of their ruins built up extensive empires, which in their turn were knocked down and dissolved either by internal rebellion or external aggression. Barbarian hordes from Central Asia like the Śakas, the Kuṣānas, the Gurjaras, and the Huṇas poured in from time to time, pulled down the indigenous kingdoms that stood in their way and carved out independent states of their own. In fact, countless were the wars fought on the soil of Hindusthan in ancient times. And it is not, therefore, to be wondered at if the secular minds among the Hindus devoted a fraction of their speculation on this ugly phenomenon of human history and sought to pry into its nature, its causes, its consequences and its remedies.

War has been defined by Kauṭalya [1] as an 'offensive operation' (*apakāro-vigrahaḥ*, Kauṭ. vii, 1). The *Agni Purāṇa* defines war 'as the direct result of injuries done to each other by hostile monarchs' (*parasparāpakāreṇa puṃsāṃ bhavati vigrahaḥ*, chap. ccxl. 14). According to Śukra, 'the affair that two parties, who have inimical relations with each other, undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests is known as warfare.'[2] When the essential elements of these definitions are combined, the definition of war would stand thus: War is a contest, born of injuries done to each other, carried on by means of arms, between two parties, having the intention of ending peaceful relations and substituting for them those of hostility (*śatrubhāvam-ubhayoḥ*). This makes a near approach to the definition of war according to modern International Law.[3]

The causes of war were varied. Kāmandaka speaks of them as follows: 'Possessed of thoughts of revenge, and with hearts burning with anger engendered by the infliction of mutual wrongs, people proceed to fight with one another. One may also launch upon a war for the amelioration of his own condition, or when oppressed by his

[1] For the use of Kauṭalya instead of the oft-repeated Kauṭilya see Ganapati Sastri's introduction to *Arthaśāstra* and Venkataram Sharma's 'A note on the word Kauṭalya' in *I.H.Q.*, vol. i, p. 596, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar in a note to the same journal (vol. i, p. 786) says that he found an inscription of V. S. 1291 (*Vaiśākha śudi* 14 *Guran*) from the village Gaṇesar near Dholkā in Gujarat which in l-9 clearly reads Kauṭalya.

[2] Chap. iv, vii, lines 438-9.

[3] Lawrence, *Principles of International Law* (14th ed.), p. 331.

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यह पुस्तक विक्रय न की जाय
NOT TO BE SOLD

foe, if the advantages of the soil and the season be in his favour. Usurpation of the kingdom, abduction of women, seizure of provinces and portions of territory, carrying away of vehicles and treasures, arrogance, morbid sense of honour, molestation of dominions, extinction of erudition, destruction of property, violation of laws, prostration of the regal powers, influence of evil destiny, the necessity of helping friends and allies, disrespectful demeanour, the destruction of friends, the want of compassion on creatures, disaffection of the *Prakṛti Maṇḍala*, and common eagerness for possessing the same object, these and many others have been said to be the sources of war.'[1] The grounds of war, as given by the *Agni Purāṇa*, are exactly the same.[2]

Wars were classified by Hindu political thinkers under various heads, according either to the weapons used, the methods employed, or the nature of their origin. Śukra divided wars into three classes, viz., *daivika*, *āsura*, and *mānuṣa*. 'The *daivika* warfare is that in which charms are used, the *āsura* that in which mechanical instruments are used, the *human* warfare that in which *śastras* and hands are used.'[3] Vāhudantīputra, a pre-Kautalyan author on *Arthaśāstra*, divided wars into four classes according to the nature of their origin: (*a*) that caused by the invasion of one's territory, (*b*) that caused by something done by others prejudicial to the exercise of the regal powers, (*c*) that resulting from some dispute about the boundaries of dominions, and (*d*) that produced by some disturbance of the *Maṇḍala*.[4]

According to Kāmandaka and the author of the *Agṇi Purāṇa* wars were of five varieties: (*a*) those produced by a spirit of rivalry, (*b*) those caused by some dispute about lands, (*c*) those having women at the root, (*d*) those produced by irresponsible talks, and (*e*) those consequent on some fault or transgression on one side (*sāpatnaṃ vāstujaṃ strījaṃ vāgjātamaparādhajaṃ*).[5]

In another place, Kāmandaka says, 'Men take cognizance of two kinds of hostilities only, viz., that which is hereditary, and that bred by some fault or transgression.' (*Kulāparādhaje.*)[6]

[1] *Kāmandaka*, x. 1-5; Trans. by M. N. Dutt, pp. 136-7.
[2] *Agni Purāṇa*, 240, 15-18. [3] Chap. iv, sect. vii, lines 440-1.
[4] Quoted by Kāmandaka, x. 17-18. For identification of Vāhudantīputra see *Introduction, Kauṭalya*, vol. iii, by Ganapati Śāstrī.
[5] Kāmandaka, x. 19. *Agni P.*, 240, 19. [6] *Kāmandaka*, x. 19.

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Kauṭalya divides battles into three classes in accordance with the methods employed. These were open battle, treacherous battle, and silent battle (*Vikramasya prakāśayuddhaṃ, kūṭayuddhaṃ, tūṣnīṃ yuddhamiti*).[1] 'When the battle is fought in the daylight and in some locality, it is termed an open battle ; threatening in one direction, assault in another, destruction of an enemy while he is careless or in trouble, and bribing a portion of the army and destroying another portion, are forms of treacherous fight ; an attempt to win over the chief officers of the enemy by intrigue, is the characteristic of silent battle.[2]

In other words, the *prakāśayuddha* is a pitched battle fought by fair means on an open field. Elsewhere[3] a *prakāsayuddha* has been defined as *dharmiṣṭha* and we are told that a previous fixing of time and place is its essential requisite (*nirdiṣṭadeśakāla*). A *kūṭayuddha*, on the other hand, is a battle in which cunning and artifice play a decisive part. Surprises, laying of ambushes, feigned attacks and retreats, feigned flight, pretence of inactivity, spreading of false news as to one's strength and dispositions, use of the enemy's parole—all these formed part and parcel of *kūṭayuddha*. Kauṭalya deals with this class of warfare at some length, and some forms of artifice, recommended by him, take the shape of faithlessness, fraud and breach of one's word. Among these are a breach of safe-conduct ; of a free retirement ; of an armistice in order to gain by a surprise attack an advantage over the enemy ; feigned surrender in order to kill the enemy when they approach unsuspiciously ; and incitement to crime, such as murder of the enemy's leaders, incendiarism, robbery and the like. None need wax indignant at these unpalatable instructions, for, in spite of dubbing them as 'dirty tricks', even the civilized nations of Europe have practised them right upto this day. Take, for instance, the pretence as practised by Murat on November 13, 1805, against Prince Amersperg, in order to get possession of the passage of the Danube at Flörisdorf ; the like stratagem which a few days later Bagration practised against Murat at Schöngraben ; the deceptions under cover of their word of honour practised by French generals

[1] Book vii, chap. vi.

[2] *Kauṭalya, Translation*, p. 337. The distinction between *prakāśayuddha* and *Kūṭayuddha* is also indicated in the *Ag. P.*, chap. ccxlii, *verses* 12-13.

[3] Book x, chap. iii.

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against the Prussian leaders in 1806 at Prenzlau.[1] The late European war also presents numberless parallels of this nature. One should make use in war, declared Frederick the Great, 'of the skin of the lion or the fox indifferently'. Machiavelli explains the same doctrine very candidly in his *Prince*.[2] In fact, cunning and artifice in warfare have been practised from the remotest antiquity upto the present day.

The third variety of Kauṭalyan warfare is no warfare at all in the modern acceptance of the term. As Mr. P. N. Banerji says, 'It will be evident from a careful perusal of Kauṭilya that silent battles were fought by the employment of spies. They are not battles at all in the modern acceptance of the term but should rather be regarded as a means of causing dissensions in the enemy's ranks by secret agencies—a method which has proved so successful during the last great European War both in Russia as well as Germany.'[3]

Elsewhere Kauṭalya divides warfare under two heads, viz., *vyāyāmayuddha* and *mantrayuddha*. A *vyāyāmayuddha* is almost the same thing as an 'open battle' (*prakāśayuddha*). Physical strength and skill are its fundamental requisites. It precludes any resort to hide-and-seek policy. *Mantrayuddha*, on the other hand, is only another name for *tūṣnīṃ yuddham*. Cunning, spying and lying are its prime factors.[4] That *mantrayuddha* (battle of intrigue) is different from *kūṭayuddha* is apparent from the following sentence:

'*Teṣāmuttiṣṭhamānaṃ sandhinā mantrayuddhēna kūṭayuddhēna vā prativyūhēta*,'[5] 'when any one of these is on the point of rising against a weak king, the latter should avert the invasion by making a treaty of peace, or by taking recourse to the battle of intrigue, or by a treacherous fight in the battle-field.'[6] The characteristic difference between a *mantrayuddha* and a *kūṭayuddha* is probably brought out in the lines that follow. '*Śatrupakṣasya sāmadānābhyāṃ, svapakṣaṃ bhēdadaṇḍābhyām. Durgaṃ rāṣṭraṃ skandhāvāraṃ vā-sya gūḍhā śastra-rasāgnibhiḥ sādhayēyuḥ.*' It is probable that conciliation, bribery and sowing of dissensions in the enemy state, spoken of above, formed the characteristics of a *mantrayuddha*; while the secret employment of weapons, poison and fire was the primary means of a *kūṭayuddha*.

[1] *German War Book*, p. 84 (f. n.). [2] Ch. xviii.
[3] *International Law and Customs in Ancient India*, p. 97.
[4] Kauṭalya, xii, 2. [5] *Kauṭalya Arthasastra*, xii, 1.
[6] Kaut. Trans. pp. 443–4.

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The point of difference between a *vyāyāmayuddha* and a *mantrayuddha* is illustrated by the following lines :

' *Pārṣṇigrahaṇābhiyānayostu mantrayuddhādabhyuccayaḥ Vyāyāmayuddhē hi kṣayavyayābhyāṃ ubhayorvṛddhir jitvāpi hi kṣīṇadaṇḍakośaḥ parājito bhavati ityācāryā.*'[1] Here the main distinction is that while a *vyāyāmayuddha* involves a heavy loss of men and money, a *mantrayuddha* entails no such loss. In other words, a *mantrayuddha* is carried on by other means than the sacrifice of life and capital. It is essentially a ' battle of intrigue '.

Like war itself, the conquerors were divided into three classes by Kauṭalya. These were a just conqueror (*dharmavijayī*), a demon-like conqueror (*asura-vijayī*), and a greedy conqueror (*lobha-vijayī*). ' Of these the just conqueror is satisfied with mere obeisance. Hence, a weak king should submit to him.' ' The greedy conqueror is satisfied only with gains in land or money. Hence a weak king should satisfy such a conqueror with wealth.' ' The demon-like conqueror satisfies himself not merely by seizing the land, treasure, sons and wives of the conquered, but by taking the life of the latter. Hence, a weak king should keep such a conqueror at a distance by offering him land and wealth.'[2]

Likewise, enemies are classed under two heads. ' That foe, who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror, is a natural enemy (*sahajaḥ*); while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a fictitious (*kṛtrimaḥ*) enemy.'[3] The *Agni Purāna* speaks of three kinds of enemies, hereditary (*kulya*), adjacent (*anantara*), and artificial (*kṛtrima*). ' Of these that which is mentioned first is more serious than the one subsequently mentioned in the order of enumeration ' (*guravastē yathāpūrvam*).[4]

In the same way allies are divided into two classes by Kauṭalya. ' He whose friendship is derived from father and grandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror (*sahajam*); while he whose friendship is acquired for self-maintenance is an acquired (*kṛtrimam*) friend.'[5] The author of the

[1] Book vii, chap. xiii.
[2] *Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra*, xii, 13.
[3] *Kauṭalya*, vi, 2.
[4] *Agni Purāṇa*, 225, 9.
[5] Op. cit.

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Agni Purāṇa discerns two varieties in what Kautalya describes as the *sahaja* ally, viz., the ancestral (*pitṛpitāmaham*) and the territorial neighbour of the enemy (*sāmantañca tathā ripoḥ*).[1]

The definitions, classifications and discussions, cited above, unmistakably point to the fact that the secular thinkers amongst the ancient Hindus devoted not a little of their thought and speculation on the subject of war. They discussed and analysed it thoroughly and developed a philosophy on the subject. There does not seem to have been a single political thinker in ancient India who has not dealt with the art of war as well. Political and military philosophy are indissolubly intermixed; for, war, as Trietschke taught, is 'political science *par excellence*'.

Bernhardi contends that 'whenever we look in Nature, we find that war is the fundamental law of development.' In the struggle between State and State, he says, there is no right except might, no justice except the arbitrament of war. The ancient Hindus were likewise convinced that the world could not be ruled without force. 'I do not perceive any creature,' said Arjuna, 'which maintains life without inflicting injury upon others; one creature lives upon another, the stronger upon the more feeble. The mungoose eats the mouse, the cat eats the mungoose, the dog kills the cat, the dog is eaten by the spotted leopard. Lo, all things are swallowed by the Destroyer at his coming! The mobile and immobile universe is food for all that lives. Such is the decree of the gods.'[2]

It is a very widely held opinion that war plays a necessary and essential part in evolution. Every species, it is said, produces more offspring than the conditions of life on this planet will allow to reach maturity, and hence the struggle for existence among individuals and the survival of the fittest by a natural selection. 'Briefly, in the business of war,' said Luther, 'men must not regard the massacres, the burnings, the battles, and the marches, etc.,—that is what the petty and simple do who only look with the eyes of children at the surgeon, how he cuts off the hand or saws off the leg, but do not see or notice that he does it in order to save the whole body.' 'War,' says von Bernhardi, 'gives a biologically just decision, since its decisions rest on the very nature of things.' We have the same idea in the Hindu

[1] *Agni Purāṇa* 225, 10.

[2] *Śānti Parva*, xv, 20-23.

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philosophy of war. 'The reclaimer of a field,' declared Bhīṣma, 'for reclaiming it takes up both paddy blades and weeds. His action, however, instead of destroying the blades of paddy, makes them grow more vigorously. They that wield weapons, destroy many that deserve destruction. Such extreme destruction, however, causes the growth and advancement of those that remain.' [1]

'While Hindu ethics,' says Gettel, 'assigned a low place to military virtues and taught pacifist fatalism, Hindu political thought is decidedly militaristic, and sometimes machiavellian.' [2] The first part of the above dictum is somewhat controversial; for we are not aware of any Hindu thinker of antiquity, who 'assigned a low place to the military virtues'. According to the Hindu conception of the genesis of the social order, the warrior class sprang out of the arms of the Creator, and though they are held by some to be next to the Brāhmanas, the intellectual leader of the community, in order of rank and importance; by others they are regarded as the latter's equal, if not superior.[3] The Gītā, perhaps the highest authority on Hindu ethics, teaches that the military virtues are not to be despised but are essential for the preservation of the social equilibrium.

But even if there might be some difference of opinion with regard to the first part of Gettel's dictum, there is no room for doubt with regard to the second. In fact, there is hardly a page in the history of Hindu political thought—especially in its international aspect—on which the grim shadow of the war-monster is not cast. The general impression that one is apt to derive from a study of the secular political literature in ancient India is that war is the natural condition of mankind; peace is an exceptional condition secured by special agreement.[4] The doctrine of *Maṇḍala*, which formed, as it were, the theoretical basis and psychological background of inter-statal relations in ancient India, is essentially a doctrine of strife and struggle. The theory 'assumes and is prepared for a world of eternally warring states.' It connotes a state of international *mātsya-nyāya*.[5] Every kingdom must, therefore, be in a state of armed preparedness, not merely for

[1] *Śānti Parva*, xcvii, 6-7. [2] *History of Political Thought*, p. 27.
[3] See Ghoshal—*History of Hindu Political Theories*, pp. 66, 82, 109, etc.; also *vide poste*.
[4] Cf. Kāmandaka, ch. x, 16–24 (M. N. Dutt's Translation).
[5] B. K. Sarkar—*Political Theories and Institutions of the Hindus*, p. 221.

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self-defence, but in order that it may pounce upon an enemy at any favourable moment. Furthermore, the waging of war was regarded as one of the essential duties of a king.[1] 'Subdue thy foes, protect thy subjects, worship the deities in sacrifices, and fight battles with courage, O delighter of the Kurus.'[2] 'Like a snake,' says Uśanas, a pre-Kauṭalyan author on politics, 'swallowing up mice, the earth swallows up these two, viz., the king that is averse to battle and the Brāhmana that is exceedingly attached to wives and children.'[3] 'Like a fisherman,' says Bhāradvāja,[4] 'who becometh prosperous by catching and killing fish, a king can never grow prosperous without tearing the vitals of his enemy and without doing some violent deeds. The might of thy foe, as represented by his armed force, should ever be completely destroyed, by ploughing it up (like weeds) and mowing it down and otherwise afflicting it by disease, starvation and want of drink.'

The king must always be watchful and exerting. 'By exertion,' says Bṛhaspati,[5] 'the *amṛta* was attained; by exertion the *asuras* were slain; by exertion Indra himself obtained sovereignty in heaven and earth.' That king, the author continues, who is not exerting, is always smitten by foes like a snake which is devoid of poison. The king, even if full of strength, should not disregard a foe however weak. For, 'a spark can produce a conflagration, and a particle of poison can kill.' Elsewhere, we are told, that no respect whatever is due to a king who does not either by fair means or foul subdue his foes. 'He sinks like a cow in the mud and is helpless as an ant.'[6]

The same conception of foreign policy provoking a constant apprehension of war is more or less shared by the other secular political thinkers of ancient India. Thus the *elan vital* of a ruler, according to Kāmandaka, lies in 'the acquisition of unacquired things'.[7] 'Where can there be any happiness for a king,' says the author, 'unless the deep-rooted tree—his enemies—be eradicated by the mighty elephant—his intelligence—goaded by the guide—his earnest endeavours?'[8] Without planting his feet, Kāmandaka adds, on his enemy's head, graced with crowns bedecked with gems and jewels, a king cannot attain to

[1] *Śānti Parva*, lxiii, 18; xci, 34.
[2] *Ibid.*, lxxxix, 9.
[3] *Śānti Parva*, lvii, 3.
[4] *Ādi Parva*, cxlii.
[5] *Śānti Parva*, lviii, 14–17.
[6] *Vana Parva*, xxxv, 7; *Sabhā Parva*, xv, 11.
[7] *Kāmandaka Nīt.*, xi. 55, 56.
[8] *Ibid.*, xiii, 13.

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prosperity.[1] Bāna tells us in his historical romance called *Harṣacaritam* that emperor Harṣa launched upon his remarkable *Digvijaya* campaign with a solemn vow. 'How can I rest,' declared the emperor, 'so long as my feet are not smeared with an ointment found in every continent, consisting in the light of precious stones in the diadems of all kings?'[2] 'The earth swallows the king,' says Śukra, 'who does not fight and the Brāhmana who does not go abroad, just as the snake swallows the animals living in the holes.'[3] 'Let us remember,' says Trietschke, 'that the essence of the state is power, and the highest morality of the state is to care for power.' This is perfectly in agreement with the military ethics of Kauṭalya, for he declares in the same strain: 'A king shall always endeavour to augment his power and ensure his success' (elevate his happiness, according to Shamasastry) *Tasmācchaktiṃ siddhiṃ ca ghaṭetātmanyāveśayitum.* For this, all means are justified. Spying, lying and bribing. Whatever be the means, fair or foul, declares Kauṭalya, the king must make himself 'the nave' of the circle of states, 'making the kings of those states as spokes of that circle.'[4] Our author is apparently a believer in the maxim '*Die welt geschichte ist das welt gericht*', or to put it less pretentiously, 'Nothing succeeds like success'. His attitude towards the neighbouring states is very much akin to that which Newman ascribed to the Erastian view of the treatment of the Church—to keep them low and in a perpetual state of terror-stricken servility.

It must be remembered that only normally strong states might follow this cult of expansion. But what about weaker states, living in constant apprehension of their strong neighbours? They could not possibly be expected to tread along the same path. Ancient teachers were sharply divided in their views as to the attitude that a weak king should assume towards its strong neighbours. Thus Bhāradvāja opines that 'when a king of poor resources is attacked by a powerful enemy, he should surrender himself together with his sons to the enemy and live like a reed (in the midst of a current of water). He who surrenders himself to the strong, bows down to Indra (the god of rain).'[5] Bhīṣma also prescribes submission to a weak state, when

[1] *Ibid.*, xiii, 12. [2] *Harṣacaritam* (Cowell's *Translation*), p. 188.
[3] *Śukra Nīti*, ch. iv. sect. vii, lines 604-5.
[4] *Kauṭalya, Translation*, p. 314.
[5] *Kauṭalya*, xii, 1. The translation is here slightly altered to bring it into line with Pandit Ganapati Sastri's reading.

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threatened by a strong foe. 'That cow,' said Bhīsma, which cannot be easily milked has to suffer much torture. On the other hand, that cow which is capable of being easily milked, has not to suffer any torture whatever. The wood that bends easily does not require to be heated. The tree that bends easily has not to suffer any torture (at the hands of the gardener). Guided by these instances, O hero, men should bend before those that are powerful.'[1] In another place of the *Mahābhārata*, the same lesson is sought to be brought home to a weak king in a more forceful manner. A dialogue is cited between the ocean and the river-goddess Gangā. The ocean enquired of the river that though she brought down hundreds of large trees and other objects by uprooting them, why was the cane exempted. Gangā replied: 'Trees stand in one and the same place and are unyielding in respect of the spot where they stand. In consequence of this disposition of theirs to resist our currents, they are obliged to leave the place of their growth. Canes, however, act differently. The cane, beholding the advancing current, bends to it. The others do not act in that way. After the current has passed away, the cane resumes its former posture. The cane knows the virtues of time and opportunity. It is docile and obedient. It is yielding, without being stiff. For these reasons, it stands where it grows, without having to come with us. Those plants, trees and creepers that bend and rise before the force of the wind and water, have never to suffer discomfiture (by being taken up by the roots).' A weak king, it is concluded, when he is threatened by an enemy decidedly more powerful than himself, should adopt the behaviour of the cane.[2]

Kauṭalya, an extreme exponent of the cult of expansion, as we have seen above, advised weak kings to follow a policy of discriminating submission. 'Whoever goes to wage war with a superior king,' says our author, 'is reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.' 'Like a stone striking an earthen pot,' Kauṭalya adds, 'a superior king attains a decisive victory over an inferior king.'[3] Elsewhere he says that 'whoever goes with his small army to fight perishes like a man attempting to cross the sea without

[1] *Śānti Parva*, lxvii, 9–11. [2] *Śānti Parva*, cxii, 8–14.

[3] *Kauṭalya*, vii. 3.

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a boat.'[1] Nevertheless, it is far from Kauṭalya's intention to advocate a policy of abject submission. The king who bows down to all, he says, lives in constant despair 'like a crab on the banks of a river'.[2] Kāmandaka, as usual, follows in the footsteps of his great master. Thus, according to him, a distinction must always be made between what is, and what is not capable of being done, with the aid of intelligence. 'The butting of an elephant against a rock,' he adds, 'results only in the breaking of its tusks.'[3] A weak king must never think of waging open war with a strong foe. 'Fall not on fire like foolish insects,' Kāmandaka says. 'Touch only that which can be touched with safety. What indeed does an insect falling on fire reap but (thorough) burning ?'[4]

Radically opposed to the views cited above is the philosophy of Viśālākṣa, another ancient teacher. According to him, 'A weak king should rather fight with all his resources, for bravery destroys all troubles ; (this) fighting is the natural duty of Kṣatriya, no matter whether he achieves victory or sustains defeat in battle.' Viśālākṣa was not, however, the only thinker who held this view ; there were a host of others who subscribed to it.[5] Alexander asked a gymnosophist as to why he persuaded *Sabbās* (*Sambhu*) to revolt. Because, said the Hindu sage, 'I wished him either to live with honour or die as a coward deserves.'[6] King Porus, Rājyapāla, Prithvirāj Chauhan, and Rānā Pratāp of the later medieval age were the historical products of this school of political thought.

Hindu political philosophy, in so far as it relates to inter-statal relations, bears the stamp of an intensely practical genius and often of a sordid Machiavellianism. This will be partially apparent from what has been said above. But nowhere is this better illustrated than in the teachings of Bhāradvāja, whom we have already quoted. The king should, says Bhāradvāja, 'so conduct himself that his foe may not detect any flaw in him. But by means of the weakness he detecteth in his foe, he should pursue him (to destruction). He should always conceal, like the tortoise its body, his means and ends, and he should

[1] *Kauṭalya*, xii, 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, Kauṭalya's views on the subject are elaborated in vii, 2, 3, 5 and xii, 2, 3, 4, etc.
[3] *Kāmandaka*, xi, 33.
[4] *Kāmandaka*, x, 35.
[5] Cf. *Kauṭilya* vii, 15 ; *Translation*, p. 364.
[6] Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.

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always conceal his own weakness from the sight of others.' He should always be vigilant and alert like a herd of deer sleeping in the woods. An enemy, however resourceless and feeble, should never be despised, for 'a spark of fire is capable of consuming an extensive forest if only it can spread from one object to another in close proximity'. The foe must be annihilated, root and branch. 'Thou must,' says Bhāradvāja, 'destroy thy foes, completely tearing them up by the roots. Then shouldst thou destroy their allies and partisans. The allies and partisans can never exist if the principals are destroyed. If the roots of a tree are torn up, the branches and twigs can never exist as before.' No means is too vile or too low for a king to adopt. Even religion, according to Bhāradvāja, might be prostituted for the attainment of political objects. 'By maintaining the perpetual fire, by sacrifices, by brown clothes, by matted locks, and by hides of animals for thy bedding, shouldst thou at first gain the confidence of thy foes, and when thou hast gained it, thou shouldst then spring upon them like a wolf. For it hath been said that in the acquisition of wealth, even the garb of holiness might be employed as a hooked staff to bend down a branch in order to pluck the fruits that are ripe. The method followed in the plucking of fruits should be the method in destroying foes, for thou shouldst proceed by the principle of selection.' Moreover, expediency should be made the key-note of every move in foreign policy. 'Bear thy foe upon thy shoulders till the time cometh when thou canst throw him down, breaking him into pieces like an earthen pot thrown with violence upon a stony surface.' An analogy is drawn between kings and razors. 'Kings should, in the matter of destroying their foes, ever resemble razors in every particular; unpitying as these are sharp, hiding their intents as these are concealed in their leathern cases, striking when the opportunity cometh as these are used on proper occasions, sweeping off their foes with all allies and dependents as these shave the head or the chin without leaving a single hair.' Finally Bhāradvāja advises the king to cultivate the habit of being honey-tongued but bitter-hearted towards foes. 'If thou art angry, show thyself as thou art not so, speaking even then with smiles on thy lips. Never reprove any one with indications of anger (in thy speech). And, O Bhārata, speak soft words before thou smiteth and even while thou art smiting! After the smiting is over, pity the victim and grieve for him, and even shed tears.

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Comforting thy foe by conciliation, by gift of wealth, and smooth behaviour, thou must smite him when he walketh not aright.[1]

In Bhāradvāja the Machiavellian character of the Hindu conception of foreign policy reaches its culmination. Yet he was not the only author to represent this tendency of Hindu international politics. For passages which bear the same stamp are strewn throughout the *Mahābhārata*[2] and the writings of the other secular political thinkers of ancient India. Kauṭalya, for instance, goes so far as to sanction the employment of wine, women, and poison for the reduction of a foe, and his conception of *Kūṭayuddha* as we have already seen, involves the use of deceit and fraud of a most ruthless type. Kāmandaka generally follows in the foot-steps of his great master. Nor is Śukra free from this Machiavellian taint. A firm believer in opportunism, he has not the slightest hesitation in suggesting that a king 'should always do good of those whom he intends to ruin', just as the fowler 'sings sweet in order to entice and kill the deer'.[3] The king should, Śukra says elsewhere, 'act guardedly like the cat and the fowler, and by creating confidence extirpate the enemy whose soul has been ruined by vices.[4] The plea urged in each case is, of course, the time-worn plea of end justifying the means. This reminds us of a remarkable statement of Trietschke in his paper on 'Cavour.' The statesman, says the German historian, 'has not the right to warm his hands by the smoking ruins of his country with the comfortable self-praise : I have never told a lie ; that is a monk's virtue.'

The practical nature of the Hindu philosophy of war is most strikingly brought out in connection with the theory of launching upon an expedition. What are the circumstances under which a *Vijigīṣu* prince should mobilize his forces against an open or potential foe—this was the question which the Hindu political thinkers naturally asked themselves. And they gave the almost unanimous reply that a prince should launch upon an expedition of an offensive character only when he felt sure that he commanded greater strength and better resources than the latter. 'A king,' says Manu, 'when he shall find his subjects and allies contented (with his gifts and honours, etc.), and himself in a very exalted position in respect of his foes, shall then declare war (with his adversary). When he shall find his forces exhilarated and

[1] *Ādi Parva*, cxlii.
[2] Cf. e.g. *Śānti Parva*, cii, 34–38.
[3] *Śukra Niti*, v, lines 62 63.
[4] *Ibid.*, lines 8–9.

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largely augmented and those of his adversary in a contrary condition, then the king must go out campaigning against him.'[1] According to Śukrāchāryya, the ruler who wants to fight should carefully consider the season, the region, the enemy's strength, one's own strength, the four-fold policy, and the six attributes of statecraft.[2] He enjoins further that 'one should commence warfare when he is attacked or oppressed by somebody, or even when he desires prosperty, provided one is well-placed as regards time, region and army.'[3] Likewise, Kauṭalya held that the *Vijigīṣu* king should 'know the comparative strength and weakness of himself and of his enemy; and having ascertained the power, place, time, the time of marching, the troubles in the rear,[4] the loss of men and money, the profits and danger, he should march with his full force; otherwise, he should keep quiet.' Kāmandaka also shared the same view.[5] 'When,' he declares, 'one is immune from internal troubles and external complications, and is endowed with the three-fold power of counsel, strength, and energy, and when the enemy is beset with serious troubles, one might undertake an expedition against the hostile state.'[6] The author adds that the prince who, filled with an over-weening pride, does not consider the relative strength and weakness of himself and of his foes, and yet attacks the latter, digs his own grave; 'such a prince is narrow-minded and inprudent and knows not what he does.'[7]

Further, no expedition of an offensive character, according to the *Arthaśāstra* writers, should be undertaken by any king when there is any apprehension of danger from the rear. It has always proved a paying business in warfare to embarrass an enemy either by inciting other powers to attack it from the rear or by fomenting internal troubles within its territory. Both Kauṭalya and Kāmandaka specifically refer to these kinds of trouble.[8] And it was, therefore, considered desirable that the *Vijigīṣu* should seriously consider both sides of this question before launching upon an expedition. For of

[1] *Manu*, vii, 170–1.
[2] *Śukra Nīti* iv, vii, lines 444–5.
[3] *Ibid.*, lines 496–7.
[4] Here we have *Paścātkopaḥ* in the original. Shamasastry's *Translation* does not, therefore, seem to be quite faithful.
[5] *Kauṭalya, translation*, p. 395.
[6] xvi, 1.
[7] *Kāmandaka*, xi, 83.
[8] Kauṭalya repeatedly refers to the gravity of *paścātkopa*; *Kāmandaka*, xvi. 14–16.

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the two, viz., trouble in the rear and possible acquisition in front, the former is considered to be of a far more serious nature than the latter. 'Of the two things,' says Kauṭalya, 'slight annoyance in the rear and considerable profit in front, slight annoyance in the rear is more serious; for the slight annoyance that one may have in the rear is fanned and augmented by traitors, enemies and wild tribes as also by the discontented elements in the state. The gain that the invader may make in the front is nothing in comparison with (lit swallowed by) the loss and impoverishment caused to friends and loyal servants by the annoyance in the rear. In fact, the profit in front is reduced to its one-thousandth part by the loss in the rear. So one should not undertake a foreign expedition even when the annoyance in the rear be one-hundredth in proportion to the profit in front; for the proverb goes that a disaster is like the point of a needle (slight at first but grave before long).'[1] Kāmandaka also argues in the same strain. Thus, a prince, according to him, should never enter into hostilities against a foreign foe, when there are symptoms of discontent at home, or when any attack from the rear is apprehended, for 'one should never sacrifice that which is within grasp for that which is yet unseen'. *Na nāśayēd dṛṣṭamadṛṣṭahētoḥ.* Kāmandaka adds, however, that when the *Vijigīṣu* felt certain that he would be able to acquire the profit in front as also obviate the danger in the rear, he might launch upon an expedition for the acquisition of a great profit. *Puraśca paścācca yadā samartha-stadābhiyāyānmahate phalāya.*[2] Kauṭalya has a more detailed elucidation of the circumstances under which a foreign expedition may be hazarded even when there is any apprehension of danger from the rear. Chap. iii of Book ix, in which he deals with these, as also with the measures that a king should undertake for the pacification of the internal troubles and external complications of a state, is an eloquent testimony to the practical character of the Hindu philosophy of war.

[1] *Kauṭalya*, ix, 3. The translation of the passage has been considerably modified. The original stands thus: *Alpaḥ paścātkopaḥ mahān purastāllābhaḥ iti. Alpaḥ paścātkopaḥ garīyān. Alpaṃ paścātkopaṃ prajātasya dūṣyāmitrāṭavikā hi sarvataḥ samēdhayanti, prakṛtikopo vā. Lavdhamapi ca mahāntaṃ purastāllābham evaṃbhute bhṛtyamitrakṣayavyayā grasante. Tasmāt sahasraikīyaḥ purastāllābhasyāyogaḥ, śataikīyo vā paścātkopa iti na jāyāt. Sūcīmukhā hyanartha iti lokapravādaḥ.*

[2] *Kamandaka*, xvi, 14–16.

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The same characteristic is also distinctly evident in the fact that the political thinkers of ancient India recognized the *people* to be an important factor in the decision of a war. In the passages quoted above we have already seen how Kauṭalya cautions a *vijigīṣu* prince against launching upon a campaign of conquest when there is any likelihood of his absence being utilized by the discontented elements in the state for raising the standard of revolt against his authority. In Book vii, chapter v, Kauṭalya emphasizes the importance of a contended and loyal people in a series of queries and answers. 'When there are two assailable enemies,' Kautalya asks himself, 'one of a virtuous character and under worse troubles, and another of a vicious character, under less troubles, and with disloyal subjects, which of them is to be marched against first?' The reply is pregnant with wisdom. 'When the enemy of virtuous character and under worse troubles is attacked, his subjects will help him; whereas, the subjects of the other of vicious character and under less troubles will be indifferent. Disloyal or indifferent subjects will endeavour to destroy even a strong king. Hence the conqueror should march against the enemy whose subjects are disloyal.' Kauṭalya next puts the question as to which of the two kings, viz., one whose subjects are impoverished and greedy, and another whose subjects are oppressed, should be marched against in preference to the other. On this point one of his predecessors held that the *vijigīṣu* king should march against the enemy whose subjects were impoverished and greedy, 'for impoverished and greedy subjects suffer themselves to be won over to the other side by intrigue, and are easily excited. But not so the oppressed subjects whose wrath can be pacified by punishing the chief men (of the state).' Kauṭalya, however, repudiates him on the ground that the subjects, though impoverished and greedy, 'are loyal to their master and are ready to stand for his cause and to defeat any intrigue against him; for it is in loyalty that all good qualities have their strength. Hence the conqueror should march against the enemy whose subjects are oppressed.' The third question that Kauṭalya deals with in this connection is which of the two, viz., a powerful enemy of wicked character and a powerless enemy of righteous character should be marched against in preference to the other. And the reply is as follows: 'The strong enemy of wicked character should be marched against, for when he is attacked, his

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subjects will not help him, but rather put him down or go to the side of the conqueror. But when the enemy of virtuous character is attacked his subjects will help him or die with him." Kauṭalya then launches into a minute analysis of those faults on the king's part that create impoverishment, greed and disaffection among the subjects. When the people become impoverished, Kauṭalya goes on, they become greedy ; when greedy, they become disaffected ; and when disaffected, they either go over to the enemy's side or themselves slay their master. Further on, Kauṭalya sums up in a nutshell the dangers that are likely to arise from an impoverished, a greedy, or a disaffected people. 'An impoverished people,' we are told, 'are ever apprehensive of oppression and destruction (by overtaxation, etc.), and are therefore desirous of getting rid of their impoverishment or of waging war or of migrating elsewhere. A greedy people are ever discontented and they yield themselves to the intrigues of an enemy. A disaffected people rise against their master along with his enemy.' Hence the king, Kauṭalya concludes, should avoid those causes that produce impoverishment, greed and disaffection among his people. Otherwise disaster and ruin are sure to overtake him. The *people* are thus recognized to be an important factor in the decision of a war.[1]

The same salutary note is clearly perceptible in the rules that Kauṭalya lays down for the pacification and consolidation of a conquered state. The territory, Kautalya thinks, may be either newly acquired,or recovered from a usurper, or inherited from an ancestor. In all these cases, the author argues, the king should be kind and considerate in the treatment of the subjects. The king who acquires new territory, we are told, 'should cover the enemy's vices with his own virtues and the enemy's virtues by doubling his own. . . . . .' He should ingratiate himself with the people 'by strict observance of his own duties, by attending to his works, by bestowing rewards, by remitting taxes, by giving gifts and by bestowing honours.' He should specially favour learned men and orators as well as the charitable and the brave, release all prisoners, and relieve the miserable, the helpless and the diseased. The king is, moreover, asked to bestow rewards according to his promise upon those who deserted the enemy's side for his own, 'for whoever fails to fulfil his promises

[1] *Kauṭalya*, vii, 5.

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becomes untrustworthy both 'to his own and his enemy's people'. Further, he should follow the friends and leaders of the people, for, as Kauṭalya urges in a later passage, 'whoever acts against the will of the people becomes unreliable'. Moreover, and herein Kauṭalya shows his remarkably keen insight into human nature, the king is urged to respect and conform to the established customs of the newly acquired realm. He should adopt the same mode of living, the same dress, the same language and manners as those of his subjects, and should participate in their congregational festivals and amusements. Those customs should only be abolished which the king considers to be positively unrighteous or injurious to the revenue and the army. But even while laying down these healthy rules of conduct, Kauṭalya is not free from 'that intellectual cunning which is so characteristic of him'. Thus, we are told that any member of the defeated enemy's family, who is capable of wresting the conquered territory and 'is taking shelter in a wild tract on the border, often harassing the conqueror,' should be provided with a sterile tract or else with a part of a fertile tract on condition of supplying a fixed sum of money and a fixed number of troops; in raising these, it was believed, he would assuredly incur the hostility of the people and be destroyed by them.[1]

We now pass on to another phase of the Hindu philosophy of war. We have seen before how war has been eulogized and declared to be a political and biological necessity for the world by the ancient political thinkers of India. A recognition of the vital importance of the army for the state follows as a logical corollary from this. 'Upon the army death or life depend; it is the means of existence or destruction of the state,' so declared a Chinese military philosopher in the sixth century B.C. The Hindus were no less emphatic in their estimate of the importance of the army for the state. Thus, according to Śukrāchāryya the relation of the army to the state is that of the mind to the man.[2] As without the mind the human organism cannot work, so without the army the state-organism comes to a deadlock. 'Without the army,' Śukra says elsewhere, 'there is neither kingdom, nor wealth, nor prowess.'[3] 'Without the army, no one can overpower even an insignificant enemy. The gods, monsters as well as human beings have to depend on others' strength (i.e., the strength of the army). The

[1] *Kauṭalya*, xiii, 5; cf. *Śānti Parva*, xcvi.
[2] Ch. i, lines 122–4.
[3] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 7–8.

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army is the chief means of overpowering the enemy. So the king should maintain a formidable army'.[1] Not satisfied with these sermons, Śukra seeks to drive home his lesson by the following categorical question. 'Even in the case of a man of no position, everybody becomes his tool if he has strength and becomes his enemy if he be weak. Does not this hold true in the case of rulers?[2]

In the same strain, the soliders' duties are stressed and proclaimed as second to none. 'The world rests on the arms of heroes like a son on those of his sire. He, therefore, that is a hero deserves respect under every circmstance. There is nothing higher in the three worlds than heroism. The hero protects and cherishes all, and all things depend upon the hero.'[3] 'Among men,' we are told elsewhere, 'the highest duties are those performed by the warrior caste. The whole world is subject to the might of their arms. All the duties, principal and subordinate, of the three other orders, are dependent for their observance upon the duties of the warrior. The Vedas have declared this.'[4] What, then, is the duty of the warrior caste? 'The essence of the warrior's duty lies in fighting, says the *Mahābhārata* over and over again. No matter how challenged, the warrior, who is true to his salt, must respond. In fact, it makes no difference whether he expects to kill or be killed in the contest, he must fight; and in either case, he gets his reward; for 'crooked is war always; who strikes and is not struck again? But it is the same if one be slain or not, for he that dies in battle wins victory from death'; for 'death in battle is the womb of heaven'.[5]

Similarly the political thinkers of ancient India incessantly preached that the warrior must never think of fleeing from the field of battle. 'The man who runs away from battle is surely killed by the gods,' says Śūkra.[6] Bhīṣhma was exactly of the same view. 'The very gods with Indra at their head send calamities unto them that desert their comrades in battle, and come home with unwounded limbs.'[7] The warrior, who saves himself by flight from the field of battle, merits drastic punishment from the society to which he belongs, not excluding his own family. 'He who desires to save his own

[1] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 13-16.
[2] *Ibid.*, lines 8-9.
[3] *Śānti Parva*, xcix, 16-17.
[4] *Śānti Parva*, lxiii, 24.
[5] *Sabhā Parva*, xxii, 1[illegible]53; *Rām*, vi, 93, 24-25; cf. also *J.A.O.S*, vol. 13, p. 186.
[6] *Śūkra Nīti*, iv, vii, li[illegible]e 601.
[7] *Śānti Parva*, xcvii, 20.

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lifebreath,' says Bhīṣma, 'by deserting his comrades, should be slain either with sticks or stones or rolled in a mat of dry grass for being burnt to death. Those among the Kṣatriyas, that would be guilty of such conduct, would be killed after the manner of killing elephants.'[1] Śukra goes further in his condemnation. The turn-away from the field of battle, he declares, not only 'gets disrepute' and is 'cried down by the entire people' but 'endures the sins of the whole people' and is condemned to eternal hell after death.[2]

Moreover, it was considered a sin for a warrior to die of disease at home. 'Death on a bed of repose, after ejecting phlegm and urine and uttering piteous cries, is sinful for Kṣatrīya. Persons acquainted with the scriptures do not applaud the death which a Kṣatriya encounters with unwounded body . . . . In disease, one may be heard to cry, saying 'What sorrow! how painful! I must be a great sinner! With face emaciated and stench issuing from his body and clothes, the sick man plunges his relatives into grief. Coveting the condition of those that are hale, such a man (amidst his tortures) repeatedly desires for death itself. One that is a hero, having dignity and pride, does not deserve such an inglorious death.'[3] The same ideas are also expressed by Śukra in equally emphatic terms.[4] What manner of death, then, should a heroic warrior covet? 'Surrounded by kinsmen and slaughtering his foes in battle, a Kṣatriya should die by the edge of keen weapons,' says Bhīṣma.[5] He must, to quote a modern phrase, die in his boots.

And the man, who dies thus with his face to the foe on the field of battle, attains an endless life in heaven. He is translated to the region of Indra, where he is served by thousands of *Apsarās* and *Gandharva* girls. 'Foremost of *Apsarās*, numbering by thousands, go out with great speed (for receiving the spirit of the slain hero), coveting him for their lord.'[6] According to Śukra, people should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed in battle; the man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains to heaven. The great position that is acquired by the sages, Śukra goes on, after long and tedious penances is also attained by those warriors who meet death in war. 'This is at once penance, virtue, and eternal religion. The man

[1] *Śanti Parva*, xcvii, 21-22.
[2] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 656–661.
[3] *Śanti Parva*, xcvii, 23-27.
[4] Op. cit., line 608.
[5] Op. cit., 28.
[6] *Śānti Parva*, xcviii, 45.

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who does not fly from a battle does at once perform the duties of all the four *āśramas*.' In this world, Śukra finally adds, two men go beyond the solar sphere in heaven, viz., the austere missionary and the warrior who is killed in battle with his face to the foe.[1] Such is the burden of the teachings of the ancient authors. The warrior must kill or be killed in the fight; there is to be no third alternative. If he conquers the foe, he attains to fame and glory on earth; if he is defeated and killed in the fray, he goes direct to heaven.

We may be confident that these teachings were not altogether in vain but had filtered deep into the rank and file of the nation. This is eloquently borne out by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang. Describing the Mahārāṣtra country, he says, 'Whenever a general is despatched on a military expedition, although he is defeated and his army is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment; only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace.'[2] The history of the Rājputs also bears ample testimony to the permeation of these ideas among the commonalty of the warrior caste.

In the eagerness for emphasizing the warrior's duty, many sacred caste rules were laid aside. The warrior might kill any one that attacked him. Not even the Brāhmanas are exempt. Thus it is unequivocally stated in the *Mahābhārata* that 'if one sees a priest among those raising arms against him, a priest, acting just like a warrior, and kills him when he is thus fighting, that is not a priest murder at all, that is the decision of the works on duty.' *Udyoga Parva*, 178, 51, 53. Śukra also sanctions the slaughter of Brāhmanas who join the hostile power in the field of battle. 'The Brāhmana who appears with a murderous intent is as good as a Śūdra. There can be no sin in killing one who comes with a murderous intent.'[3] Śukra further enjoins upon the warrior to set at nought the opinions of philosophical doctrinaires on matters relating to war. They might be ornaments in 'palaces assemblies, and cloisters,' they should be held in esteem for their

[1] *Śukra Nīti*, iv, vii, lines 620-1, 624-27, 632-33.
[2] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, iv, p. 147.
[3] *Śukra Nīti* iv. vii, lines 649-50; cf. also l. 653-55.

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character and intellectual attainments, but their opinions on strictly political and military matters should never seriously weigh with a warrior.[1] When once he has launched into a battle, he must fight it to a finish, regardless of consequences.[2]

The last great European war has brought about a tremendous revulsion of feeling against war. European statesmen, at the present moment, are busy, or at least profess to be busy, in devising measures for the total eradication of this bloody, body-eating Moloch. Time alone can show what measure of success attends their endeavours for the establishment of an era of perpetual peace on earth. But the question that naturally springs up in this connection is whether the ancient Hindus ever realized the horrors and miseries of war as the modern Europeans do, and whether they sought to devise any practical measures to make gory battles avoidable. They did. They too were painfully alive to the horrors and calamities of war and they too strove to avoid the 'path of the spear' as far as possible. One of their illustrious emperors made a strenuous endeavour to hush 'the sound of the war-drum' (*bheri-ghosa*) for ever into silence and establish a reign of justice and righteousness on earth. The feelings of anguish and remorse that were roused in Asoka's mind by the horrors and atrocities of the Kalinga campaign are vividly described in the striking language of his longest Rock Edict (No. xiii).

'His Majesty King Priyadarśin in the ninth year of his reign conquered Kalinga. One hundred and fifty thousand were thence carried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished. Ever since the annexation of the Kalingas, His Majesty has zealously protected the law of piety, has been devoted to that law, and has proclaimed its precepts. His Majesty feels remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a previously unconquered country, slaughter, death, and taking away captive of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret . . . . . Even those persons who are themselves protected, retain their affections undiminished; ruin falls on their friends, acquaintances, comrades, and relatives, and in this way violence is done to (the feelings of) those who are personally unhurt. All this diffused misery is a matter

[1] *Śukra-Nīti*, iv. vii, lines 638–45.

[2] Cf. *Bhagavat Gītā*, ii.

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of regret to His Majesty. . . . . The loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons who were slain, carried away captive, or done to death in Kalinga would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty.'[1]

In the annals of the Hindus there are on record other instances of this nature, which express the pang and bitterness evoked in the human soul by the brutalities of war. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, graphically describes the profound sense of repentance, which overtook Yudhiṣṭhira at the conclusion of the great Kurukṣetra war.[2] The *Bhagavat Gītā* depicts how Arjuna was smitten with a sudden pang of remorse at the prospect of the slaughter of his relatives in the ranks of the opposing army. 'Alas, woe betide me! What an awful sin are we resolved to commit, that for the lust of dominions, we stand ready to shed the blood of our kindred.' 'Better far for me,' Arjuna proceeds, 'if the armed sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra were to slay me unarmed and unresisting.'[3]

From the brief precis given above it will be apparent that the ancient Hindu mind was no less distressed by the horrors and miseries of war than any other ancient people. Even the secular *Arthaśāstra* writers, who stuck fast to the principles of expediency and utilitarianism, were not altogether oblivious of the disadvantages of war such as 'loss of men and money, sojourning and sin'.[4] It, therefore, remains to be seen what practical steps the Hindus took, firstly, to minimize the horrors of war, and, secondly, to avoid it.

The first of these purposes was sought to be achieved by the promulgation of a series of international ordinances for the guidance of the combatants in a war. War is in its nature harsh and cruel. As long as it exists at all it must involve hard blows and terrible suffering. Yet by these ordinances certain mitigations and restraints were imposed upon the combatant's right of violence against his enemy. They had the same end in view as was sought to be achieved by the conventions passed at Geneva (1864, 1868 and 1906), St. Petersburg (1868), Brussels (1874), and the Hague (1899 and 1907).

This aspect of the question has been dealt with at considerable length by Messrs. P. N. Banerji and S. V. Viswanātha. Our task is,

[1] V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, pp. 26-27.
[2] *Sānti Parva*, i-xxvii.
[3] i., 44, 45.
[4] *Kauṭalya, Translation*, p. 320.

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therefore, considerably lightened and we shall content ourselves with giving merely a brief résumé of what they have already said.

According to the ancient Hindu code of military honour, it was considered a gross offence to refuse quarter to an armed enemy, who had ceased fighting and asked for mercy. He might be imprisoned, but never slain or wounded. 'The warrior whose armour has fallen off,' said Bhīṣma, 'or who begs for quarter, saying—I am thine—or joining his hands, or who has laid aside his weapon, may simply be seized but never slain.' [1] 'The wicked,' Bhīṣma declared elsewhere, 'that desert the man who seeks refuge with them in confidence, reach hell.' [2] Wounded and armless opponents were likewise declared exempt from slaughter. 'A weak or wounded man should not be slain . . . . . or one whose weapon has been broken . . . . . or one whose bowstring has been cut or one that has lost his vehicle.' [3] It was similarly forbidden to slay one who was asleep, or weary, a fugitive, one who was walking along a road unaware of danger, the insane, the mortally wounded, one who was greatly enfeebled by wounds, one who lingered trustfully, one who was absorbed in grief, foraging parties, camp-followers, servants, old men, children and women.[4] The principle was apparently recognized that only so much stress might be laid upon an enemy as was sufficient to destroy his power of resistance. 'A king should never slay a large number of his foes, and it does not behove any one to clear all the enemy subjects off the earth.' [5]

It was further laid down that only warriors placed in similar circumstances should encounter each other in fair and open combat. 'Mailed soldier against mailed soldier, cavalry against cavalry' was an article in Bhīṣma's code of military honour. Prisoners of war were to be cared for and treated with humanity. According to Bhīṣma, those of the opponents who were captured by the victor should either be sent to their own homes, or if brought to the victor's quarters, should have their wounds attended to by skilful surgeons, and when cured, set at liberty.[6]

[1] *Śānti Parva*, xcvi, 3. [2] *Ibid.*, xcv, 12.
[3] *Śānti Parva*, xcv, 12. [4] *Ibid*, c, 27-29; *Manu*, vii, 90-94.
[5] *Ibid.*, ciii, 13; cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇya Kāṇḍa*, 65, 6.
[6] *Śānti Parva*, xcv, 12-13.

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Weapons which caused unnecessary pain or which inflicted more suffering than was indispensable to overcome the foe were condemned. 'When a king fights with his foes,' declares Manu, 'let him not strike with instruments concealed, with barbed or poisoned weapons, the points of which are blazing with fire.' [1] The destruction or seizure of enemy's property unless imperatively demanded by the necessities of war was also prohibited. Temples and their property in places under military occupation and the private property of individual citizens were on no account to be seized.[2]

By these and similar conventions of chivalry and military honour, the Hindus strove to mitigate the severity of war.

Now we pass on to the second phase of our problem, viz., the measures that the Hindus devised for the avoidance of war. It must be confessed, at the outset, that the ancient Hindus did not believe in the possibility of war being totally eradicated from the world of man. On the contrary, as we have seen before, they regarded war as an outcome of that instinct of combat which is inherent in every creature on earth, a manifestation of that law of struggle which works itself out in and through nature. Nevertheless, they felt distressed at the miseries and horrors that a war inevitably brought in its train, and, therefore, strove to keep it at bay as long as possible.

To subdue an enemy four traditional 'means' were known to the Hindus. These were *sāma* (conciliation), *dāna* (bribery), *bhēda* (producing disuniqn, *divide et impera*, which foreign rulers still regard as a highly useful maxim), and *daṇḍa* (force or violence). The list was, however, sometimes reduced and often extended. Thus in the *Udyoga Parva*,[3] the 'means' are regarded as only three, viz., conciliation, bribery and force.

Sāmnā dānēna vā Kṛṣṇa ye na sāmyanti śatravaḥ
Yoktavyastēṣu daṇḍaḥ syājjīvitaṃ parirakṣatā.[4]

In the *Śanti Parva*, lix, 23, Bṛhaspati gives only conciliation, bribery and dissension as the three legitimate means. But elsewhere the means' are given as five or seven in number. Thus in the *Udyoga*,

[1] *Manu*, vii, 90.
[2] E.g. *Agni Purāṇa*, ccxxvi, 22-25.
[3] lxxxii, 13.
[4] Cf. also *Bhīṣma Parva*, cxi, 81.

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Parva,[1] *naya* or political intrigue is added to the traditional list of four.

Mitramaṃśaṃ mahāvāho nimagnaṃ punaruddhara
Sāmnā bhēdēna dānēna daṇḍēnātha nayēna ca.

On the other hand, Kāmandaka, in one place, expands the list to seven and speaks of the 'means' as follows:

Sāma dānaṃ ca bhēdaśca daṇḍaścēti catuṣṭayam
Māyopekṣēndrajālaṃ ca saptopāyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.

Māyā (fraud), *upēkṣā* (neglect) and *indrajāla* (delusive tricks) are here added to the usual four. The *Agni Purāṇa* also speaks of these seven 'means' and elucidates their essential characteristics.[2]

Now it was more or less a unanimously accepted maxim among the ancient Hindu political thinkers that with a view to crippling a foe, a king should in the first instance try the alternative methods of conciliation, bribery and *divide et impera*; and only when these are found ineffective, may he resort to violence. War was with them the *ultima ratio ragum*, as the Latin phrase goes, because 'the results of war are uncertain' and 'it may entail loss to both parties.'[3] Hence, they argued, preference should be given to the less violent methods of humbling the foe. 'The victory,' says Bhīṣma 'that one acquires by battle is very inferior. Victory in battle, it seems, is dependent on caprice or destiny . . . Sometimes it may be seen that even fifty men, resolute and relying upon one another, cheerful and prepared to lay down their lives, succeed in grinding enemies numerically much superior. Sometimes even five or six or seven men, resolute and standing close together, of high descent and enjoying the esteem of those that know them, vanquish foes much superior to them in number. The collision of battle, therefore, is not desirable as long as it can be avoided. The policy of conciliation, of producing disunion, and making gifts should first be tried; battle, it is said, should come after these.'[4]

[1] cxxxii, 31-32.
[2] *Vide* chap. ccxxxiv.
[3] *Manu* vii, 199—*anityo vijayaḥ*; *Kāmandaka*, ix, 61. *Nāśo bhavati yuddhēna kadācid ubhayorapi*; Yājñavalkya, i, 346.
[4] *Śānti Parva*, cii, 17, 20-22.

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The *Manusaṃhitā* repeats the same ideas. 'The king,' says Manu, 'should aspire for victories more glorious than those achieved by war.' For, 'victories achieved by battles are not spoken of highly by the wise.' A king should, therefore, first try to subdue his foes by conciliation, by bribery or by the policy of *divide et impera*; and it is only when these are found to have proved abortive, should he enter into hostilities with them.[1] Kauṭalya was evidently of the same view, for he tells us that of the four 'strategic means' (*upāyacaturvargaḥ*) viz., *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda* and *daṇḍa*, 'that which comes first in the order of enumeration is easier than the rest' (*purvaḥ purvaścāsya laghiṣṭhaḥ*).[2] Kāmandaka condemns 'over much reliance upon valour and energy', which 'oftentimes becomes a source of repentance'; and is exuberant in his praise of the three other means.[3] Śūkra was a firm believer in the policy of dissension and held that 'separation is the best of all methods or policies of work' (*upāyēṣūttamo-bhēdaḥ*).[4]

It is by these alternative methods of hostility that the ancient Hindu political thinkers of India strove to avoid or at least delay war. They undoubtedly involved less carnage of men, less wastage of capital and less miseries to the participants. The law of struggle was there, constantly seeking to manifest itself, yet so adroitly manipulated as to subject its victims to the minimum possible injury.

[1] *Manu*, vii, 198–200.
[2] *Kauṭalya*, ix, 6.
[3] *Kāmandaka*, xi, 32; xi, 48; xviii, 2.
[4] *Śūkra*, iv, vii, line 592.

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The Rise of the Peshwas.

CHAPTER I

Balaji Vishwanath's Rise to Peshwaship—Settlement of the Country

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Far away in the west where the green landscape of the Konkan fades over the water's blue, and the wavy line of the Ghats presents a dreamy picture of hoary antiquity, there is a village called Shriwardhan. Near by flows the little river Sabitri, and empties itself into the Bankot creek. In this village was born Balaji Vishwanath, in the family of the Bhatts, who were the hereditary Deshmukhs of three contiguous villages Shriwardhan, Harihareshwar and Dandarajpuri. He passed his early boyhood in this delightful spot, on which all the grand aspects of nature shed their influence. Born to wealth and authority, he must have early imbibed those sterling qualities that distinguish a leader of men. As a child he must have heard in silent horror the stories of the cruelties of the Abyssinians and the Portuguese. In his boyish curiosity he must have pondered long on the adventures and achievements of the great Shivaji, and his miraculous escape from the Mughal Court. He must have seen in his prime of youth the majestic figure of that great king, and must have been fired with an ambition to serve him, and the cause, for which he lived and died. But all these are mere guesses, that lack historical testimony. It is a pity that the early career of the great Peshwa is shrouded in uncertainty up to the time when he appeared in the limelight of publicity. His career has been subject to gross misrepresentation, and its story is a mere patch-work of conjectures and half-authenticated facts. We get only glimpses of his early life, and they leave us all the more curious about one of the most virile personalities of Maratha history. Out of the old Bakhars a few stray facts can be gleaned, but written long after his time, and drawing profusely upon floating rumours or family legends, they abound in inaccuracies, and therefore whatever they lay down, confuse rather than afford a clue to unravel the tangled story of the man. Grant Duff based his history mostly on these facts, and though successfully controverted by brilliant scholars like Rajwade, Sardesai, Parasnis and Kincaid they still hold sway over the minds of the students of Indian history.

Grant Duff discovers Balaji Vishwanath in the year 1708, when he is employed as a Carcoon or revenue clerk by Dhanaji Jadhav, the Senapati or Commander-in-chief of Shahu. 'The principal Carcoons

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'employed by Dhunnajee in revenue affairs, where Abbajee 'Poorundhuree, Koolkurnee of Sassor (Sasswar), near Poona, and 'another Brahmin, Koolkurnee of Shree Wurdun, in the district of 'Choule, a village then claimed by the Seedee, from which in conse-'quence of some intrigue connected with the Seede's enemy Angria, 'he had fled to Sassoor, and had been recommended to Dhunnajee 'Jadow by Abbajee Poorundhuree, and Parshuram Trimbuck. The 'name of this Koolkurnee, afterwards so celebrated as the founder of 'the Peshwa's power, was Ballajee Wishwanath Bhutt.' [1] Thus starting life as a Carcoon of Dhanaji he rose in his estimation and favour, and by the middle of 1708 when Dhanaji 'died on his way from Kolhapoor, on the banks of the Warna' Balaji Vishwanath was with him and 'had 'the management of all his affairs, which created an unconquerable 'jealousy on the part of Chunder Seyn Jadhow, Dhunnajee's son, and 'several Brahmins in his service.' [2]

Next Balaji Vishwanath appears associated with Chandra Sen Jadhav, the Senapati on the death of his father, in the expedition to realize the Chauth, Sardeshmukhi, and Ghasdana from the Mughal territories. 'He was now charged with collecting and appropriating a 'share of the revenue for the Raja, a situation of control, which under 'no circumstances was likely to be favourably viewed by the 'Senaputtee. The jealousy formerly entertained was increased 'tenfold, and on a very slight cause, arising from a dispute about a 'deer run down by one of Ballajee's horsemen, the suppressed enmity 'burst out in attempted violence; and Ballajee was obliged to flee for 'his life, first to Sassoor, where the Suchew's agent in Poorundhur did 'not think it prudent to protect him, although he begged hard to be 'permitted to enter that fort. The horsemen, his pursuers, were in 'sight; but the Commander of the fort was obdurate. With a 'few followers, amongst whom were his sons Bajeerao and Chimnajee, 'Ballajee Wishwanath attempted to cross over to Pandoogurh, a fort in 'the opposite valley, but Jadhow's horsemen were already in his route, 'and searching for him in every quarter. In this dangerous extremity, 'he contrived to conceal himself for a few days, until two Mahrattas, 'the one Peelajee Jadow, and the other surnamed Dhoomal, then 'common Sillidars in his service, collected a small troop of horse, and 'promised to sacrifice their lives, or carry him and his sons, that 'night, to the Machee of Pandoogurh.'

'Ballajee Wishwanath, as the manuscripts state, did not parti-'cularly excel in the accomplishment of sitting upon a horse, but the 'Sillidars, although they had a skirmish, performed their promise, 'and the commander of the fort protected him by Shao's orders. 'Chunder Seyn Jadhow peremptorily demanded his being delivered up 'to him, and threatened, in case of refusal, to renounce his allegiance 'for ever.' [3] Shahu however refused to give up Balaji and sent order to Haibat Rao Nimbalkar, Sarlashkar, to march against the Senapati, who being defeated fled to Kolhapur and joined Shambhaji. The disaffected Senapati further changed side and went over to Nizam-ul-mulk, who supported the claims of Shambhaji to the Satara kidgdom, and stirred up strifes between Shahu and Shambhaji. Instigated by

[1] Grant Duff, vol. i, pp. 418-9.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 427-8.

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Chandra Sen he ordered an army against the Sarlasnkar and 'Shao in 'order to support him, sent forward a body of troops under Ballajee 'Wishwanath, whom he now (1712) dignified with the title of Sena 'Kurt or agent in charge of the army. Ballajee effected a junction 'with Hybut Rao Nimbalkur . . . . . A battle was fought in which 'the advantage claimed by the Mahrattas, is contradicated by their 'subsequent retreat to the Salpee Ghaut . . . . . At length an 'accommodation took place . . . . hostilities ceased, and the Moghuls 'returned to Aurangabad.' [1]

Here for the first time in his life, Balaji who never excelled in riding, appears as a commander of an army. It is really surprising how Shahu could have bestowed the title of 'Senakurt' or the organizer of armies, and the command of a relieving force, on a Brahmin clerk who did not know riding at all. And this was not the only time when a command was bestowed upon him. He was required, as we shall see presently, to lead armies many a time against many a turbulent chief.

At this time Shahu's kingdom was in a welter of anarchy, petty chieftains had set up their independence, defied the central authority and carried on plundering raids on all sides. Consequently Shahu's government had broken down, and it was Balaji Vishwanath, who 'instilled some vigour into his councils, and began to take a lead in 'public affairs. He proposed to reduce Dummajee Thorat a predatory Maratha chief. He led an army against him, with the hope of victory but he was seduced to a conference, 'treacherously seized, 'and thrown into confinement together with his friend Abbajee 'Poorundhuree, his two sons and several of their immediate 'retainers.'[2] When Thorat threatened them with torture and ultimate death, the king was forced to pay a heavy ransom and released them. Thus released he was next deputed against Krishna Rao Khataokar, another chief subsisting on organized plunder. Better fortune attended his arms this time. Krishna Rao was defeated, and after submission, pardoned. In the meantime the Peshwa Bahiro Pant Pingley, who had been sent against Kanhoji Anghrey, a partisan at first of Tara Bai and then of Shambhaji, was defeated and was taken prisoner by that pirate chief of the Konkan. Marching on, Angrey took Lohgarh and Rajmachee, 'and it was reported that Angria was 'about to march for Satara. All the force that could be spared was 'collected to oppose him, under Ballajee Wishwanath, who undertook 'the command, with hopes of being enabled from his former connec-'tion with Angria, to effect an accommodation, more desirable than any 'that might result from a protracted contest with a powerful neigh-'bour . . . . Ballajee was successful in his endeavours and Angria, on 'condition of receiving ten forts, and sixteen fortified places of less 'strength, with their dependent villages ; on being confirmed in the 'command of the fleet, and his title of Surkheil, agreed to renounce 'Sumbhajee, to release the Peishwa, to restore all his conquests, except 'Rajmachee, and to maintain the cause of Shao.

'Ballaji having performed this service in a manner so entirely to 'Shao's wishes, was received on his return to Satara with the greatest

[1] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 431. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

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'distinction; and in consequence of the failure of Byhroo Punt Ping-
'ley, that minister was removed from the dignity of Mookh Purdhan
'and Ballajee Wishwanath was appointed Peshwa in his stead (1714).'[1]

That, in short, is the account of Balaji Viswanath's rise, till he became the Peshwa of Shahu. In this there are three distinct stages; the first, when he is employed as a Carcoon under Dhanaji Jadhav; the next, when he is made Sena Karte, and leads the first army into the field; and last, when as a result of his brilliant services he supersedes Bahiro Pant Pingley, and is appointed as the Peshwa in his place. There are many discrepancies in this narrative, which have been made up by the researches of a devoted band of Maratha scholars, and thanks to their labours, we are now in possession of a more cogent, comprehensive and authentic account of his career.

In the Konkan, where the Sabitri falls into the sea at a distance of about eighty miles to the south of Bombay, there were two villages Shriwarthan and Belas, the former situated on its northern, and the latter on its southern bank. In these two villages lived two families, the Bhatts and the Bhanus, long known to each other and for long friendly to each other. In this family of Bhatts was born Balaji about the year 1660.[2] His father Viswanath, and his ancestors were the hereditary Deshmukhs of the village, and owed allegiance to the Sidis of Janjira.[3] When Shivaji vowed to establish स्वधर्म or Hindu religion, स्वराज्य or Hindu state and स्वातंत्र्य or Hindu freedom, many Hindus from the Konkan groaning under the oppression of the Sidi came to serve him. One such was Viswanath Bhatt, Balaji's father, the nature of whose services to Shivaji, there is no means of knowing. After the death of his father, Balaji with his elder brother Janoji took charge of the office of Desmukh of the village.[4] His abilities soon won him new honours, and in 1692 he held the offices of Deshmukh of Dandarajpuri and Sabhasad of Dabhol.[5] A little later owing to a misunderstanding with Sidi Shamal then ruling at Janjira, Janoji the elder brother was taken to Janjira, was sewn up in a sack, and was dropped into the deep sea.[6] Thus Janoji met his death, and the cruel proceedings of the Sidi forced the younger brother Balaji to leave the village with all his family. He crossed over to the other side of the river Sabitri, and came to the Bhanus in Belas.[7] The three Bhanu brothers Hari, Ramaji and Balaji Mahadev with the fugitive Balaji Viswanath took

[1] Grant Duff, voi. i, pp. 435-6.

[2] वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८६७, pp. 91-96; *Marathi Riyasat*, voi. i, p. 30.

[3] षाण्मासिक वृत्त शके १८३४, pp. 70-71; वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८३७, pp. 86-90.

[4] Sohni's *chronicle of the Peshwas*, p. 1; *Bharat Varsha*, vol. ii, August 1899, p. 1.

[5] वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८३४, pp. 200-9.

[6] *Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder*, by Chitnis, p. 21; *Bharat Varsha*, vol. ii, August, p. 3—Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*

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counsel together, and afraid of the Sidi, determined to leave the country for the Desh, beyond the Ghats. But in due time the Sidi had been apprised of the flight of Balaji Viswanath, and he wrote to the Abyssinian Governor of Anjanwel to apprehend him. He was accordingly captured and was kept a prisoner for about twenty to twenty-five days, before the Bhanu brothers could purchase his release by bribing the Sidi Governor.[1] As a mark of his gratitude to the Bhanus, Balaji promised on oath that whatever he would earn in the Desh[2] one quarter of it he would resign to the Bhanus—a promise which he and his successors faithfully kept to the last. While still at Anjanwel, one Visaji Narayan rendered very great help to him, for which later in life, when he was the Peshwa he granted him a pension of Rs. 700 a year.[3] From there they started to visit the temple of Bhargav Ram, where it is surmised, Balaji, got the blessings of Brahmendra Swami, the celebrated saint of the Konkan.[4] In the Desh he purchased the Patil-ship of a village called Garade, near Saswad, and invited his brother-in-law to come and live there. It is here that he came into contact with the Purandares, who were the old residents of the place.[5]

Coming of a rich and distinguished family of the Konkan he soon attracted notice in the Desh. During the disastrous days of Aurangzeb's war, he filled many a responsible office in the Maratha state, and gained proficiency in revenue administration. Side by side he acquired a good knowledge of the military organization of the Marathas and of the Mughals. In those days revenue collection depended upon military force, and all revenue officers had to maintain troops to facilitate their work. So Balaji, even when serving as a revenue officer, gained experience in organizing and leading armies. As Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis wrote of him, 'he was a valiant warrior,'[6] and he got his first training as a warrior at this time. In co-operation with Ambajee Purandare, he took the contract of collecting Dhanaji's share of the Chauth from the Mughal territories, and therefore had to maintain five to ten hundred troops.[7] He had thus worked for several years as a revenue collector, before he was made the Sar-subhedar of Poona about 1696.[8] This was a very responsible office, corresponding to that of the Commissioner of a division at present. About this time he first became acquainted with Shahu and his mother, under what circumstances we do not know.[9] They were then prisoners in the imperial camp, at Brahmapuri on the southern bank of the Bhima. Aurangzeb lived there for four years and a half

[1] *Bharat Varsha*, vol. ii, August, p. 2. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] द्वितीय संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 193-6.

[4] ब्रह्मेंद्रस्वामी धावडशीकर, by D. B. Parasnis, p. 9.

[5] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 28.

[6] *Life of Shahu Maharaj, the Elder*, p. 36. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

[8] सप्तम संमेलन वृत्त, pp. 125-8.

[9] तृतीय संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 85-91.

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from May 21, 1695 to October 19, 1699,[1] and it was during these years that Balaji rendered some services to Shahu, and obtained his favour.[2] Now Balaji's stars were on the ascendant. He had come into intimate contact with the Joshis of Pali, of whom Mahadaji Krishna later on gave his daughter in marriage to Baji Rao, Balaji's eldest son. Through his influence with Tara Bai, Mahadaji Krishna got Balaji established at Rangna.[3] Shortly after he took service under Dhanaji Jadhav[4] the Senapati of Tara Bai and while still in his service he raided Gujrat. The historian of Gujrat remarks that 'as 'soon as Aurangzib's death, was known, the Marathas under Balaji 'Viswanath burst into east Gujrat, marching through Jhabhua and 'Godhra, where they were ineffectually opposed by the Governor 'Murad Baksh.' Balaji next intended an attack on Ahmedabad and as he approached the city, consternation seized all people high and low, rich and poor. 'The Viceroy thoroughly alarmed concluded a treaty 'with Balaji and on receiving a tribute of Rs. 2,10,000 the Marathas withdrew.'[5] Here we come across for the first time an instance of Balaji's great military ability. The fact that he struck terror into the heart of the people and their protectors alike, shows that he must have been a leader of note. Thus Balaji had a brilliant career and antecedent, and varied experience about the men and matters of his times before he was of any use to Shahu.

When Shahu entered Maharastra he was the Sarsubhedar of Daulatabad, in charge of the collection of the annual black mail, and therefore a trusted lieutenant of the Senapati Dhanaji Jadhav.[6] In consequence of the disagreement between Dhanaji and Tara Bai on the matters of the oath, as has been observed already, the former sent Balaji to Shahu's camp, to ascertain whether Shahu was really the son of Shambhaji. When he returned satisfied on the point, he persuaded his chief to adhere to Shahu, and it was just for that that Dhanaji had been contending against Tara Bai. So there is nothing very extraordinary in the fact that the master and the servant resolved to join Shahu. But unlike Dhanaji, Balaji was never half-hearted in his adherence. We have seen in the Introductory II, how Dhanaji's devotion to the cause of Shahu was not above reproach. He was actuated by a selfish desire, to profit at the cost of his master, and actually yielded to the persuasion of Tara Bai and Ramchandra Pant for closing the Rangna campaign, which he knew would be detrimental to the interests of Shahu. But Balaji never faltered in his loyalty to

[1] *Aurangzib*, vol. v, p. 6.

[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 30.

[3] पंचम संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 1–11.

[4] सप्तम संमेलनवृत्त, pp. 125–8.

[5] *Hstory of Gujrat, Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 296. Here the author refers to Mirat-i-Ahmedi, which being an independent source must be true when it asserts that Balaji led a large number of Marathas into Gujrat in 1707. Further it is entirely in keeping with the later facts. If Balaji were not a military leader of proved merit, Shahu could not have bestowed the title of Senakarte soon after in 1708.

[6] वार्षिक इतिवृत्त शके १८३७. pp. 302–3.

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Shahu. Once he adhered to him, he remained unmoved; and his unflinching adherence bore golden fruits for him. On the occasion of his coronation, Shahu appointed him Mutaliq to the Amatya Ambu Rao Hanmante.[1] After the death of Dhanaji, between June and November 1708, he was given the title of Senakarte, or the organizer of armies, which again bears testimony to his military abilities.[2] In June 1708 died Dhanaji, and in November of the same year Chandra Sen, his son succeeded to his office. Chandra Sen did not like this elevation of Balaji to the office of Senakarte, and since then became jealous of him.[3] Shortly after this, as has been narrated already, there came Bahadur Shah into the Deccan, and when he left for the north, Maharastra was plunged into a civil war. Shahu and Tara Bai prepared to proceed to the extreme. The country was seething with anarchy, and the ambitious chieftains were not slow to defy the central authority and set up their independence. As a result of his two years of warfare (1708--10) Shahu had established his sway over not more than twenty-five miles round Satara. The rest of the country was held in strength either by the partisans of Tara Bai or the predatory chiefs who were loth to recognize any authority. Such were Damaji Thorat in Supa, Shahaji Nimbalkar at Faltan, Udaji Chouhan in Miraj, Khem Sawant in South Konkan and Kanhoji Angre in north Konkan. North of the Krishna, Krishna Rao Khataokar held the whole country for the Mughals.[4] Of these Damaji and Krishna Rao wrought the greatest mischief, and established a reign of terror in the country. Therefore about the year 1710, Shahu deputed his newly created Senakarte against Damaji Thorat, who professed to be in the service of Ramchandra Pant, Amatya of Tara Bai, but really obeyed no authority. Accompanied by his friend Ambaji Trimbak and his family he started to reduce the freebooter. As he came within striking distance of his head-quarters, Hingangaon, where he had built a fortress, Damaji was frightened and entreated him to arrange for an amicable settlement. He invited him into his fort to discuss the terms and promised on oath, taken on Belbhandar, that he would be allowed to return in safety. The solemnity of the oath left not a shadow of doubt in the mind of Balaji and he accepted the invitation of Damaji. As soon as he entered the fortress, the freebooter broke his promise, seized him and confined him in prison. When reminded of his breach of faith, he is said to have remarked, 'What sanctity could a Bel and some Bhandar (turmeric) lend to one's words? Bel is a fruit that grows on the tree and Bhândar, we consume every day.' Having imprisoned Balaji he threatened him with the worst tortures, and ultimely with death, if a large ransom was not paid for him. Shahu apprised of these proceedings of Thorat, paid the ransom demanded and effected the release of Balaji.[5] On the failure of Balaji, Shahu ordered Chandra Sen, the Senapati, to lead an army against him and totally crush him about the beginning of 1711. With him went his revenue secretary Balaji Vishwanath specially

[1] ततीय संमेलनवृत्त pp. 85-91. [2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 32.
[3] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 7. Introductory ii. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-13. थो: शा: च: p. 36.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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charged by Shahu to keep a close watch on him. Already there was no love lost between them, for Balaji had monopolized Dhanaji's confidence, much to the dislike of his son. Now that he was kept as a spy on him, the degree of his resentment could be better imagined than described. The slightest incident would be enough to throw them into open hostility, and one such incident did occur in that expedition.

It so happened that one day while the army was decamping, a black buck suddenly rose, and pursued by Piraji Raut, a trooper in the service of Balaji Vishwanath, entered the tents of Vyas Rao, a Brahmin in the service of Chandra Sen. With a Brahmin's compassion for animal life, Vyas Rao gave the beast shelter against its pursuer. And since Vyas Rao would not give it back, Piraji in a dudgeon hurled his spear at him and wounded him. Frightened at his own misdeed, and apprehending the worst consequences he went to Balaji Vishwanath, confessed his fault, and sought his protection. Balaji like a benign master promised his protection to him. Vyas Rao on his part complained to his master who came down upon Balaji, and demanded Piraji of him. To this demand, Balaji returned a flat refusal, which exasperated Chandra Sen, and he ordered his troops to attack Balaji's camp and capture Piraji Raut. Balaji however could make time to escape with a small following, but the Senapati's troops were hard on his heels. Flying before them he took shelter in the fort of Purandar, belonging to the *Sachiv*. Chandra Sen not to be thus flouted, sent a peremptory demand to the *Sachiv*, for surrendering his Secretary and backed his demand by an armed attack on his fortress. The Sachiv feeling powerless against the Senapati, advised Balaji to escape secretly to some other place. At dead of night Balaji stole out of the fort in company with Ambajee Purandare, and about five hundred horsemen, and fled precipitately towards the banks of the Nira. Chandra Sen's men were soon on his track. He was overtaken and defeated, and was again sent flying into Pandavgad, a fort that still towers over Wai. There he felt comparatively safe, and from there he sent Ambaji Purandare to inform Shahu what had taken place between him and his chief, and to implore the royal protection against his angry master. Khando Ballal Chitnis, a great friend of Ambaji Pant, also lent his support on the side of Balaji, and Shahu readily afforded him protection against the Senapati, and called him back to Satara. Thus was Balaji saved from the wrath of Chandra Sen.[1]

Already disaffected towards Shahu, Chandra Sen now became furious. He bluntly wrote to Shahu that if Balaji were not given back he would withdraw his allegiance from him.[2] Shahu was in a fix, for the open rebellion of the Senapati might mean a great disaster to the country, and a great crisis for himself. But he was not prepared to be thus dictated to by Chandra Sen. He soon summoned Habibat Rao Nimbalkar, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar, and ordered him to chastise Chandra Sen for his insolence. Nimbalkar advanced against the Senapati, and a battle was

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, pp. 36–38. थो: शा: च: p. 28.

[2] थो: शा: च:, p. 29.

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fought at Jeur, below the pass of Andarki, in which the Senapati was worsted. Thus baffled and beaten, Chandra Sen fled to Panhala in the hot weather of 1711 and joined Tara Bai openly. The son recompensed for the desertion of the father.

This desertion of Chandra Sen created a sensation amongst the partisans of Shahu. Most of them were only playing a double game, —most of them tendered only a lip homage to Shahu to promote their own interests. Chiefs of no less importance than the Sawant of Wadi, Angrey, and Khande Rao Dabhade had declared for Tara Bai. And in the very ranks of Shahu's partisans Chandra Sen was sowing sedition. His motives and activities, while he was a servant of Shahu, are clear from the following letter that he wrote to Shivaji II about August 27, 1711. 'My devotion is for the feet of the master; my 'desire is for the service of the master, and for reputation in his 'service. Rajashri Jadhav Rao (Dhanaji) knew of no other deity than 'the feet of the master. When there arose internal factions in the 'kingdom he led an army with a promise to serve the master. But 'there was a turn of fortune, which turned the heads of all. Hence 'to fulfil his purpose (Dhanaji's original purpose of helping Shivaji's 'cause) has been the sole desire of my heart, and with this idea in 'view, I have drawn together Rajashri Appaji Thorat, Damaji Thorat, 'Shahaji Nimbalkar, Santaji Pandhare and others, and without paying 'any heed to the temptations of Shahu, I have showed disaffection 'towards him. With a view to induce into this affair Khanderao 'Dabhade, and the Pratinidhi, who are attached to you, I specially 'sent for them and had an interview with them. I also met Haibat 'Rao Nimbalkar. Whatever I had planned with Rajashri Thorat, 'Khanderao Dabhade and Santaji Pandhare, I disclosed to Nimbalkar, 'who also had the same idea in his mind. Then we included all the 'Sardars present in our conspiracy, and held consultations with the 'Pratinidhi. We proclaimed you, and made rejoicings. I have sent 'my letters and those of the abovementioned Pandit into the fort. 'Now you should march upon Satara, destroy the factions, and order 'rejoicings.'[1] Here Chandra Sen is positive in his statement that he never felt that devotion for Shahu, which he feels for Shivaji II. Therefore he was trying to convert the Pratinidhi and Dabhade to his views, and to enlist them on Tara Bai's side. It is also evident that there were other chiefs like Haibat Rao Nimbalkar, Damaji Thorat, Appaji Thorat, and Santaji Pandhare, who shared his views and had formed a conspiracy against Shahu. They had gone so far as to proclaim Shivaji II, and had written letters to corrupt the officers of the fort of Satara. Indeed the conspiracy was formidable, when we take into consideration, the rank and resources of those who were in it. Their underhand dealings came to light only when Chandra Sen rebelled, and openly joined Tara Bai. The extreme insecurity of Shahu's position is fully realized when we note that there was not a single powerful chief on his side. The situation of Shahu was fast becoming critical, and in this crisis Balaji Vishwanath came to his rescue.

In fact these trying times revealed the real worth of Balaji. Be it said to the credit of Shahu, that he could find out the right man to

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, pp. 34–35.

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meet this crisis. He was a shrewd judge of men, and therefore he now confidently turned to the Chitpavan Brahmin. Bahiro Pant Pingley; the Peshwa was of no great help to Shahu, for he was utterly incapable of handling a difficult situation.

Persuaded by Chandra Sen, Haibat Rao Nimbalkar deserted Shahu; and thus he lost at once the services of his Senapati and of Sarlashkar, who were the chief officers of his army. Consequently his army organization suffered and with it his military strength. Shahu had only two thousand men out of the main army, that had deserted along with the Senapati.[1] Indeed Shahu's military strength was insignificant, and there was no commander-in-chief to organize an army. To the chief command of the army however he appointed Chandra Sen's younger brother Santaji Jadhav before the year was out (1711).[2] But he was not a tried hand, and Shahu was in need of a powerful army so that he might successfully cope with the combined strength of Tara Bai and Chandra Sen. Therefore he ordered Balaji Vishwanath to get one ready for the field. To recruit an army and keep it ready for action vast sums of money were necessary, and Shahu had not even a fraction of what was required.[3] Balaji realized his helplessness, but advised patience. With prompt decision he borrowed large sums of money from the prominent money-lenders like Mahadaji Krishna Naik, and recruited an army for the service of Shahu. To pay off this debt, which he had incurred on his own responsibility he got from the king an assignment of jagirs yielding twenty-five lakhs a year. Thus he prepared to meet the enemies of Shahu.

On the other hand Shahu had not been paralysed by the magnitude of his danger. Recovering from his momentary despair he proceeded to deal sternly with the conspirators. The most prominent of them Haibat Rao and Chandra Sen, had deserted to Tara Bai, and there remained only Parshuram Pant to reckon with. He had been set at liberty, and was holding the office of Pratinidhi ever since 1710 or 1711.[4] Now his treasonable proceedings made Shahu furious, and in a paroxym of rage he ordered his eyes to be put out. As he was taken out to be blinded there came Khando Ballal rushing in, and stopped these operations. Then he went to the king and pleaded with great importunity for mercy, and got the order changed into mere confinement. The Pratinidhi was therefore put in chains, and was ordered to be kept under strict surveillance on November 20th 1711.[5] Afterwards his house and property were confiscated. There were other conspirators like the Thorats and Santaji Pandhre but their reduction depended upon the armed operations, and Balaji's services had to be requisitioned for the purpose. Balaji was not keen upon punishing the rebels so long as Tara Bai and Chandra Sen remained uncrushed. They were the arch conspirators, and the most determined enemies of Shahu. So Balaji first proceeded to deal with them,

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 10.
[2] *Selection from Satara Raja's Diaries*, vol. i, p. 78.
[3] *Marathi Riyasat*, ve[1], i, p. 39.
[4] *Selections from the Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries*, vol. i, p. 54.
[5] थो: शा: ल:, p. 32.

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and resolved to try diplomacy before he tried force. The astute Chitpavan Brahmin endeavoured to meet intrigue by intrigue. He came to know that Ramachandra Pant, Tara Bai's Amatya and for long her chief advisor, had again been thrown out of favour, and Tara Bai now reposed confidence in her new ally Chandra Sen. However successful in her intrigues Tara Bai was a tactless and ungrateful person. Forgetting all the devoted services of Ramachandra Pant she showed distinct dislike for him, and the latter therefore intrigued with Rajas Bai, Tara Bai's co-wife and rival, to turn the tables on her. Balaji seized the opportunity and secretly joined Ramachandra Pant and Rajas Bai to crush Tara Bai. Nor did he stand alone with the two conspirators. A powerful section of Kolhapur nobles favoured the cause of Rajas Bai against her rival. But the support of Balaji Vishwanath, which meant the support of Shahu, encouraged the partisans of Rajas Bai, and they succeeded in throwing Tara Bai and her son into prison and setting up Shambhaji and Rajas Bai in their stead. Thus was brought about a bloodless revolution at Kolhapur entirely to the benefit of Shahu and much more to that of Shambhaji. Though Tara Bai was overthrown in 1712 and her son was deposed, yet Shambhaji did not ascend the throne in an official way till two years later.[1] At any rate Shahu got rid of the most implacable of his enemies. Nor was this the only result of Balaji's manœuvres. With the fall of Tara Bai, Chandra Sen was forced to leave Kolhapur. He could not hope for protection from Shambhaji, and therefore fled to Nizam-ul-mulk, who had in the meantime been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. He found a very agreeable master in him, and constantly urged him to make war on the Marathas.

After the overthrow of Tara Bai, Balaji undertook an expedition to reduce the power of Krishna Rao Khataokar. With him went Shripat Rao, the second son Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi, then in prison. The captive father bade his son achieve success for Shahu in the campaign, win the royal favour and thereby effect his release, or get killed.[2] The young man promised to do his father's bidding, and the army advanced on the town of Khatao, fifteen miles to the east of Satara.

Krishna Rao, chief of Khatao, subsisted on organized plunder. He had deserted to Aurangzeb after the execution of Shambhaji, and had been awarded the jagir of the Khatao Parganah. He had also got the title of Maharaja from Aurangzeb, for his meritorious services to him.[3] Later on he lived there as a servant of the Mughals. But like many others he recognized no authority, and was a frebooter of some notoriety. When he heard that Balaji Vishwanath was coming to attack him at the head of a large army, he prepared to meet him on the field. The battle was joined near his stronghold of Khatao. It was a hard-contested action, and the day was won for Shahu by the bravery of Shripat Rao and the Khataokar was killed. His two sons submitted and came to pay homage to Shahu, who graciously granted their paternal jagir to them.

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 40.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] थोः शाः चः, p. 37.

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Balaji Viswanath Appointed Peshwa on November 16, 1713

Thus by the end of the year the position of Shahu was comparatively secure. He had got rid of Tara Bai, Chandra Sen, and Khataokar. Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi still rotted in prison and repented for his crime. But now his deliverance was near at hand. On his return from the late expedition, in which success had been achieved on account of the reckless bravery of Shripat Rao, Balaji recommended to Shahu in the strongest terms, the release of the Pratinidhi, on the score of the meritorious services of his son. Shahu relented, Khando Ballal also threw in his weight on the side of Balaji.[1] Thus persuaded Shahu released Parshuram Pant and reinstated him in his office of Pratinidhi. Parshuram Pant out of his gratitude to Balaji Viswanath took the first opportunity of requiting his kindness and he ever remained loyal to Shahu.[2]

The same year, 1712, Shahu had sent Bahiropant Pingley Peshwa against Kanhoji Angrey, nominally the admiral of the Maratha fleet, but really the most powerful and independent pirate chief of the west coast. He was a partisan of Tara Bai, and now that she had fallen, Shahu wanted him to recognize his authority and pay homage to him. In fact Angrey had no real sympathy with Tara Bai's cause, nor any real fear for Shahu's power. He was bred to the sea as a hereditary profession. His father Tukoji was serving under Sidoji Gujar, the head of the Maratha fleet. After Tukoji's death about the year 1690 Kanhoji took his father's place in the admiralty. He soon distinguished himself on the sea and in 1690 he was appointed the second in command of the fleet. Towards the end of Raja Ram's reign i.e., 1698 he is mentioned to have held the office of Sarkhel i.e., Admiral of the Maratha fleet.[3] That was the time of the Maratha war of Independence. Inspired by a burning love for his country's cause, he like many other notable Marathas vowed vengeance on the Mughals, who had seized Raygad, Anjanwel and Sindhudurga, and had given them to the Sidi of Janjira. The Sidi held the admiralty of the Mughal fleet since 1670.[4] Shivaji and Shambhuji had made several attempts to destroy him, but had failed. Now Kanhoji's one aim of life was to recover the Maratha forts in his charge, and to reduce his power on the sea. He was inexorable in his resolution and succeeded in achieving his aim to a very great extent. He worsted the Siddi on the sea, and conquered the forts of Sagargad, Kolaba, Khanderi and others from him. He roved undaunted from Bombay to Malabar, and struck terror into the hearts of the sea-faring nations, like the English and the Portugues and the Dutch. These were the allies of the Siddi, and hence were subject to Kanhoji's relentless ravages.[5] Thus he fought all the enemies of the Marathas and stamped the dread of his power on the whole coast between Travancore and Bombay. He kept his

[1] थो: शा: च:, p. 37.

[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 44.

[3] मराठ्यांचे आरमार, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

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naval stores in the forts of Suvarnadurga and Vijaydurga and made Kolaba his naval station. He respected no flag on the sea, nor feared any authority on land.

In 1707 when Shahu returned to Maharastra, he was the Admiral of the Maratha fleet under the regency of Tara Bai. In the contest between Shahu and Tara Bai, the latter anxious to enlist his sympathy and support for her son, had granted the whole of the Konkan between Bombay and Sawant Wadi. But this was the time when most of the Maratha leaders found it very profitable to fish in troubled waters and loyalty was a rare virtue in Maharastra.

As has been noticed in the previous chapter he betrayed Tara Bai, when she was cooped up in the fort of Rangna. Taking advantage of the disorderly condition of the Maratha state, and of the helplessness of Shahu, after the desertion of Chandra Sen, he extended his arms, and subdued the district of Kalyan and the fortresses of Lohgad and Rajmachi all belonging to the Peshwa, Bahiro Pant Pingley.[1] Hence in 1712 Shahu ordered the Peshwa against Kanhoji and associated with him Nilo Ballal, the brother of Khando Ballal. But Kanhoji defeated them, captured and imprisoned them in the fort of Lohgad, and prepared to follow up his victory by a rapid march on the capital of Shahu. This threw Shahu into consternation, and he quickly resolved to have some capable man, on whom he could bestow the high office of Peshwa, and send him against this powerful pirate chief. Balaji had just returned from his successful campaign against Krishna Rao Khataokar. In the full flush of his victory, he must have commanded the confidence of Shahu; and he deserved it because of the signal services that he had rendered to Shahu on many occasions. On the other hand, ever since his appointment Bahiro Pant Pingley had displayed neither ability nor resourcefulness in any critical situation. But now the captivity of the Peshwa affected the smooth working of the government, and more than that, he was in great anxiety to stop the further progress of Angrey, who was fast advancing on Satara. Here was another crisis for Shahu, and he did not know what to do. Now he turned to the oldest and the most experienced of all his officers Parshuram Pant, for advice. He wanted him to accept the office of Peshwa and meet the situation. Parshuram Pant however suggested to him that Balaji was the favourite of the army, and it would be in the fitness of things if he was appointed to the office.[2] Shahu took the hint; and influenced partly by a deep sense of gratitude for all his meritorious services he invested Balaji with the robes of office on November 16, 1713 at a place called Manjri. Balaji Vishwanath, both by abilities and achievements, was eminently fit for the high office. Nevertheless he owed his appointment to the strong recommendation of Parshuram Pant Pratinidhi who thus requited the good offices of Balaji Vishwanath in such a fitting manner. Balaji was granted a jagir of five mahals in addition to what he had and was required to leave a Mutaliq or Deputy with the king. On the occasion of Balaji's installation Parshuram Pant was confirmed in his office of Pratinidhi; Ramji Pant Bhanu was appointed Fadnavis to Shahu through the influence of Balaji Vishwanath; Naro Gangadhar

[1] थो: शा: च: p. 37.

[2] Rajwade, vol. iv, pp. 34–35.

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became the Majmuadar; the office of Mantri was taken away from Ramchandra Pant Punday and was confered on Naro Ram Shenvi; and the office of Sumanta was taken away from Mahadaji Gadadhar and bestowed on Anandarao Raghunath. Mansingh then was appointed Senapati, Hono Anant, Nyayadhish, and Mudgal Bhatt, Pandit Rao.[1] All these appointments were made on the advice of Balaji Vishwanath and all the officers were capable men except the Senapati. Therefore latterly the duties of Peshwa and of Senapati were discharged by the same man—Peshwa.

Peace with Kanhoji Angrey: Ffbruary 28, 1714

Immediately after his investiture, Balaji Vishwanath was ordered to march against Kanhoji Angrey. Dark and robust, fierce and imperious, Kanhoji had struck terror in the hearts of all. Throwing Bahiro Pant Pingley and Nilo Ballal in the prison of Lohgad, he was still staying in that fortress, to remind Shahu of his careless courage. To tame such a man therefore was no easy task and no one was better fitted than the astute and intelligent, resourceful and domineering Chitpavan Brahmin Balaji Vishwanath. The Peshwa collected an army of three to four thousand troops and proceeded towards Lohgad.[2] As on a previous occasion against Tara Bai, Balaji tried diplomacy before he tried force. His familiar relations with Kanhoji Angrey already subsisting through correspondence now stood him in good stead. As he set out with the army he wrote to him to come and meet him on the way. Kanhoji accordingly came out and met him at Olwan near Lonawala.[3] Then they went by easy stages to Kolaba and there Balaji persuaded him to give up his defiant attitude and tender allegiance to Shahu. In a secret meeting Balaji told him, 'You and I are brothers; hence the Peshwaship is in your own house. Tell me if you would hand over the forts without fighting. Kanhoji agreed and Balaji appointed him Surkhel on behalf of Shahu. Kanhoji further submitted to the suzerainty of Shahu and promised to abandon the side of Shambhaji. A draft treaty was drawn up on February 28, 1714 according to which Balaji promised to surrender all the forts below the ghats to Kanhoji; and Kanhoji promised to surrender all the forts above the Ghats to Shahu. Kanhoji actually had ten forts and sixteen mahals. The forts are (i) Khanderi, (ii) Kolaba, (iii) Subarnadurg, (iv) Vijaydurg, (v) Jaygad, (vi) Devdurg, (vii) Kanakdurg, (viii) Fattehgad, (ix) Awachitgad, (x) Yeswantgad.

The Mahals are (i) Bahiro Gad, (ii) Kotla, (iii) Vikadgad, (iv) Manikdurg (v) Mirgad, (vi) Sargad, (vii) Rasalgad, (viii) Palgad, (ix) Ramdurg, (x) Khorepatan, (xi) Rajapur, (xii) Satwara, (xiii) Kamte (xiv) Sagargad, (xv) Shriwardhan, (xvi) Manranjan.[4]

Each promised to restore to their offices the servants of the other. Every year from the Dashera till the month of Margashirsha (i.e. October to December) the Peshwa should undertake a campaign against the Portuguese and the Abyssinian in the Konkan. If Angrey

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 17, *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 47.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 35. [3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 25 f.n.

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succeeded in recovering Raygad from the Mughals, he must hand it over to the Chhatrapati. Besides this he must surrender Lohgad, Tunga, Tikona, Korgad and Ghangad with their stores to the Peshwa; and the Peshwa must in return restore Rajmachi and a few other forts to Angrey. Further the Peshwa promised to help him against all his enemies, and to regard them as his own. These were the most significant conditions of the treaty. He further intervened to effect an agreement between Angrey and the Siddi, who were at war at this time, and rescued Bahiro Pant Pingley from the prison of Angrey.[1] He accompanied Balaji to Satara. Thus conciliating a powerful chief like Angrey and rendering thereby a signal service to Shahu, Balaji returned to Satara by the middle of March. His arrival was an ovation for him, and never before in his life Shahu had felt greater attachment for any one. Now Shahu's position in Maharastra was unshakable, and his power and prestige unquestionable.

Importance of the treaty with Angrey

Two things resulted from this treaty with Angrey; one, it established perfect amity between Shahu and Angrey; two, it involved Shahu and therefore the Maratha kingdom, in the conflicts between Kanhoji and his enemies, i.e., the Portuguese, the Abyssinians and the English. But on the whole it was not detrimental to the interests of the Maratha state. Kanhoji single-handed was sufficient to terrorize his enemies and to more than hold his own against them. Now the support of the king secured by the treaty substantially increased his strength and self-confidence. So long as he was living, Konkan was safe against all foreigners. The importance of the treaty can therefore be all the more realized, and the service of Balaji Vishwanath all the more appreciated, when we take into account the various hostile powers that had their settlements on the west coast from Bassein to Sawantwadi. In 1715 the Portuguese were supreme at Bassein, Thana, Goa and Chaul; the English at Bombay and the Abyssinians at Janjira Against all these Angrey had to fight constantly and though he could overwhelm any one of these, he surely dreaded their combination. By the treaty all these enemies of Angrey became the enemies of the Maratha kingdom, and thus the unity of interests drew him (Kanhoji) ever close to the king of Maharastra. In one direction at least the treaty contributed to the unity of Maharastra, and to the formation of the future Maratha confederacy.

Conflict between Angrey and the Abyssinians

The Abyssinians were the most obstinate enemies of the Marathas, Their hostility persisted since the time of the great Shivaji. During the Deccan wars of Aurangzeb, they had helped him against the Marathas, and had thus occupied a large part of the Konkan. On the death of Aurangzeb his killedars (the commanders of the forts under him) left their charge and fled away. Thus many of these Mughal forts automatically came into the possession of the Abyssinians. The fort of

[1] Rajwade, vol. iv, p. 35 तहव करार मदार, p. 197.

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Vishalgad was similarly occupied by the officers of Tara Bai.[1] In the years 1708, 1709 and 1710, the Abyssinians raided the country of the Marathas, and owing to their ravages the ryots fled from the villages. When Kanhoji Angrey became powerful he made war on the Abyssinians and it still continued when Balaji Vishwnanath concluded a treaty with Angrey in 1714. In accordauce with the terms of the treaty Balaji Vishwanath intervened and helped to bring about a settlement between them on January 30, 1715. It was decided that the Sidi should allow the Kamawisdars of Shahu to realize half the revenue from the villages of Goregaon, Gowel, Nizampur, Nagothane, Ashtami Pali, Ashre and Antone, which were in the possession of the Sidi.[2] Thus was settled the dispute between the Sidi and Angrey, not to the advantage of Angrey alone, but to that of Shahu also.

Conflict between Angrey and the English

So long as Kanhoji Angrey was the warden of the western coast of Maharastra the Europeans lived in constant dread of him. He did not rest content with the conquest of Vijaydurg. 'He drove out the 'Portuguese and other traders from many a place on the west coast, 'fortified them and ruled actually like an independent prince. Once 'he captured some ships full of Arab horses, with little difficulty and 'thus formed a new army of cavalry. The seafarers of all nations and 'all races—Muhammadans, the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French and 'the English, honoured the blood-red banners of this pirate chief.'[3] Therefore it was the constant thought of all these people to crush the power of Kanhoji. To take his fort of Gheria was the chief concern of the English. But in the life-time of Kanhoji they never succeeded. 'His (Kanhoji's) first recorded attack on an English ship was on the 'yacht conveying Mr. Chown, the newly appointed Governor of the 'English factory at Karwar. To escort the yacht went a small man of 'war. While they were still in sight of Bombay island, the two ships 'were attacked by a fleet of grabs or armed sailing vessels belonging 'to Angrey. The yacht defended itself gallantly. But Chown's arm 'was shot off and he bled to death in his wife's arms. Mrs. Chown 'and the crew were taken. The Bombay Government applied for her 'release, but to procure it had to pay Rs. 30,000 by way of ransom. . '. . . For two years after the capture of the Governor's yacht 'Angrey left the English alone; then he attacked the "Sommers" 'and the "Graham". The two ships beat off the pirates, but after-'wards Angrey took a number of country crafts which he armed and 'added to his fleet.[4] These caused immense damage to the English coastwise trade.'

On December 26, 1715, Mr. Charles Boone arrived as the Governor of Bombay and noticing that Kanhoji Angrey obstructed their free movement on the coast, he vigorously set to equip a strong fleet against him. The preparation took him two years, and at the end of it he sent a squadron of nine battleships by name Britannia,

[1] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 82.
[2] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 26.
[3] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 56.
[4] Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, pp. 204-5.

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Victory, Defiance, Revenge, Fame, Hunter, Hawk, Eagle and Princess Amelia, mounting 148 guns and conveying a naval force of 1,250 men, and a land force of 2,500 Europeans and 1,500 Indian sepoys. This strong squadron approached Vijaydurga on April 17, 1717, and began bombardment. But so terrible was the fire of Kanhoji, and so irresistible his attack that the English were forced to retire to Bombay after a loss of 200 killed and 300 wounded.

But Governor Boone was not a man to be so easily discouraged. In another year and a half he got two more battleships ready, and sent an expedition, this time to Khanderi. But this time also no better success attended the venture.[1] Badly beaten by Angrey, the squadron withdrew to Bombay. When the news of these reverses reached the Directors they approached the king with a request for help. Accordingly Admiral Mathews was despatched from Home and reached Bombay in September 1721. Further they sought the aid of the Portuguese, who willingly gave it, and with full preparation the combined fleets sailed towards Ali Bag. Reaching Kolaba, they made a desperate attack on the fort but once again they suffered a defeat and were forced to retire.[2] After this last discomfiture the English did not venture to attack Angrey; and so long as he was living the Europeans always kept at a respectable distance from him.

Suppression of Damaji Thorat, 1716–18

After the settlement with Kanhoji Angrey, Shahu ordered operations against Damaji Thorat and Udaji Chowhan. They had risen to power, as has been observed, during the troublous times of Maharastra. How Damaji outwitted the shrewd Chitpavan Brahman and then entered into the conspiracy of Chandra Sen against Shahu have also been narrated. Soon after the desertion of Chandra Sen at the same time when Shahu sent Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa to reduce Angrey, he had also ordered the minor Sachiv Naro Shankar, to lead an army against Damaji. But the task of suppression could not be undertaken by Naro Shankar's mother Yesu Bai acting through her agent Ranjhekar until the year 1716. The minor sachiv remained at Vichitragad and his army proceeded to Hingni, in the Parganah of Patas, the seat of Thorat's power. Damaji however left the charge of Hingni under his lieutenants, made a dash upon Vichitragad, surprised it and captured the young Sachiv on March 29, 1717. Then he threw him into prison and held him to ransom just as he had done on a previous occasion. Shahu was forced once again to pay the ransom and rescued the minor sachiv, who had remained a prisoner of Damaji for about a year. The fact that Shahu had to ransom his officers twice from the clutches of Damaji Thorat clearly shows how weak was his power at this time. A robber chief could defy him with impunity. Even after the successful termination of the proceedings of Balaji Vishwanath, after Tara Bai was clapped in the prison at Kolhapur, Krishna Rao Khataokar destroyed, and Kanhoji Angrey secured on the side of Shahu, Damaji could not be suppressed. Not until the treaty with Sayyid Husain Ali Khan in February 1718, could

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 8. [2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p, 57.

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Shahu successfully cope with this robber chief. By the middle of 1718, the Peshwa and Pilaji Jadhav Senapati started at the head of a strong army consisting of the Marathas and the Mughal contingents supplied by the Sayyid, besieged Hingangaon, reduced the fort and carried away Damaji as a prisoner.[1] He was imprisoned in the fort of Purandar, but was released in 1719. Not learning by experience he took to brigandage and was once again chastised, captured and imprisoned in the fort of Parli, where he died in 1728.[2]

Suppression of Udaji Chauhan

Then came the turn of Udaji Chauhan, a compeer of Thorat. He came of a very heroic family of the Marathas. His ancestor Ranoji served under Maloji Ghorpade, and Ranoji's son Bithoji Chauhan in co-operation with Santaji Ghorpade captured the golden capital of Aurangzib's camp. This deed of valour won for him the title of Himmat Bahadar from Raja Ram. His son Udaji was brave like him and in the time of Tara Bai occupied Shirole, Raibag and Bijapur. When Shahu came he had established the seat of his power at Battisshirole, where he had built himself a fortress. Damaji and Udaji acted in co-operation against Shahu. Incited by Chandra Sen, they had made it their business to plunder the country as far as Satara. After the reduction of Damaji, the Peshwa turned his arms against Chauhan. But more important matters came pressing on him and he had to put off the campaigns for some time. The Chauhan too grew less troublesome and in 1737 he fled away and joined the Nizam. Balaji Baji Rao won him over and gave him a sumptuous jagir, and he served him loyally till his death in November 1762.[3] Whether against Damaji Thorat or Udaji Chauhan, Kanhoji Angrey or Krishna Rao Khataokar, Tara Bai or Chandra Sen, Shahu left to himself would have been ruined. His weakness and irresolution would have aggravated the perils of the situation. Fortunately he found in Balaji that ready resourcefulness which triumphs over crises. Neither was Balaji unaware of his limitations. Wherever he knew he would fail if he resorted to force, he managed adroitly by means of diplomacy or intrigue. But in spite of his incessant activities extending over a period of six years the situation did not improve very much. There was no civil war between Shambhaji and Shahu, but there was neither amity nor co-operation. Angrey had been won over to Shahu no doubt, but he ruled like an independent prince in his fiefs. He kept up only a show of submission to Shahu. Damaji and Udaji continued to give trouble and lastly Maharastra was torn by petty factions. So long as this condition continued there could be no stable government, no permanent peace. But the situation was fast changing on account of the dynamic forces operating not in Maharastra, but elsewhere round about, in the Mugal Empire.

[1] ब्रह्मेंद्रस्वामी यांचा पत्रव्यवहार. Doc. 183, p. 192.

[2] *Marathi Kayasat*, vol. i, p. 62. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 63-64.

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CHAPTER II (1715–19)

The Marathas and the Mughals—Balaji in Delhi

The period extending from the death of Shivaji, to the death of Aurangzeb is a remarkable epoch in the history of the Marathas. The Marathas, fighting in defence of their country and for the honour of their nation, at last succeeded in rolling back the tide of Mughal onslaught. But when the war of defence or 'the war of independence' as it is called, was over, their internal dissensions broke out in greater fury, and all semblance of unity—unity of authority or of interest, that had characterized their activities of that period receded to a distance. Sovereignty was divided between Shahu and Shambhaji; the country was divided into the fiefs of the different sardars. When Balaji Vishwanath had not succeeded in making up these divisions, Maharastra was drawn most unfortunately into the vortex of the Imperial politics. The attention of the Marathas was diverted from their home troubles, and they looked beyond their own country, into another which opened up golden vistas and held out promises of a glorious future for them. It is hardly true to say that just after the death of Aurangzeb the Marathas planned an aggressive warfare against the Mughals with the deliberate determination of founding an empire. For a few years after the arrival of Shahu in Maharastra they were absorbed in their domestic troubles, and Shahu himself was strongly opposed to the very idea of making war on the Mughals. They certainly never thought of founding an empire until Balaji Vishwanath and his Marathas returned from Delhi in 1719, with the first hand knowledge of the Imperial politics; and they could not have gained this knowledge but for the violent currents and cross currents convulsing the very core of the empire. It was by a mere chance that the Marathas befriended the Sayyids and were ushered into Delhi, where they had a glimpse of the ghastly rottenness of the empire, and the crumbling condition of the 'prop of the universe' (Mughal Emperor). Here we have to trace the outlines of Delhi politics, the activities of the chief wire-pullers there, and how the Marathas were drawn into their intrigues. It will be clear at the end of the narrative how the Marathas were dazed to witness the degrading condition of the House of Taimur and unwittingly chanced upon the tempting prize of an empire.

Daud Khan Punni the Viceroy of the Deccan (1708-13) agrees to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu

By the time of Aurangzeb's death the Mughal Empire was on its downward course, and his weak successors only accelerated the process. The Deccan, like all other imperial subahs, was in a welter of anarchy. When Shahu was released by Azam Shah, he had been granted the right of realizing the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from the six subahs of the Deccan. Azam Shah however was killed in the battle of Jajau, and when Bahadur Shah came into the Deccan to suppress the rising of Kambakhsh, Shahu rendered military service to him, in return for which he pressed for the confirmation of the rights

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granted by Azam Shah. But on account of the rivalry of Tara Bai, who also advanced the claim of her son to the throne of the Maharastra, and to the right of realizing the Sardeshmukhi, the prayers of Shahu could not be granted. Zulfikar Khan took the side of Shahu, while his enemy Munim Khan, that of Tara Bai. At last it was decided that they must fight out their cause, and the victor would have the privileges prayed for. In grim determination they set to the task, and in 1711 Shahu's power was established in Maharastra and that of Tara Bai declined. After the overthrow of Tara Bai, Shahu commissioned his Maratha Sardars to ravage the territory of Mughals. The Deccan was again swarmed by the roving bands of the Marathas. At this time the Imperial Court was in a deplorable condition and was the seed bed of all intrigues. There was no knowing as to what would happen to the Deputy Governor of the Deccan.[1] Daud Khan Punni who had been left as the Deputy Governor of the Deccan, pestered by the Marathas on the one hand, and abandoned by the emperor on the other, made the best of a bad situation, and promised to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu for the six Subahs of the Deccan according to the agreement of the Emperor Bahadur Shah. But Daud Khan made it a condition that these taxes were to be collected and paid by his officer Hiraman. The Maratha Generals or Shahu's officers should not rove in the country and collect these taxes.[2] Thus though Shahu had received the Farman for the collection of the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi as far back as 1707, he did not succeed in realizing these till about the year 1712.

Nizam-ul-Mulk as Viceroy (1713–15) and his Proceedings

In 1713 Daud Khan Punni was transferred to Gujrat and his place in the Deccan was taken by Nizam-ul-Mulk. He plays an important part in the History of the Marathas, and indeed the Deccan politics till the year 1748 centre round the personality of this remarkable man. Hence, it will not be out of place here to add a few words about him.

Ever since the foundation of the Mughal Empire a steady stream of Muhammedan immigrants had kept on flowing into India from beyond the passes. They often migrated to India with the prospects of trade or service. But besides mere traders and service-seekers there came many a devout pilgrim into India to sail for Mecca from the Indian ports. One of such pilgrims was Khwaja Abid Shaikh-ul-Islam of Bukhara. He was the grand father of Nizam-ul-Mulk. About the year 1655-6 he passed through India on his way to Mecca, and on his return took service with Alamgir. He rose to distinction in the Imperial service, and after him, his eldest son, Ghaziuddin the father of Nizam-ul-Mulk, filled several important offices of the Empire.

'Mir Qamar-ud-din, son of Ghaziuddin Khan by the daughter of 'Shah Jahan's wazir, Sadullah Khan, was born on August 11, '1671. In 1683–84, when in his thirteenth year, he received as his firs

[1] Irada Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, pt. iv, p. 57.
[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466.

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'appointment in the services of the state the rank of four hundred Zat, 'one hundred horse. In the following year the title of Khan was add-'ed to his name. In 1690–91 he received the title of Chin Qilich Khan, 'and at Alamgir's death in 1707 he was Governor of Bijapur. His 'father and he took no part in the contest for the throne between the 'sons of Alamgir; and when Bahadur Shah had succeeded in defeat-'ing his rival, he removed the Turanis from the Dakhin.' Accordingly Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jang was sent to Ahmadabad in Gujrat, and Qilich Khan was appointed Subahdar of Oudh and Faujdar of Gorakhpur (December 9, 1707). At the same time the title of Chin Qilich Khan was changed to that of Khan Dauran Bahadur and he was raised to 6,000 Zat, 6,000 horse. 'A few weeks afterwards (January 27, 1708) 'he resigned all his titles and appointments; but at the desire of 'Munim Khan, the Wazir, he withdrew his resignation and was pro-'moted to 7,000 Zat, 7,000 horse. When his father died and the deceased's property was confiscated, Chin Qilich Khan (Khan 'Dauran as he then was) sent in his resignation afresh, February 6, '1711; this time it was accepted and 4,000 rupees a year were granted 'for his support. Quite at the end of Bahadur Shah's reign he return-'ed to the active list with the titles of Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz 'Jang. On Bahadur Shah's death, he attempted to espouse the cause 'of Azim-ush-Shan, who long before had promised him high office, 'and he had made one march from Delhi at the head of 3,000 or 4,000 'men, when he heard of the Prince's death. Thereupon he discharged 'his men and retired into private life. Towards the end of Jahandar 'Shah's short reign, he was appointed to the defence of Agra. Then 'he and his cousin were brought over to Farrukhsiyar's interest, 'through Shariyat-Ullah-Khan (Mir Jumla), and as a reward for his 'neutrality he was now made Governor of the whole Dakhin, with the 'new titles first of Khan Khanan, and then of Nizam-ul-Mulk, Bahadur, 'Fateh Jang.'[1]

Activities of Nizam-ul-Mulk in the Deccan (1713–15)

In 1713 he was appointed as the viceroy of the six subahs of the Deccan each of which was under an Amaldar. Ambitious and unscrupulous he wanted to rule over it independently of Delhi, and he turned the troubles prevailing at the court to his own advantage. But he had to reckon with enemies nearer home. These were the Marathas who claimed the black mail on his subahs, and until he was rid of them, he could not get a free hand in his affairs. Hence from the very start of his career in the Deccan he determined to check the growing rapacity of the Marathas. The first step was to stop the payment of the black mail as agreed to by Daud Khan Punni, and then to rally round him all the disaffected chiefs of Maharastra.[2] Chandra Sen Jadhav had fled from Kolhapur, after the overthrow of Shivaji II, to his shelter and he gave him a sumptuous jagir at Bhalki, to the north of Bidar. Another Sardar, Sarje Rao Ghatge left the service of Shahu, and joined his standard. Already there was on his side Rambhaji Nimbalkar, the Thanadar of the important outpost of

[1] Irvine, vol., i, p. 268-72. [2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 450.

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Mughals, Baramati, near Poona. He became famous later on under the style of Rao Rambha Nimbalkar.[1] Besides these chieftains he artfully won over Shambhaji to his side, on the understanding that he would support him against Shahu. Thus an imposing array of adversaries was formed against Shahu, with Nizam-ul-Mulk as its leader. When the ground plan was complete, he told the Marathas with a show of reason that he could not pay the fixed contribution, because he did not know who the real king of Maharastra was—whether Shahu or Shambhaji. His next move was to foil the attempts of Balaji Vishwnaath, who tried to wipe off the Mughal authority from Poona and its neighbourhood. Balaji Viswanath had taken decisive steps to strengthen his hold on Poona. Recovering Lohgad from Angrey he had left it in charge of his tried friend Ramji Mahadev Bhanu. Mawal to the further west was entrusted to the care of Ramaji's brother Hari Mahadev Bhanu. He took the fort of Purandar from the Sachiv and put it in perfect order. Thus he made Poona secure on all sides.[2] But the Peshwa had yet much to do and Nizam-ul-Mulk had not yet achieved any appreciable success, when owing to the court intrigues at Delhi he was suddenly called back after a reign of only a year and five months, and Sayyid Husain Ali was appointed to his office. That was by the end of 1714, and it upset the plans of the Nizam.[3] He had hardly formed his ambitious schemes, when they came to naught. It was, therefore, with great resentment and disgust that he left the Deccan, and on April 4, 1715 the new Viceroy started from Delhi to assume his charge. This circumstance—the transfer of Nizam-ul-Mulk and the appointment of Sayyid Husain Ali—is fraught with consequences for Maharastra. For the present it relieved Shahu and Balaji Vishwanath from great calamities, and left the country free from a determined enemy, and his blood-thirsty proceedings. The regime of the new Viceroy as we shall presently see forms a landmark in the history of the Marathas.

History of the Sayyid Brothers

In the meantime were happening events at Delhi, that betokened ill for the empire. It was the scene of petty jealousies and mean faction fights. The emperor, Farrukhsiyar, had become a mere tool in the hands of unscrupulous nobles. His inability, and worthlessness had made him contemptible to all. The court had become a hot bed of sedition. There were two parties, one of the Emperor, the other of the Sayyid brothers. The Emperor's party conspired to destroy the power of the Sayyids, and the kingmakers' party plotted to counteract their designs. Many a time it seemed that matters would be pushed to the extreme and the Sayyid brothers would be thrown overboard. But clever and cautious as the Sayyids were, they successfully thwarted all the attempts of the Emperor and still retained their position intact. At last it was arranged that one of the kingmakers should be transferred to the Deccan. Accordingly the younger and the more capable Sayyid, Husain Ali Khan, was appointed to assume the charge of the Deccan as the viceroy in 1715.[4] Before we proceed with the

[1] Rajwade, vol. xx, p. 72.
[2] *Marathi Riyasat*, vol. i, p. 72.
[3] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, pt. iv, p. 152.
[4] Irvine, vol. i, pp., 293-300.

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narrative, it will not be improper to give a brief account of these Sayyid brothers, who were called the kingmakers, and who were destined to make a signal contribution to the rise of the Marathas.[1]

On the death of Bahadur Shah there ensued a contest for the throne between Jahandar Shah and Azim-Ush-Shan. When the latter was defeated and killed at Lahore, and Jahandar Shah ascended the throne, his son, Farrukhsiyar, prepared to avenge his father's death and to make a bid for the throne. But for the help of the two Sayyid brothers, who were won over by the entreaties of their mother for Farrukhsiyar, he would have been nowhere. Indeed his cause looked hopeless even after the adherence of the Sayyids. But the worthless character of Jahandar, his disgusting vices and revolting favouritism, had alienated many of the right-thinking persons.[2] In the battle of Agra he was defeated owing to the reckless bravery of the Barha

[1] 'The two Sayyid brothers, who now come into such prominence, were not the mere upstarts, men of yesterday, that it was too often the fashion to make them out to be. Besides the prestige of Sayyid lineage, of descent from the famous Barha branch of that race, and the personal renown acquired by their own valour, they were the sons of a man, who had held in Alamgir's reign first the Subahdari of Bijapur in the Dakhin, and then that of Ajmer, appointments given in that reign either to Princes of the blood or to the very foremost men in the state. Their father Sayyid Abdullah Khan, known as Sayyid Miyan, had risen in the service of Ruhullah Khan, Alamgir's Mir Bakshi, and finally, on receiving an imperial mansab, attached himself to the eldest Prince Muhammad Mauzzam Shah Alam.

'Hasan Ali Khan (afterwards Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk) and Husain Ali Khan, two of the numerous sons of Abdullah Khan Sayyid Miyan, were now men of about forty-six and forty-four years of age respectively. About 1109 H. (1697-8) the elder brother was faujdar of Sultanpur Nazarbar in Baglana, Subah Khandesh after that, of Siuni Hoshangabad also in Khandesh, then again of Nazarbar coupled with Thalner in sarkar Asir of the same subah. Subsequently he obtained charge of Aurangabad. The younger brother Husain Ali Khan, who is admitted by every one to have been a man of much greater energy and resolution than his elder brother, had in Alamgir's reign held charge first of Rantambhor, in subah Ajmer, and then of Hindaun Biana, in subah Agra.

'After Prince Muizz-ud-din, the eldest of Shah Alam's sons, had been appointed in 1106 H. (1694-5) to the charge of the Multan province, Hasan Ali Khan and his brother followed him there. In an expedition against a refractory Biluch Zamindar, the Sayyids were of opinion that the honours of the day were theirs. Muizz-ud-din thought otherwise, and assigned them to his then favourite Isa Khan Main. The Sayyids quitted the service in dudgeon and repaired to Lahor, where they lived in comparative poverty, waiting for employment from Munim Khan, the nazim of that place.

'When Alamgir died and Shah Alam, Bhadur Shah, reached Lahor on his march to Agra to contest the throne, the Sayyids presented themselves, and their services were gladly accepted. They were (Safar 1119 H. May 1707) promoted to the rank of 3,000 and 2,000 horse, respectively with a gift of kettledrums. In the battle of Jajau on the 18, Rabi I. 1119 H. (June 18 1707), they served in the vanguard and fought valiantly on foot, as was the Sayyid habit on an emergency. A third brother, Nur-ud-din Ali, Khan, was left dead on the field, and Husain Ali Khan was severely wounded. Though their rank was raised in Zul Qada 1119 H. (February 1708) to 4,000, and the elder brother received his father's title of Abdullah Khan, they were not treated with such favour as their exceptional services seemed to deserve, either by the new Emperor or his Wazir . . . At length, by the favour of Prince Azim-Ush-Shan, Abdullah Khan on the 21st Zul Qada 1122 H. (January 10, 1711) became that Prince's deputy in the province of Allahabad. About two years earlier (11th Muharram 1120 H., April 1, 1708), the same patron had nominated the younger brother Husain Ali Khan, to represent him in another of his Governments, that of Bihar, of which the capital was at Azimabad Patna.' Irvine vol. i, pp. 202–5.

[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, pp. 432–34 ; *Irvine* vol. i, pp. 192–7.

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Sayyids,[1] and Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne after executing Jahandar Shah, in February 1713.[2]

But almost from the first day of the reign there began a misunderstanding between Farrukhsiyar and the Sayyids. Farrukhsiyar soon discovered that he had forged his fetters by his own hands, and hence constantly conspired to get rid of the Sayyids. Mutual suspicions were fanned by Mir Jumla, Khan Dauran, Taqarrub Khan, and other personal friends and favourites of Farrukhsiyar. A few weeks after the battle of Agra, Husain Ali Khan wrote to his brother, who had proceeded to Delhi in advance, 'It was clear from the Prince's talk 'and the nature of his acts, that he was a man, who paid no regard 'to claims for service performed, one void of faith, a breaker of his 'word and altogether without shame. Thus it was necessary for 'them to act in their own interests without regard to the plans of 'the new sovereign.'[3]

At first the disputes ranged round two things: [4] 'The nominations to office, and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of 'the Jahandarshahi nobles. A third lever for persuading Farrukh-'siyar to get rid of the two Sayyids was found in his superstitious 'fears.' When the younger Sayyid led a campagin against Raja Ajit Singh Rathor of Jodhpur (November 1713-July 1714) because he had forbidden cow-slaughter in his kingdom and the call for prayer from the Alamgiri Mosque, had ejected the imperial officers from Jodhpur and destroyed their houses; had entered the imperial territory and taken possession of Ajmer;[5] the emperor wrote letters to Ajit Singh secretly 'urging him to make away with Husain Ali Khan in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his.'[6] But the emperor was disappointed by the result of the campaign, which ended in a brilliant victory for the Sayyid, and a favourable treaty for the Emperor.

Next he was advised by his party to elevate two nobles of power and position, and place them on an equality with the Sayyids, so that they might be a check to the authority of the two brothers. Gradually their power should be shorn off and 'the two brothers should be caught unattended and made prisoners.' [7] The two men selected to confront the Sayyids were Khan Dauran and Mir Jumla. No order was issued without their advice, and at length through the indiscretion of the palace servants the Sayyids learnt of the plots against their own life. It was rumoured that the Emperor attempted to ruin them, and from this stage the quarrel became public. It was once advised that Itimad-ud-daulah Muhammad Amin Khan should be made wazir in supersession of Abdullah Khan, and if Farrukhsiyar had only made up his mind, he would have easily destroyed the Sayyids. Relying constantly on what others said and never taking a bold initiative in any affair, he undermined the growing strength of his party, and in fact his schemes, often reaching consummation, collapsed on account of his irresolution. At last Farrukhsiyar conceived of a plan to separate the two brothers and then

[1] *L. M.* by Irvine, vol. i., pp. 229–33.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 254–58.
[3] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii; Irvine, vol. i, pp. 192–7.
[4] Irvine, vol. i, pp. 282–3.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 285.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 286.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 293.

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to get rid of them one by one. Fortunately for him a proposal was put forward by the Sayyids themselves—praying for their transfer to Bengal and Dakhin, so that they might be away from the heated atmosphere of the court. It was at last decided that Sayyid Husain Ali alone should leave the court and take over the charge of the Dakhin, on condition that Mir Jumla also was sent away to Bihar, and Lutfullah Khan who was at the root of all mischiefs was deprived of his rank. This condition was necessary for the safety of his elder brother Abdullah Khan, who remained at court. On the 4th of April 1715, Husain Ali reported his departure from Delhi.[1] 'He 'took with him power to appoint and remove all officials and 'exchange the commanders of all forts in the Dakhin. Nay, a 'common story is that, under compulsion, Farrukhsiyar made over 'to him the great seal, in order that the warrants of appointment to 'the forts should not require imperial confirmation.' On the eve of his departure he had definitely told the Emperor, 'that in case of 'designs against his brother Koottub-al-Moolk, he would return to 'Dhely in twenty days. . .'[2]

Thus administering a threat to the Emperor and armed with all the authority necessary for independent action he left for the Deccan. Hardly had he turned his back, when new plots were formed, and Daud Khan, then Governor of Ahemadabad, Gujrat, was secretly instructed to resist the Sayyid to the best of his ability and if possible, to kill him.[3] The reward promised was the viceroyalty of the six subahs of the Deccan (22nd July–25th August 1715).[4] As the Sayyid marched into the Deccan Nizam-ul-Mulk passed him on the way, and burning in resentment, did not even pay a visit to him as was the binding etiquette of the court. Then came the alarming news that Daud Khan was preparing to resist him in combination with the Marathas led by Nemaji Sindhia.[5] In great trepidation Husain Ali awaited the encounter with Daud Khan and fortunately defeated and killed him in the battle near Burhanpur on the 6th September, 1715.[6] The defeat was due to the inaction of the Marathas, who withdrew to a distance, and actually joined Sayyid Husain, when the day was won.[7] On the defeat and death of Daud Khan his belongings fell into the hands of the Sayyid and among these were found the letters sent from the court, incriminating the Emperor in the intrigue against him.

Master of the situation Husain Ali now resolved to put down the Marathas. Khande Rao Dabhade, a chief of great power, had set up a number of outposts and realized the Chauth between Surat and Burhanpur, and further claimed the same from Gujrat and the Deccan for Shahu. Husain Ali at first deputed his commander Zulfikar Beg against Dabhade, but the latter tired the Mughal soldiers by a series of rapid marches, and at length surrounded them in the mountainous regions, and cut off Zulfikar Beg with his troops.[8] It came as a

[1] Irvine, vol. i, p. 303. [2] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 140.
[3] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 452.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 451.
[5] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 140.
[6] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 453 ; Iradat Khan, *Scott*, part iv, p. 141.
[7] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, pp. 453–4.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 463.

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shock to the Sayyid. He was not aware of the power of the Marathas, and this humiliation rankled in his heart. He made more vigorous preparation for his reduction. But Dabhade who seemed not to take notice of it went to Satara and paid his court to Shahu, who in recognition of his services appointed him the Senapati in the place of Man Singh More.[1] This elevation of Dabhade made the Sayyid more cautious and this time he deputed his Diwan Muhakkam Singh and his own brother Saif-ud-din, Subahdar of Burhanpur, against him. 'These 'two famous chiefs pursued Khandu in the hope of retaliating upon 'him, or of removing his posts so that they might no longer trouble 'the country and people of Khandesh. But they accomplished 'nothing.'[2] A contested battle was fought near Ahmadnagar, with indecisive results. The Mughals were harassed everywhere and it appeared as if their sway would be stamped out from the Deccan in spite of the presence of the ablest man of the empire. Shahu was not slow to take advantage of these victories. He commissioned Dabhade to levy contributions on Gujrat and Kathiawad. The news of these discomfitures suffered by the Sayyid at the hands of the Marathas elated the emperor and he wrote urging them to make war on his viceroy without respite.[3] This was just the thing the Marathas wanted, and encouraged by the emperor they harassed the Viceroy incessantly. But when Husain Ali was apprised of the underhand dealings of the emperor, he completely changed his attitude towards the Marathas and recalled Muhakkam Singh to the head quarters.[4] He knew there was only one way out of it, and in utter disgust, he proceeded to make the best of a bad affair. On the advice of Shaikh Zada Anwar Khan of Burhanpur, he opened overtures for an alliance with the Marathas and sent as his envoy Shankaraji Malhar, who had been the Sachiv in the reign of Raja Ram.[5] In his old age Shankaraji had retired to Benares and thence he had gone to Delhi.[6] At this time he was in the Mughal camp as the Karbhari of Sayyid Husain Ali. Shankaraji met Balaji Vishwanath, and after a good deal of deliberation on both sides, it was decided that the following conditions should constitute the treaty :—

(i) All the territory comprising the Swarajya of Shivaji, including all the forts therein, should be handed over to Shahu.

(ii) The portions of Kandesh, Gondwana, Berar, Haidarabad and Karnatak, conquered by the Marathas, should also be resigned to Shahu to be added to Swarajya.

(iii) The Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six subahs of the Deccan should be assigned to Shahu, who in return for the Chauth should maintain a contingent of fifteen thousand Maratha troops for the service of the Emperor, and in return for the Sardeshmukhi should maintain peace and order in the six subahs of the Deccan.

(iv) Shahu should not molest Shambhaji of Kolhapur.

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 28.
[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 464.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 464.
[4] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 151.
[5] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466.
[6] Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 29-30 ; Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466 ; थोः शाः चः p. 49.

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(v) Shahu should pay an annual tribute of ten lacs of rupees.

(vi) The mother and family of Shahu, and Madan Singh (the son of Shambhaji by a concubine) who are in the custody of the Emperor at Delhi should be sent back home.[1]

These terms were accepted as a whole, with slight changes here and there in February 1718. Shahu proceeded to act upon the treaty as soon as it was ratified by the Sayyid. But when the Emperor got it, and was requested to ratify it, he simply rejected it with indignation. Nothing was further from his intentions than that Sayyid Husain Ali should make 'peace and bind the Marathas to his interest'.[2]

Significance of the Treaty

Whatever the emperor might do Sayyid Husain Ali had accepted it; and his acceptance was a matter of necessity rather than of choice. The peculiar circumstances of his situation had forced his hands, and it was with great hesitation that he had concluded the treaty. It proved advantageous to him and the country got a short respite from 'the calamities of war and its attendant famine which had vexed 'Deccan for a long series of years no doubt, but the governors of 'districts and farmers of revenue were more distressed than ever as 'they had now three collectors, one for the presence, one for the 'Choute, and a third for the Deesmukee.' Nevertheless the treaty came as a God-send to the Marathas. Vast privileges and important demands were conceded to them. They were recognized as more or less supreme in their own country, and on account of their being entrusted with the maintenance of peace and order they automatically acquired sovereign rights. They maintained fifteen thousand troops for the service of the emperor but at the cost of the Deccan viceroy. This was a very profitable subsidiary alliance formed by the Marathas long before Lord Wellesley. In short, the treaty made the viceroy dependent on the Marathas for military help and for the maintenance of peace and order. It is, therefore, a landmark in Maratha history.

The credit after all goes to the man who formulated the treaty. That was Balaji Viswanath one of the 'most intelligent generals of Rajah Shahu' as Khafi Khan remarks.[3] Once again he rendered a signal service to his country. Shahu's position was made not only unshakable but respectable, not only in the eyes of the Marathas but of the Mughals also. His prestige was enormously enhanced after this treaty, and no less was that of Balaji Viswanath. If Shahu was revered as a good king, Balaji Viswanath was both revered and regarded as the saviour of the country. Such was the significance of the treaty. It profited the Sayyid; it won sovereign right for the Marathas; it enhanced the prestige of the Peshwa.

[1] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 467; Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 152; Rajwade, vol. viii, Doc. 78, pp. 102-8; Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 30-31; थो: शा: च: pp. 51 and 52.

[2] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 152.

[3] Khafi-Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 466.

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Husain Ali's departure for Delhi

But amidst all his activities Husain Ali kept a close eye on the affairs at the imperial court. In the meantime his brother's position at Delhi had become extremely perilous. Not only had the emperor's wrath dogged him into the Deccan ; his perfidious conduct had thrown his brother into a critical situation. Dark webs of intrigue were closing round him, and there was no knowing when he might be undone.

Between 1715–17, the Emperor started on a series of hunting expeditions, of which the principal object was to form plans and find opportunities to make away with Abdullah Khan. New favourites were created. Nizam-ul-Mulk who had reasons to be hostile towards the Sayyids threw in his lot with the Emperor's Party and Khan Dauran and Mir Amin Khan hitherto the chief advisors of the Emperor were removed to make room for a Kashmiri favourite Muhammad Murad. Unprecedented honours were bestowed on him in almost bewildering succession and his rapid rise disgusted many of the sober and right thinking men. Nizam-ul-Mulk found it difficult to remain on good terms with the men of Farrukhsiyar's confidence, and withdrew to his new governorship of Muradabad in April 1717. But Muhammad Murad felt that he was not the man to encounter the Sayyids in the open. Hence he advised some of the powerful commanders to be called to the court. One by one Sarbuld Khan, Maharaja Ajit Singh and Nizam-ul-Mulk were summoned to effect the deliverance of the Emperor from the hated tutelage of the Sayyids, and each one of them, who came with high hopes, was alienated by the blind favouritism of Farrukhsiyar. Everyone's claims and everyone's abilities were subordinated to Muhammad Murad's, and hence they left the Emperor in disgust to side with the Sayyids. On August 27, 1728 the Emperor attempted to seize Abdullah Khan but failed. In September there were also dark designs against Abdullah Khan, who wrote to his brother to come back to Delhi as quickly as possible.[1] (September 29, 1718).

Soon after his brother's letter reached Sayyid Husain he made ready to leave the Deccan. About November 1718 he started from Aurangabad at the head of 8,000 or 9,000 of his own troops and about sixteen thousand Marathas under the command of Khanderao Dabhade accompanied by Balaji Vishwanath and Santaji Bhonsle.[2] The Maratha leaders 'received horses and elephants, robes of honour, 'and money for expenses, with many promises of future reward in 'addition to the release of Rajah Sambha's wife and son. These 'promises included ratification of the treaty for a grant of the Chauth ; 'grant of the Sardeshmukhi, ... and a confirmation of the 'hereditary Maratha territory or Swaraj. Each Maratha trooper was 'to receive from the Viceroy's treasure chest half a rupee, or, as some 'say, a rupee a day.'[3] Thus reinforced by the Marathas, and his heart easy with regard to his government of the Deccan on account of the recent treaty with them, he reported to the court that the Dakhin climate did not agree with him, and that he wanted to present to the

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, pp. 152–54 ; Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, pp. 469–71 ; Irvine, vol. i, pp. 339–53.

[2] Khafi Khan, *Elliot*, vol. vii, p. 472. [3] Irvine, vol. i, pp. 359–60.

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Emperor a son of the rebel prince Akbar (Aurangzib's son) by name Muinuddin who had been captured by Rajah Shahu. Farrukhsiyar ordered him to Ahmedabad for a charge and to send Muinuddin to Delhi. Without paying any heed to these orders Husain Ali started for Delhi, left Burhanpur on December 14, and Ujjain on December 26, 1718.

As he approached, consternation seized the imperial court and Farrukhsiyar's schemes one by one fell through. The Emperor sent his messenger Ikhlas Khan who was supposed to have great influence with the Sayyid, to persuade him to return.[1] By the end of December 1718 he met the Sayyid at Mandu, and instead of persuading him to return filled his ears with all sorts of alarming news. Ikhlas Khan had carried a Farman from the Emperor signifying the acceptance of all the conditions of the Viceroy's treaty with the Marathas. The Emperor had further appended a message to it that though he desired much to see his Mir Bakhshi, yet it would be unwise to advise him to come to Delhi, for the Marathas might trouble his government in his absence. The clever Sayyid wrote back to say that, 'when on reaching 'Malwa, Ikhlas Khan had delivered to him the Farman, he had at once 'made ready to return. But the officers of the Mahratta Rajah, who 'were in his company at the head of a large force, swore that unless 'he remained, they could never secure the release of the Rajah's 'mother and brother.[2] Now if they were to suspect him of trea-'chery, the consequences might be dreadful.' On these pretexts he disregarded the order to return to Dakhin. His way was made clear on account of the withdrawal of Mahammad Amin Khan Chin from Malwa without orders. He had been posted there with the specific order to prevent the Viceroy from coming to Delhi. His withdrawal enraged the Emperor, but there was no help.[3]

At length Delhi was entered on February 16, 1719 'with sovereign state, kettle-drums beating and clarions sounding' in entire disregard of the prevalent custom. Fear seized all men great and small, and there were wild rumours afloat throughout the city. Raja Jai Singh advised Farrukhsiyar at this crisis 'to take the field and fall upon the Sayyids' and promised his whole-hearted support to him. But 'the 'infatuated Emperor persisted in his attempt to buy off the Sayyids by 'concession after concession; and a few days afterwards,[4] yielding to 'the insistence of Qutab-ul-Mulk, he, by a note written with his own 'hand, ordered Rajah Jai Singh and Rao Budh Singh to march from 'Delhi to their own country.' Thus he sent away his staunch adherents from his side, and now his fall was inevitable. On February 27, hot words and undesirable expressions were exchanged between the Emperor and the Sayyids in consequence of which the latter posted a strong guard round the palace, and thus had the Emperor in their custody.

'At last the fateful morning dawned on February 28, 1719. 'Only 'an hour or an hour-and-a-half after daybreak, a great disturbance 'arose in the city. Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur and Zakariya 'Khan, at the desire apparently of Husain Ali Khan, were on their way at the head of their Mughals to attend the Sayyid's darbar. As the

[1] Iradat Khan *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 155. [2] Irvine, vol. ii, pp. 361–2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 373. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

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'crowd of Mahrattas in the streets and lanes near the fort impeded their 'progress, the Mughals began to push them forcibly on one side and 'open, a route for the two Nawabs and their retinue.' Upon this there ensued a scuffle, in which the Marathas suffered terribly. Taken on all sides, by the Mughal troops and the city rabble, they lost about 1,500 to 2,000 men on that day along with two or three leaders of repute, Santaji Bhonsle being the chief among them.[1] Late on that day the Sayyids entered the palace, declared Farrukhsiyar deposed and set up Prince Rafiud Darajat on the throne. Then followed a scene the like of which had never been enacted in the palace of the Imperial Mughals. It came as a rude shock to the sense of loyalty of the people of Delhi, and to the Marathas who though not loyal, yet retained a great respect for the power and prestige of the House of Taimur. Poor Farrukhsiyar a prisoner in his palace was 'dragged out with great indignity' to the presence of Kutab-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan and was ordered to be blinded in that Diwan-i-Khas where he was wont to sit in state, and at whose entrance Shah Jahan has inscribed those memorable lines:—

'Agair Fidaus Bar Ruhe Zamin Ast,
Hamin Ast, O Hamin Ast, O Hamin Ast.'

i.e., if there is a heaven on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this. But even worse fate awaited the occupant of the Peacock throne. After he was blinded he was confined in a room above the Tirpoliya gate 'a bare, dark, unfurnished hole containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water'. Fitting paraphernalia for a descendant of the Grand Mughal indeed! He lived there, in that lonely cell for a few weeks till at last he was strangled to death on April 28, with marks of dishonour on the body. Thus ended one of the saddest episodes of the Delhi Court.

Balaji's return to Maharastra

A few days after the accession of the new Sovereign, Rafiud Darajat, Balaji Vishwanath received in confirmation of each of the main provisions of the treaty, a Farman from the Emperor. One, dated March 13, granted the Marathas the Chauth of the six Subahs of the Deccan including the tributary states of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Maisur. Another, dated March 24, granted them the Sardeshmukhi over the Deccan, and the third confirmed Shahu, in the possession of the Swarajya of Shivaji at the time of his death in 1681.[2] Besides these grants, the mother and family of Shahu, along with Madan Singh were released and were given over to Balaji Vishwanath.

Consequences of the Journey of the Marathas to Delhi.

This journey of the Marathas to Delhi produced far-reaching consequences in their history. Besides its immediate advantages it deeply coloured the later policy of the Marathas, and came as an eye-opener to them in many respects. For long the Marathas, who had

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 161.

[2] Irvine, vol. i, p. 407. थो: शा: च: p. 55.

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looked upon the imperial power and prestige with awe, witnessed at Delhi what that power actually meant. The halo of glory that surrounded the name of the descendants of Babar and Akbar, to whom the President of Fort William addressed as 'the Absolute Monarch and Prop of the Universe,' vanished into the lurid light of utter contempt when the Marathas found them reduced to mere tools at the hands of the unscrupulous courtiers, and dragged to dishonour and ignominous death. Delhi reeking with blood, courtiers thriving in machination, the Emperor an instrument of the ambitious nobles, the central authority levelled to the dust—all these revealed the realities about the Mughal Empire. Long before their great king Shivaji had proved to his people that the Mughal army was not invincible, and the Mughal territory not inviolable. Further they had been sufficiently disillusioned with regard to the real strength of the Mughals during their war of independence (1690--1707). Now they realized full well that the Mughal Empire was rotten to the core, that it could never sustain its pristine glory and perhaps, who knows, it might fall to the powerful blows of the Marathas: Balaji Vishwanath a shrewd man of affairs as he was, must have seen with the eyes of a statesman that now the splendid structure of the Mughal Empire was tottering to its fall, and was a prize worth attempting, and worth fighting for. His other Maratha leaders must have conceived similar idea. They must have conjured up to their minds a glorious picture of Hindusthan, the home-land of Hinduism and the treasure-house of Asia—a land consecrated by a thousand memories of Shri Ram and Shri Krishna so dear to the Hindu heart. This holy land, this rich country they must have thought, would be theirs, if they could but overthrow the Mughals. And then what a difference it would make to Maharastra! Maharastra, sterile and rugged, where 'nature enforces a spartan simplicity', would flow in riches, milk and honey! The gorgeous paraphernalia of the nobles; the polished luxury of the inhabitants, their manners and customs, health and beauty, bearing and speech all testifying to a cultured society; the verdant plains of the Ganges and the Jumna, the flower and foliage, the delightful sun and shade,—all these must have captivated the eyes and imagination, of the rough, crude but intelligent Chitpavan Brahmin, Balaji Vishwanath.

And was this all? No. The prestige of their presence at the imperial capital, not as mercenaries, but as the allies and supporters of the *King makers*, held out to them a promise that they might some day make and un-make Emperors. Indeed it was the surest basis on which Balaji Vishwanath could confidently build his policy of founding a Maratha empire on the ruins of the Mughal empire. Actuated by this ambition, he took the preliminary steps when he passed through the Rajput states in order to form friendship with them. He knew that the Mughals and the Rajputs were gradually drifting away from each other. Ten years back the premier chiefs of Rajputana—of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur—had 'openly shewed their designs to fight for independence in close alliance with each other'.[1] They had failed to co-operate, and therefore they had suffered in their struggles with the Mughals. But now the disorderly condition of the empire

[1] Iradat Khan, *Scott's Deccan*, part iv, p. 58.

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was very favourable to their designs. And Balaji deliberately marched through their country, in order to 'help in their designs', thus paving the way for the work of Baji Rao. Jai Singh of Jaipur, as is well known, was a great friend of Baji Rao. In 1719, Baji Rao was about twenty and Jai Singh thirty. It is possible that Baji Rao who accompanied his father might have met Jai Singh at this time, and might have won his friendship. Whatever it might be it is important to bear in mind that the Peshwa rightly foresaw the utility of Rajput friendship for the foundation of a Maratha Empire and therefore made a move in that direction.

Besides these far-reaching consequences, the journey brought immediate gain to Shahu and his government. Balaji used to get fifty thousand rupees every day from the Sayyids, and when he returned, he brought with him an amount of thirty-two lacs for Shahu's treasury. So long as he lived there was no financial stress in the government. These gains further strengthened the position of Shahu, and surrounded the name of the first Peshwa with a halo of glory. Balaji also received Sardeshmukhi of five mahals as his reward in addition to what he possessed already. Here was another step towards the rise of the Peshwas.

Thus this journey of the Marathas to Delhi is a momentous episode in their history.

(*To be continued.*)

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The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

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IV

I. MAHFUZ KHAN'S ADVANCE ON MADRAS AND DEFEAT

DUPLEIX received frequent communications regarding the distribution of Mahfuz Khan's forces. According to a letter which reached Pondicherry on November 4, 1746, Mahfuz Khan was encamped on the foreshore of the Nungambakkam Tank ; and his army lay at the Governor's Garden[1] (the present General Hospital and Medical College grounds, to the north-west of the Fort). Some of the Muhammadans in order to facilitate their approach to the walls of the Fort and of the Black Town in a general assault, made an effort to cut away the bar of surf-driven sand at the mouth of the Cooum and the North River, in order to drain their waters, particularly of the latter stream which formed a wet ditch to the west side of the Fort by which it passed. At the same time they took possession of a spring (The Seven Wells in the north of Peddunaickenpetta) lying to the north of the Black Town which was the only source of supply of good water to the inhabitants. M. Barthēlemy who was in charge of Madras in the absence M. d' Esprēmēnil, rearmed the walls of Black Town ; but he had orders from Pondicherry to remain strictly on the defensive. However when his water-supply was cut off, he was forced to sally out on an attack.[2] On November 2, M. de la Tour with a body

[1] M. Barthēlemy's *Letter* to Dupleix (p. 75 of vol. iii of the *Diary*).

[2] Orme says that the operations of the Nawab's troops showed 'a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors.' On finding their communication with the spring interrupted, the French opened fire from the bastions of the Black and White Towns on the enemy troops who had spread round to the northward, thus completely investing Madras. The fire produced their quick retreat from the river-bar and other places which were exposed to it ; but they still kept possession of the ground near the spring which was out of the reach of cannon-shot from the bastions. The Muhammadans were also joined by the Pedda Naick with his peons and a body of Poligars (Orme ; *History of Indostan*, 4th. ed., vol. i, p. 74).

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of 400 men and two field-pieces marched out of the town, attacked the troops in the Governor's Garden and to the west of it and put them to a total rout.[1] "Before a shot could reach his camp, Mahfuz Khan had mounted his elephant and escaped. After pursuing the fugitives for upwards of five Indian hours, the French troops returned to the camp from which the Muhammadans had fled, and plundered the valuables found there.' Dupleix was overjoyed at this news and imagined that after this repulse Mahfuz Khan would come to his senses, and sue for peace, giving out that he would be going back to Arcot on account of the Nawab's illness. He even expressed a desire to proceed to Madras in order to settle matters personally.

Mahfuz Khan collected all his troops into one camp about two miles to the west of the town, but hearing that Dupleix had despatched a fresh detachment from Pondicherry, he quitted his post the next day (November 3) and took possession of San Thomé, which the French reinforcement under M. Paradis expected to reach on the morning of the 6th and where it would be joined by a body of equal strength issuing out from Madras under the command of M. de la Tour, the hero of the previous encounter. Mahfuz Khan took up a position on the northern bank of the Adyar River and planted his artillery on the bank, thus preparing to prevent the crossing of Paradis. The detachment under de la Tour which was to issue from Madras failed to arrive in time to attack the enemy from the northern side. On the morning of November 4, Paradis's detachment forded the river in the face of the enemy's fire which 'as usual was very ill served'. As soon as they gained the northern bank, they fell on the enemy with their bayonets; the Nawab's line broke and retreated into the town of San Thomé, 'where they again made a show

[1] The work of the two French field-pieces was so much superior to the awkward management of the enemy's clumsy artillery which could fire only once in a quarter of an hour. The first discharge of the field-pieces threw the whole body of the enemy into confusion; 'however they kept their ground some time, as if waiting for an intermission of the fire; but finding that it continued with vivacity, they took to flight with great precipitation.' The French did not lose a man in the attack. (See Orme, vol. i., p. 75; *Malleson's History of the French in India* (1893), p. 193; and the letter of Barthēlemy to Dupleix quoted above). Ranga Pillai got a similar account of the battle from Guruvappa Chetty and caused a copy of it to be made in his correspondence-register for the purpose of reference (Entry in the *Diary* for November 4.)

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of resistance from behind some pallisades which they had planted in different parts of the south side.' After a brief resistance the whole army of Mahfuz Khan fled to the westward and soon afterwards retired to Arcot. [1]

Paradis had no guns during the action ; but he was a most capable officer and resolved to face the enemy though the promised co-operation from the Madras garrison did not come. To retreat would have but too surely invited the cavalry charge of the enemy eager to avenge their defeat of two days previously. Thus he plunged without hesitation into the river, and led his infantry and his raw Indian troops, to attack the three arms of the enemy, ten times their superior in numbers. Paradis had made himself very acceptable to Dupleix by his violent opposition to La Bourdonnais and was now raised to be the Governor of Madras after the victory. Of course Dupleix would not

[1] The French fire was so hot and quick for the Muhammadans that their horse and foot fell back promiscuously on each other in the narrow streets of San Thomé. ' The confusion of the throng was so great that they remained for some time exposed to the fire of the French, without being able to make resistance, or to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town and gain the plain to the westward.' Mahfuz Khan was one of the first to escape. Scarcely had the Muhammadans fled out of the town when the detachment of de la Tour arrived and assisted in the pillaging of the enemy's baggage. The French troops were reported to have murdered some of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houses they were plundering. Dupleix informed the Diarist that de la Tour only joined Paradis after San Thomé had been pillaged, only at Triplicane. Orme, Love and Malleson say otherwise. According to the Diarist Dupleix was very angry that de la Tour should not have effected his junction with Paradis a little earlier in which case the Muhammadans would have been completely crushed. ' Want of promptitude on his part spoiled the undertaking ' (Diarist's entry for November 7). Only two Mahē sepoys were wounded on the French side, while 200 to 300 men fell on the enemy's side.

This battle is regarded by Malleson as one of the most memorable of Indian battles, ' being the first of its kind, that it proved to the surprise of both parties, the absolute and overwhelming superiority of the disciplined European soldier to his Asiatic rival.' It reversed the positions of the Nawab and the French Governor and was ' the first decided step to the conquest of Hindustan by an European power.' (*History of the French in India*, pp. 195-196 ; and *Decisive Battles of India*, 4th ed., pp. 14-17). The prestige and the *morale* were transferred henceforth from the Muhammadans to the European settlers. In consequence of this transfer, every subsequent battle of the European with the Indian was half-won, before it had been fought. The contemporary Orme says that the French by this battle broke through the charm of the timorous opinion about the courage and bravery of the Muhammadan troops, ' by defeating a whole army with a single battalion '. The same opinion of the significance of the battle is expressed by Dupleix himself in his own *Memoires* (See Mill's *History of British India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 52).

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think of giving Madras into the Nawab's hands [1] and declared thus: 'We cannot give Madras up without orders from our King. The restoration of the fort does not rest with us. So long as we have life left we will not surrender it.' Mahfuz Khan asked that his younger brother Muhammad Ali, should join him with reinforcements at Conjeevaram where he was staying. Muhammad Ali had but lately returned from a campaign against the Marathas under the order of the Nizam; and conflicting rumours were received from Arcot, some of them condeming the action of Mahfuz Khan and others threatening an attack on Madras to be undertaken by Nawab Anwar-ud-din himself, if the French should not hand the place over to him immediately.

II. The French Occupation of Madras

Dupleix now resolved to annul openly the treaty of ransom which had been made by M. de la Bourdonnais of the exact terms of which our Diarist was ignorant. Paradis who had been notoriously hostile to La Bourdonnais and all his works was now in sole charge of Madras; and was, according to the Diarist, 'living on plunder and

[1] Dupleix wrote letters to the Nizam informing him of the doings of Mahfuz Khan in (supposed) defiance of his father's orders, the defeats sustained by him in the two battles of Madras, the taking of Madras by the French under the (pretended) authority of Anwar-ud-din, the capture of French vessels by the English and their tricks and the seizure of a ship bearing the Emperor's flag. A like letter was written to Imam Sahib requesting him to explain the situation to the Nizam. (substance of letters written from Pondicherry as entered by the Diarist for November 12).

To a conciliatory letter written by the rather friendly Hussain Sahib from Arcot requesting the delivering of Madras into the hands of Mahfuz Khan, with a veiled threat that a refusal would bring about a united attack on Madras both by land and sea—on land by the combined forces of the Subhadars of Cuddapah and other places, Yachama Nayak and other poligars; and on sea by the English with thirty ships—the Governor sent a reply of adamant refusal (pp. 104–5 of vol. iii of the *Diary*). The Diarist also sent, by direction of Dupleix a circular letter to the Poligars of Karunguzhi, Kaverippak, Arni, Gingee and other places complaining of the unjustifiable conduct of Mahfuz Khan in having provoked the French to war and having imprisoned their envoys and put them in chains. The elder brother of Chanda Sahib was glad at the turn of events, characterized the defeat of Mahfuz Khan as a judgment inflicted on him by Providence and entreated Dupleix to take steps for the liberation of Chanda Sahib and to inflict other measures of punishment on Anwar-ud-din Khan's sons. Dupleix had always clearly perceived the necessity of winning over the good will of the Poligar chiefs who formed the feudal backbone of the Carnatic administration.

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taking his ease.'[1] The English at Madras were paroled, according to the custom obtaining in Europe; and it was further intimated that they were preparing to leave the place. Not a vestige of the Muhammadans was to be seen in Mylapore from which even the Gujaratis, Tamils and Telugus had fled to the Chingleput Pāḷaiyam. Inducements were offered to the merchants of Madras to settle at Pondicherry; and the goods of the English Company which had been seized were now transferred to Pondicherry. On November 11, Paradis formally proclaimed that the treaty was annulled[2] and that Madras was the property of the French East India Company for the King of France. Morse, the ex-Governor of Madras, Monson, the Deputy-Governor and several other Englishmen were sent over to Pondicherry. Paradis put his manifesto into execution with great rigour. Dupleix under pretence of doing honour to Morse caused him to enter the town in an ostentatious procession which exposed him to the view of the crowd; and Ranga Pillai well remarks: 'It may be imagined, then, how much Mr. Morse must have felt his position, when the eyes of all the people in the town were thus concentrated on him. To picture the grief which he must have experienced and the measure of it is not in my power.'[3] The fortunes of many of the English inhabitants of Madras were ruined; and several of its military officers refused to give their parole alleging that the breach of the treaty of ransom released them from their obligation; they escaped from the settlement by night and reached Fort St. David which had

[1] Paradis plundered Mylapore both on the day of his victory and later in a methodical manner and completely gutted it. Many of the Madras merchants were ruined by the sack of Mylapore. 'That (the plunder) of Madras when it was seized by the French was nothing compared with it.' (Diarist's entry for November 25, p. 134 of vol. iii.) The Diarist puts down five lakhs of pagodas as a modest estimate of the value of the spoil taken by the French at Mylapore. The plunder of Mylapore was a sore grievance in the eyes of the Nawab and his officials and was obviously a target of attack on the French for long.

[2] The proclamation allowed those who took an oath of fidelity to the French King, the liberty of continuing in Madras and carrying on their trade as formerly. Those who refused to take the oath, but were inclined to go to Pondicherry, were permitted to do so; others could have passports to go where they pleased upon their parole, within two days; they should not however reside at St. Thomas' Mount or at Cattiwak by Ennore. (Letter of Mr. Godwin, Senior Merchant of Madras, to Mr. Hinde at Fort St. David, detailing the conditions forced on the English at Madras—*Factory Records*, Fort St. David, vol. v, November 5, 1746—quoted by H. D. Love—vol. ii, pp. 375-76).

[3] Entry for November 24 (p. 131 of vol. iii of the *Diary*), Malleson's view is different, but not authoritative.

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recovered from its alarm and to which merchants were now slowly returning. The young Clive was one of those who escaped from Madras to Fort St. David.[1]. It was only in August 1747 that Governor Morse who had been exchanged for M. Le Ris, Governor of Mahē, was allowed to go to Fort St. David, where he remained till he was summoned to go to England to give an account of his conduct at Madras from the time that the French took possession of the place.

About the middle of November, 1746, Paradis took measures to safeguard the White Town, and blew up the Governor's Garden House lying to its west. He made a survey[2] of the Fort (White Town) which served as the basis of a map published in La Bourdonnais' *Memoire*. Later, in the course of 1747, the Black Town was repopulated its fortifications were completely levelled to the ground; and all its houses lying within one hundred and twenty yards of the north wall of the Fort were razed to the ground; while certain additions on the west were made to the fortifications of the White Town. Paradis was succeeded by D' Esprēmēnil as the Governor of Madras early in 1747; and the latter tried to induce many of the Tamil merchants who had abandoned the town to come back to it. The English Company when they heard of the loss of Madras raised Fort St. David to be their chief settlement on the coast and appointed John Hinde, its chief, to be the President and Governor, with Major Stringer Lawrence as the commandant of the garrison. The Company forbade the Council of Fort St. David to enter into any treaty with the country government or any other power regarding the payment of any ransom for the redelivery of Madras; and even in case the Nawab should restore the settlement to them, it should only be kept very bare, and all effects in it ought to be removed to Fort St. David,[3] which henceforward came to be the target for Dupleix's attacks.

[1] Sir John Malcolm says in his *Life of Clive* (vol. i, p. 46) that he escaped disguised as 'a native'. He took part in all the fighting at Fort St. David and got his commission there in 1747 and was present at the siege of Pondicherry in 1748 and became the Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David (1756).

[2] In this plan, a copy of which has been prepared for Love's work, the environs of the town are incorporated, which are admittedly drawn from memory and therefore not correctly depicted. 'The map was afterwards reproduced with all its errors by many publishers both French and English.' (See Love, vol. ii, note 1, on p. 377; and map opposite to p. 356.)

[3] Proceedings from England, dated July 24, 1747—quoted in full by Love. (*Public Despatches from England*, vol. 51, pp. 47–49); *Vide* pp. 53–54 of H. Dodwell's *Calendar of the Madras Despatches (1744–1755)*.

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III. Dupleix and the Nawab—First French Attacks on Fort St. David

The *killedars* of the neighbourhood, so far as the ideas expressed by them in their replies to Dupleix's messages are reflected by the Diarist, were not annoyed at the defeat of Mahfuz Khan or at the sentiments expressed by the French Governor. The *killedar* of Timiri condemned the action of the Muhammadans in having imprisoned the three French envoys and declared that their proper course was to be friendly with the French as far as possible. Muhammad Miyan of Chidambaram expressed similar sentiments; the chief of Karunguzhi wrote of his condemnation of the attitude of Mahfuz Khan. Dupleix wrote to Anwar-ud-din, on the one hand, saying that he was willing to restore Madras if the latter would grant territory including Villianallur and the surrounding taluk yielding an annual revenue of 20,000 pagodas; and on the other he ordered that letters should be sent to Raghuji Bhonsle, the Peishwa and Raja Shahu complaining of the misgovernment of the country by Anwar-ud-din, bewailing the disappearance of the Navayat family (of Sadat-allah Khan) from rule and indirectly urging the release of Chanda Sahib from captivity,[1] so that trouble might be fomented for the old Nawab. He secretly planned the capture of Fort St. David and the surrounding villages from the English and in his own tortuous way

[1] In the first draft of the letter to be sent to the Marathas, it was written: 'If you send Chanda Sahib, I (Dupleix) will be responsible for the money payable by him.' The Diarist suggested that his master should not commit himself to the obligation of ransom in that explicit way; and consequently the following words were substituted: 'As regards the amount for which Chanda Sahib holds himself liable, I (Dupleix) will endeavour to collect it, as your agent.' I will use all my influence to ensure that this money reaches you. Without my help he would not be able to collect a cash.' It appears from Ranga Pillai's *Diary* that Nawab Safdar Ali, shortly before his assassination, had promised his mother to ransom Abid Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, by paying five lakhs of rupees, and that his agent, Kasi Das Bukkanji, had been actually given that amount. These letters of Dupleix were sent on December 5, along with a letter to Muhammad Ali Khan, the elder brother of Chanda Sahib at Satara and another to the latter from the wife of Chanda Sahib, imploring him that this was the proper time for him to advance against Arcot and imprison Anwar-ud-din with the help of French guns and sepoys and the support of Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore. (See pp. 141–3 and pp. 149–50 of the *Diary*, vol. iii.)

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attempted through his agent at Arcot to get the sanction of the Nawab for his intended expedition.[1]

Muhammad Ali, the younger son of Anwar-ud-din, who had written a letter of expostulation to Dupleix, expressing a desire therein to preserve the French alliance on condition of Dupleix showing his loyalty to the old Nawab, received nothing but a complimentary reply to the effect that the sole desire of the French was to retain his friendship. When it was known at Pondicherry that the old Nawab was suffering from acute diarrhœa and that written instructions had been despatched both to Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali not to move from their stations, Dupleix became more open. Mahfuz Khan's advance from Sriperumbudur further east and Husain Sahib's continued detention of the French prisoners at Arcot gave him further justification. He schemed boldly for the release of Chanda Sahib from Maratha captivity and for the deposition of Anwar-ud-din and his two sons from rule. Paradis had been recalled from Madras in order to lead the projected attack on Fort St. David; he was harrassed on his way near Tirupporur by Mahfuz Khan's troops and had to fight his way through to Sadras where a reinforcement of 200 soldiers and 150 sepoys was ordered to join him from Pondicherry.[2]

Dupleix took measures to make it appear that he had a large number of soldiers and sepoys in Pondicherry. His men marched

[1] The French *vakil* at Arcot reported that the Nawab could not be approached on this matter and the idea of capturing Fort St. David should be entirely abandoned. Both Sampati Rao, the Dewan, and Husain Sahib, a powerful chief at the Nawab's court, were against such a matter being even broached to the Nawab. Husain Sahib even tried to persuade the wife of Chanda Sahib who was living at Pondicherry to leave the place and take her abode in some strong fort in the Nawab's territory; and he would not release the three French prisoners, even though his master had definitely ordered their freedom.

[2] The fight was much more serious than what Dupleix made it appear to the Diarist (pp. 163–65 of vol. iii). Orme says that Paradis set out from Madras with a detachment of 300 Europeans to guard the booty which he had collected and was now carrying off, one portion of the detachment marching before the baggage and the other behind it. Mahfuz Khan's cavalry, about 3,000 horse, continually harrassed the rear, retreating as soon as the French prepared to fire, while his infantry fired from the shelter of thickets. Paradis, apprehensive of being overtaken by the night in the plain and anxious to reach Sadras, marched away with the first portion of the detachment and the baggage, leaving the rear to continue the skirmish as best they could. Twelve French soldiers were taken prisoners by the enemy; and Paradis would not venture to proceed from Sadras till he should be reinforced by a large detachment from Pondicherry—probably for the greater security of his own booty. Mahfuz Khan was satisfied with the advantage he had gained and proceeded to join his brother. (vol. i. pp. 79 and 80).

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frequently to and fro in the neighbourhood which was consequently deserted by the people and left uncultivated. Muhammad Ali marched from Gingee towards Fort St. David, but made a detour of three leagues to the westward, skirting Tiruvadi and Panruti, avoiding any conflict with the French troops. He was accompanied by 1,500 horse and a number of rocket and match-lock men and elephants. He marched to Fort St. David and encamped in its suburbs,[1] afraid of pitching his camp elsewhere lest he should be set upon by the French in a sudden attack. Small reconnoitring parties were sent out from Pondicherry ; an expedition followed on December 19, which[2]

[1] The early history of the Fort and its acquisition are best told in Garstin's *South Arcot Manual*, (1878) (pp. 18-60) and in Francis' *South Arcot Gazetteer* (1906), vol. i (pp. 33-50). The Fort was garrisoned by about 300 to 400 English soldiers and 200 East Indians and equipped with about one hundred guns. The Indian troops posted round the Fort numbered about one thousand ; and all the houses situated on the north-western side of the Fort were being demolished and levelled. 'The Fort was small, but better fortified than any of its size in India and served as a citadel to the Company's territory.' The town of Cuddalore (the Old Town) was about a mile to the south of the Fort, separated by a river from it. It was 1,200 yards from north to south and 900 from east to west ; three sides of it were defended by walls flanked with bastions. The sea-side was open, but was partially skirted by the river just before it reaches the sea. To the westward of the Fort and situated in the Company's territory were two or three populous villages.

Mr. Hinde, when he was Deputy-Governor of Fort St. David, had, prior to October 1746, made extensive improvements to the Fort ; and in announcing the capture of Madras to the Directors, he was able to tell them that the Fort had been rendered 'infinitely more secure than it was'. It was however only after the French had threatened the place two or three times, that the western ditch was widened to a breadth of 100 feet, by the diversion of the river. 'Bomb-proof barracks were erected ; a horn-work on the north and two lunettes on the east and west,' besides some other works were commenced in 1747 ; and all houses including the hospital and the whole village of Devanampatnam (Tegnapatam) within 800 yards of the Fort were pulled down and cleared away, except the Dutch Factory to the north. (Garstin, *Manual of the South Arcot District*, pp. 63 and 64). The town of Cuddalore was, as already noted, surrounded on three sides by a wall and with a small redoubt at the north-east corner, which was further protected by a spit of sand which the surf has thrown upon the shore to the north-east and was divided by a backwater from the town. (Refer to map showing plan of the Fort and Town at the time of the French attack in May, 1758, given in Orme, vol. iii (1862). Also refer to the copy of the map reproduced in pp. 62-63 of Francis' *South Arcot District Gazetteer*.)

[2] This is the so-called first French expedition against Fort St. David which consisted of 900 Europeans, 600 sepoys, 100 Africans and a few field-pieces and mortars. The English garrison was very small. The French appeared to be masters of the coast and had the inspiration of recent victory. But de Bury who superseded Paradis as the commander, in spite of the best efforts of Dupleix, did not take proper precautions to station guards and to picket his camp at the

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fought an action with the Nawab's horse and had to retreat with some loss of supplies and with a few killed and wounded (December 20, 1746). M. de Bury who commanded in this action which took place near the English Company's Garden House at Manjakuppam (the present Collector's Bungalow) attributed the failure to the indiscipline of the officers each of whom 'persisted in having his own way', and to the lack of enough powder and ball and provisions. Dupleix himself told the Diarist that he was anxious to appoint Paradis to the chief command, but the other officers refused to serve under his orders and that the latter were but served as they deserved.[1]

Muhammad Ali asked Mahfuz Khan to join him which the latter did about December 29, when their united forces amounted to 4,000 or 5,000 infantry ten to fifteen guns and 400 to 500 rockets, besides the cavalry. Dupleix now planned the capture of Cuddalore Town by

English Garden House; his officers were taking rest, and his men were dispersed with their arms grounded, when they were set upon by the united forces of Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali, consisting of 6,000 horse and 3,000 foot, Muhammad Ali having on the previous day been joined by his brother. A panic seized the French and they hastened to recross the Pennar against a constant, but irregular fire. The English garrison at Fort St. David sallied out as soon as they saw the French retreating, but did not come up in time to assist in preventing the French crossing of the river. The retreating French recovered from their panic as soon as they had crossed the river and were drawn up in such good order that the enemy forces considered it prudent not to attack them. They lost about 120 Europeans killed and 12 wounded besides a quantity of military stores and much of their baggage; but their field-pieces were saved. (Orme, vol. i, pp. 81–83; Malleson, pp. 201–4). A slightly different account of the battle from that given by Orme is given in the *Memoires* of La Bourdonnais, on the authority of a French officer of artillery who was present. 'This makes no mention of the piling of arms in the Garden described by Orme, but says that the fight began as soon as the French approached that spot. It also states that there was a battery of six guns in the Garden which the French tried unsuccessfully to capture.' It admits that the whole affair was totally mismanaged (see p. 55 of Francis—*South Arcot Gazetteer*).

[1] 'It was then my hope that they might return discomfited. This is what has actually come to pass, and I am pleased, although I am somewhat cast down at the thought that our men have sustained a defeat. . . . If Paradis does not go, neither the Muhammadans nor the English will have the least fear. Your (Diarist's) prediction has proved correct.' (Gist of Dupleix's talk with the Diarist on the occasion of the receipt of the news of the defeat. (p. 189 of vol. iii of the *Diary*.)

It was after this defeat that Dupleix was convinced that any open attempt on Fort St. David would be futile, so long as the Muhammadans were there and began a serious correspondence with the Nawab and his sons, persuading them to withdraw.

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sea and from thence the launching of an attack on Fort St. David, but feared that the English ships which were expected from Bengal and from Tellicherry might render his position critical. Even Paradis feared such a contingency and thought that Fort St. David could be captured only if the Muhammadans retired or if the English fleet should refrain from attacking. On the other side there was an equal amount of indecision. Mahfuz Khan was vacillating in his attitude; and Muhammad Ali was half inclined to make peace with the French; while the old Nawab was reported to have written to both of his sons to come to some terms with the French, break up the camp and return to Arcot, as the country was already ruined owing to failure of rain. It was rumoured that the Governor of Fort St. David had given presents to both Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali and was holding out hopes of the arrival of English ships when he promised to give them larger presents; and that so reinforced he would attack Pondicherry.

While the English and the French were thus both marking time, the French army continued in its camp at Ariyānkuppam; and on the night of January 10, a party of 500 men advanced in boats to attack Cuddalore, but had to retreat owing to the high surf of the sea and the consequent impossibility of entering the river which runs along the eastern side of the place and thus attacking its exposed quarter. Dupleix was thus disappointed a second time in his views against Cuddalore.[1] He now attempted to cause a diversion of the enemy troops by carrying the war into the country round Madras. He directed the commandant of Madras to send a detachment into the neighbouring country where there were no troops of the Nawab. The French found large quantities of grain in several places which they set fire to, having no means to carry them off. These measures did not have the intended effect of diverting Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali from Fort St. David and they continued to stay on in their encampment.

[1] This attempt was decided upon in Council on December 30; and it was preceded by a smaller expedition of 100 soldiers and Mahē sepoys who set out in three boats, but had to return owing to the powder and muskets being wetted. (December 31st; see Diarist's entry for January 1, 1747). A party of 400 *peons* (undisciplined Indian troops who had with them their own arms and continued their own manner of using them) advanced on the 10th in two divisions by two different routes to attack the Muhammadan camp; but they returned without making any attack as the two did not join in proper time at the appointed place.

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IV Treaty with the Nawab

Dupleix heard early in January of the arrival of the three ships under M. Dordelin (which had arrived from Europe in the previous October and had proceeded to Achin when La Bourdonnais returned to Port Louis) and of another belonging to La Bourdonnais' squadron at the Madras roads ; he was elated at the news, since it might persuade the Nawab to withdraw his troops immediately.[1] Surely enough news quickly followed that the Nawab had released the French prisoners he had with him and had sent them to Pondicherry with a letter from himself and Muhammad Tavakkal, the resident agent of the Nawab

[1] ' Rangappa, we have good news ; our four ships with a Dutch sloop which they have captured, have reached Madras. When the English, Mahfuz Khan Muhammad Ali Khan and their troops hear of this, how will they like it ?' Thus Dupleix asked the Diarist who replied that this would produce a serious misunderstanding between the Moors and the English ; and Dupleix said he was also of the same opinion, adding, ' when the English ships which were in the roads at Pulicat, saw ours arriving at Madras, they made off, but there was a Dutch sloop which our squadron seized.' (Entry for Jannary 13 and 14, 1747, pp. 254 and 256 of vol. iii. of the *Diary*.)

Dupleix informed the Nawab duly of the arrival of these ships at Pondicherry on January 20, exaggerated the augmentation of his own forces thereby and represented that the English at Fort St. David had been abandoned by the rest of their countrymen. It now seemed to lie easily within the power of Dupleix to launch an attack on Fort St. David both by sea and land. He did not make the attempt ; he daily expected the arrival of the hostile English squadron ; he was too far advanced in negotiating with the Nawab's government for a withdrawal of his troops ; and above all, as Malleson says, ' he was hampered by the character of his naval and military commanders. Dordelin was feeble and unenterprizing ; de Bury, as we have seen, worn out and incapable' (*History of the French in India*, p. 205.). And two of the ships had been dismasted and all of them had to be fitted out with the necessary munitions and stores. The ships were later sent to the Malabar Coast to engage the English ships which were said to be cruising off Anjengo and Tellicherry and to capture these places if possible. The Angria chief was reported to have offered the services of 6,000 men; and the Rajah of Travancore was also written to negotiate for the assistance of the Angrias ; and the squadron sailed from Pondicherry on February 8, 1747, with the letter addressed to the Travancore ruler.

Toolajee Angria who had succeeded Sambhaji in the headship of his family's piratical power (the famous Kanhoji's) took advantage of the capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais and began stopping and plundering small native craft belonging to Bombay. ' Considerable anxiety was caused in Bombay, at this time, by the appearance of three French men-of-war cruising on the coast, with the evident intention of waylaying the Company's ships from Europe.' Toolajee's energies were mainly directed at this time against Canara where he sacked Mangalore and Honore carrying off on each occasion a large booty. (J. Biddulph, *The Pirates of Malabar* (1907), pp. 220–222.)

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at Pondicherry, who seemed willing to arrange for a satisfactory settlement provided he was given a large douceur.[1] A letter was written to Muhammad Ali to the effect that the French were prepared to give him the villages attached to Cuddalore and Fort St. David, reserving the latter place alone for a while longer and then to make it over also to the Muhammadans if required, provided he withdrew with his troops and did not give up these places to the English. Dupleix was inclined to ignore Mahfuz Khan altogether in these transactions, evidently because he was too irreconcilably alienated from the French and to have the negotiations settled through his younger brother alone, if possible.

When news reached Fort St. David that some English ships had reached Anjengo and Tellicherry, Dupleix tried to counteract its effect by the report that about 6,000 of Tulaji Angria's men had offered to help M. de Leyrit, the Chief of Mahē if he would take possession of Tellicherry, Anjengo and other English factories on that coast and that the ships under M. Dordelin which had recently arrived, together with two others were being sent to Mahē for that purpose.

[1] According to information gained from Muhammad Tavakkal, the Nawab was overwhelmed with debts and thoroughly wearied ; he wished to make peace with the French and with draw his troops ; and apparently the Nizam had ordered the Nawab to withdraw from the struggle. The Nawab had appointed a new person to collect the tribute of the Carnatic, ' Sadasiva Rao, a Mahratta, who is the son of Simanaji Rao, the younger brother of Baji Rao '—the same, apparently as Sadhashiv Bhao, son of Chimnaji Appa (The accuracy of this statement is open to doubt ; or the Diarist apparently made a mistake regarding the person so appointed). Muhammad Tavakkal wrote letters to Husain Tahir and to Sampati Rao that the French Governor was not willing to pay anything to the Nawab, unless the latter asked for it, and that he was aware of the latter's difficulties with the Marathas and with the Nizam. To add to the complications of the situation, a letter arrived from Chanda Sahib, in which he said that the Nizam was angry with Anwar-ud-din for having suffered a shameful defeat at French hands and intended appointing his (Chanda Sahib's) son as Nawab; and in case ' Nawab Asaf Jah (the Nizam) objects to this, Sau Bhaji Rao is determined to take command of an army of 30,000 horsemen, with the view of expelling Anwar-ud-din Khan and installing Chanda Sahib in his place' (Diarist's entry for January 24). Another letter from Arcot stated that the Nizam had issued a circular letter to all the chiefs of the southern country, directing them to proceed to the banks of the Krishna, that the troops at Arcot were preparing to do so, and that Anwar-ud-din had communicated the Nizam's command to his sons. A series of factors had thus contributed to weaken the resolution of the Nawab and his sons, if there was any, to continue firm against the French and to incline him more and more towards accommodation with the French.

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Negotiations with the Nawab's representatives continued, till Muhammad Tavakkal definitely declared that he received a communication from Arcot that the Nawab would definitely recall Mahfuz Khan and Muhammad Ali and would expect that the French in return would put a stop to the depredations of their soldiers in the country round Madras and would but fly the Mughal Emperor's flag over Fort St. George for a period of eight days. The Muhammadan troops would retire from the vicinity of Fort St. David as soon as Dupleix would withdraw the French soldiers encamped at Ariyankuppam.[1]

In the meantime when negotiations were going on, messengers came to Pondicherry from Nasir Jang with a letter and presents who were received with great ceremony. Unfortunately the Diary of Ranga Pillai who describes in great detail the splendid procession of reception, is blank in the portion where the contents of the letter should be. The rumour was that Nasir Jang was actually on the march against the Marathas and the Nizam had given strict orders that the Nawab and his sons should hasten to join him with their forces on the Krishna. Mahfuz Khan was unwilling to depart ; and it was even rumoured, that he was inclined to advance against Pondicherry itself. Dupleix and the Diarist attributed this delay to a desire to cover the disgrace of their previous defeats and to get a larger *douceur* if possible. A party of Muhammadan troopers actually tried to advance on Ariyankuppam but were beaten off (February 13). It was followed by the further reinforcement of the enemy whose camp

[1] Diarist's entry for January 27 and 28 (pp. 276–278 of vol. iii). Dupleix gave immediate orders for the withdrawal of the soldiers from the Ariyankuppam camp and even agreed to keep the flag flying over Madras ; he denied any liability to give presents to the Nawab, but consented to make large gifts. After flying the Mughal flag, he would write to the Nawab asking him for the cession of Madras ; and after getting a written order from the Nawab to that effect, he would then hoist the French flag over the citadel. Anwar-ud-din seemed to demand a present of several lakhs, to which Dupleix sent a reply message as it were, to the following effect : ' you have taken the part of the English, and dishonour, in addition to expenditure of money for the support of your soldiers, has hitherto been your only portion. You have never obtained any credit or gained any advantage. Now side with us, and we will save you all trouble. We will, at our own expense, maintain your troops. Keep your proper place and we will bring you renown and show you the road to fortune. Give us but a trial.' Except for this message, Dupleix was not inclined to give more presents than to the value of 30 000 or 40,000 rupees. (Diarist's entry for January 31, pp. 287–8 of vol. iii).

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was moved to the immediate neighbourhood of Babur and who plundered a few adjoining villages.[1] Muhammad Tavakkal now conveyed the orders of his master, Husain Sahib, that Dupleix should give a guarantee that he would not attack Fort St. David and should pay five lakhs of rupees and then alone would the negotiation for the withdrawal of troops be considered; he repaired to Muhammad Ali's camp, remonstrated with him for having raided French villages when negotiations were in progress; and the latter attempted to transfer the blame on to his brother. Thereupon Tavakkal transferred himself to Mahfuz Khan's camp, explained away the circumstances under which the French captured Madras and fought the battle of the Adyar and finally induced him to promise to withdraw his troops, and make friends with the French.

As a result of all this Dupleix decided to invite Mahfuz Khan to Pondicherry in order to settle the differences finally. Both the brothers agreed to come to Pondicherry. Mahfuz Khan was invited by Muhammad Tavakkal, M. Delarche and the Diarist on February 18; he came to Pondicherry on the next day in great state and settled with the Governor the terms of the proposed convention. Muhammad Ali excused himself from a personal visit to Pondicherry on ground of illness, but agreed to abide by the conditions agreed to by his brother.[2] There was the usual haggling over the presents to be

[1] Mention is made by the Diarist of the depredations of *Pindarees* and *Kābās* in this connection. They set fire to the houses in the villages; and several of them were captured and very severely punished by the French. The *Kābās* (according to H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, etc.* (1855), p. 243) were a 'people to the north of the Maratha provinces, said to be a piratical tribe in the Gulf of Kach.' The Kābādis who might have been a connected tribe were conveyers of articles in wooden panniers. The Pindaris are mentioned in the south, for the first time as having participated in the last wars of Aurangzib against the Marathas. (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (new ed.), p. 712). The words *Pindarees and Kābhas* are definitely mentioned in the letter written from Mahfuz Khan's camp to Muhammad Tavakkal throwing the blame of incendiarism on them. (P. 317 of the *Diary*, vol. iii.)

[2] Muhammad Tavakkal who was the main instrument of these negotiations was granted a title of honour, 'Salik Daud Khan', gold bangles to wear on the wrists, and a medal having the same inscription as that on a like decoration worn by the late *courtier*, Kanakaraya Mudali. The Diarist felt that he had also shared prominently in these negotiations; but Madame Dupleix, from whom everything had been kept back and who imagined that he was reaping a rich harvest and she had been kept from her own share, would have easily blackened him had the negotiations failed (pp. 349–354 of vol. iii of the Diary—entry for February 23). The entry for February 26 contains a long record of reflections with regard

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given to the various parties;[1] but finally the Muhammadan camp struck its tents and both Muhammad Ali and Mahfuz Khan marched away in the direction of Arcot, and the occasion was publicly celebrated both at Pondicherry and at Madras. At the latter place an English ship which anchored in the roads in ignorance of recent events was captured, and a portion of her cargo containing silver confiscated, to the tune of £600,000 at which more rejoicings were displayed than if their own ships had arrived from Europe. Attempts were also made, though not very successfully, to induce again the Madras merchants to come and settle at Pondicherry; and brisk preparations went on for a fresh attack on Fort St. David;[2] and Paradis was chosen to head the expedition in spite of the disapproval of the other officers; and the resolution to launch the expedition immediately was taken as the approach of the English squadron was almost daily expected. This was the third projected attack on the English settlement.

to his own skill in diplomacy, with the reputation that he thought he enjoyed in the opinions of other men and with similar extravagant fancies of his own services. A peculiar account is given of the struggle between the English and the French, of the subsequent events and of how he was mainly responsible for the thwarting of the enemy's designs and the triumph of Dupleix's plans. While writing these extravagant self-laudations, the Diarist is sober enough to add; 'all this (high reputation) came to me by the grace of God alone, and not through any talent on my part;' but he is also foolish enough to supplement it with the following:—'I could record, at still greater length, all the credit that I acquired in this business, but as self-laudation is a most unwise thing, I have written as above, giving only hints with regard to it.' (P. 381 of vol. iii).

[1] Orme says that Mahfuz Khan was paid 50,000 rupees and also given a present of European trinkets to the value of 100,000 rupees more. These amounts should be regarded, from what the Diarist says in great detail of presents, as inclusive of the value of all the presents given to the various personages on the Nawab's side.

[2] Besides the capture of the English ship at Madras, another English ship which touched at Fort St. David set sail for Bengal without landing the soldiers or any part of the cargo, though these were consigned to the Governor and Council of Madras. It was only on the last day of February that the ship which had escaped from the Madras roads in the previous November and escaped to Ceylon, returned to the coast and landed at Fort St. David £60,000 in silver and twenty recruits from the garrison (Orme, vol. i, p. 86.).

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A Note on the Jodhapur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka, V.S. 894

BY

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This inscription was first edited by Munshi Deviprasad in the *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 1 ff. and was re-edited with a translation and facsimile by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xviii, pp. 87 ff. As certain statements of Dr. Majumdar require in my opinion to be modified I write the following note :

Dr. Majumdar identifies Devarāja, who was defeated by Śiluka, with Devarāja, father of Vatsarāja of the imperial Pratihāra line. He writes on page 93 of his article—'Vatsarāja, the son of Devarāja became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan. Now our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Vallamaṇḍala defeated Bhaṭṭika Devarāja (*v.* 19). As Devarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is A.D. 783-4, he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A.D. Śiluka according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Devarāja may be at once presumed'. But Dr. Majumdar is certainly wrong in doing this. For Devarāja, the enemy of the Pratihāra king Śiluka is explicitly said in the Jodhapur inscription to belong to the Bhaṭṭi clan.[1] The same inscription states again in *v.* 26 that Kakka, a descendant of Śiluka, had married Padmiṇī of the Bhaṭṭi family evidently when the latter had become feudatories of the Pratihāras. Now Devarāja the father of Vasarāja of the Gwalior

[1] It may also be noted that *vv.* 18 and 19 of the Jodhapur inscription are wrongly construed by Dr. Majumdar. The expression येन सीमा कृता नित्या श्रवणीवल्लदेशयः is translated by him as 'who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Sravaṇi and Valla [*maṇḍala*]'. I think it is better to translate it as 'who established his permanent boundary', i.e., 'who permanently annexed to his kingdom the Sravani and Valla countries'. Secondly in *v.* 19 I prefer to take Bhaṭṭaka Devarāja as ruler of Vallamaṇḍala.

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inscription of Bhoja belonged to another Pratihāra family which was probably an offshoot of the Pratihāra family to which Śiluka belonged as has been accepted by Dr. Majumdar himself (p. 90). It follows therefore that the identity of the two Devarājas is impossible.[1]

The Pratihāra king Vatsarāja, as the Gwalior inscription states also claims to have defeated (*v.* 7) the Bhaṇḍi clan. This shows that the Bhaṭṭi or Bhaṇḍi family was a common enemy of both the Pratihāra families. Not only so but I think that Śiluka and Vatsarāja unitedly, the former serving as a subordinate of the latter, waged war against the Bhaṭṭi king Devarāja and seized his kingdom. Vatsarāja is definitely known from the Harivaṁśa to have been ruling in A.D. 783. Śiluka also can be shown to be his contemporary. For Kakkuka, the younger son of Kakka, the date A.D. 861 is known from the Ghaṭiyāl inscription. Taking twenty years as the generally accepted average for each generation—which is also taken by Dr. Hoernle, we see that Śiluka was living about A.D. 781 and was therefore a contemporary of Vatsarāja.

There is another reason for taking the fight of Vatsarāja with the Bhaṇḍi clan and of Śiluka with the Bhaṭṭi king Devarāja as referring to the same incident. Both Vatsarāja and Śiluka claim to have slain and seized the kingdom of the Bhaṭṭi or Bhaṇḍi king. *V.* 19 of the Jodhapur inscription states that Śiluka having knocked down Bhaṭṭika Devarāja on the ground at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella. *V.* 7 of the Gwalior inscription states that Vatsarāja forcibly wrested the empire in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants. If Śiluka whom Dr. Majumdar supposes to have lived long before Vatsarāja had so much worsted the Bhaṭṭika Devarāja, it is impossible to think that the Bhaṇḍi or Bhaṭṭi king who must have been his descendant had recovered himself so much as to offer a strong resistance to a more powerful king like Vatsarāja.

An objection may be raised against this supposition that Vatsarāja and Śiluka were contemporaries of each other. Kakka, the great grandson of Śiluka, claims in *v.* 24 of the Jodhapur inscription to have gained reputation by fighting with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri. This sattement, as Dr. Majumdar also thinks, shows that Kakka fought as a

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, pp. 99 ff.

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feudatory of the Pratihāra sovereign Nāgabhaṭa II, who is said in the Gwalior inscription to have defeated the king of Vaṇga and who is known to have been ruling at least from A.D. 815–843. Śiluka we have supposed was a contemporary of Vatsarāja and Śiluka's great grandson Kakka becomes thus a contemporary of Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭa, which on the face of it seems to be impossible. But we know of cases where two generations of a family are contemporaries of four generations of another family and the objection therefore can easily be removed.

In *vv.* 27 and 29 of this inscription reference is made to a king named Mayūra who was defeated by the Pratihāra king Bauk. Mayūra is said to have formed a confederacy and taking advantage of the absence of Bauk to have severely attacked the Gurjara capital. But Bauk returned in time, mustered his forces and defeated the confederacy and killed Mayūra. Dr. Majumdar suggests that Mayūra may refer to a king of the city called Mo-yu-lo (Mayūra) by Hiuen Tsiang and situated near Gangadvāra, i. e., Haridvāra. But it is better to identify the king Mayūra with a king of the Maurya family of Rajaputana, a descendant of the Maurya sovereign Dhavala mentioned in the Kaṇasvā inscription of V. S. 795.[1]

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 11.

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De Imperio Magni Mogolis

BY

DE LAET.

IT is now nearly three hundred years since the *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* was first printed at Leyden and to judge from the writings of several European travellers in India—Herbert, Mandelslo, Mundy and Valentyn—it would appear to have been regarded in its day as a handbook of authentic information in regard to the history of this country and even as a sort of Guide to the India of the seventeenth century. But when the European knowledge of the topography of this country grew fuller and more accurate and the brightly-written works of Bernier and Tavernier became available, it seems to have fallen into neglect and obscurity. From this obscurity, if not oblivion, it was rescued about sixty years ago by Sir Roper Lethbridge who published a translation of some chapters in the *Calcutta Review*. Quotations from and references to it are then found in the writings of Blochmann, Von Noer, Thomas and Keene, but for its more recent resuscitation in our own day, the undertaking by an Indian publishing firm of a complete translation, De Laet is really indebted to the late Mr. Vincent Smith who has repeatedly 'blessed' him and lost no opportunity of appealing to his authority.

I am not sure that the meticulous perusal of the entire work in its English garb and of the by no means severe or hostile scrutiny to which it has been subjected in the footnotes will raise De Laet in the estimation of those who are out in search of a more exact knowledge of the Mughal period or lead even the general reader to see eye to eye with Mr. Smith. It is abundantly clear even from Prof. Banerjee's Commentary that he is often inaccurate, that the names of persons and places are not unfrequently mixed up or transmogrified beyond recognition in his pages, that those of his statements which are new are untrue or exaggerated and that several others betray a lack of real knowledge or an imperfect apprehension of the meaning of the author from whom he had borrowed them.

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It should be remembered that De Laet himself never visited India and his work is naturally wanting in those touches or proofs of inside knowledge which mark the writings of his sources—Finch and Terry and Pelsaert. He is at best a compiler, a retailer at second hand in the language of the learned of the information purveyed by others in the vernacular—English, Portuguese and Dutch. He has merely given a condensed paraphrase of some of the Journals and Itineraries industriously collected by Purchas and he is indebted almost entirely to the latter for the so-called Description of the 'Real India' (*India Vera*) which constitutes the first half of his work.

The fact is that this Description is merely made up by dovetailing together scattered extracts of varying degrees of verity and value, and there should be no cause for surprise if the matter conveyed to us in this manner has in some sort not improved by filtering through two indifferent translations.

De Laet would have done well if he had not placed in the forefront of his book Sir Thomas Roe's account of the thirty-seven Provinces of the Mughal Empire which must strike the modern reader as crude and confused. The names of towns, districts and principalities are so mixed up in this account and the boundaries are so ill-defined that several of these 'provinces' remain unidentified notwithstanding the learning and elucidatory skill of Lethbridge, Blochmann and Foster. The more detailed description of towns and cities which is transferred from the Journal of William Finch is undoubtedly fuller as well as more accurate, but the discrepancies between statements drawn from two or three different sources are sometimes glaring and the unity of the picture is also not preserved by the compiler's attempt to foist into the main body of the narrative of one author, odds and ends of information from the observations of others. The result is that there are no less than three utterly discordant lists of the 'Provinces of the Mughal Empire' within the boards of this book.[1] The kingdom of Golconda is wedged in as *a part of the Mughal Empire* between Bengal and Multan, and several historical statements, e.g., about Pratāpshāh of Baglāna, Bahādur the son of Muzaffar III, the 'Pathan chieftain' of Bhāti and others which were in some sort of accordance with fact in Finch's day (1610) are copied word for word although they had ceased to be true when De Laet wrote in 1631.

[1] Pp. 4-14, 16-78 and 172.

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Besides drawing upon these English authors, De Laet has made use of some unnamed 'Dutch Sources' and recorded upon their authority three or four statistical statements which have an air of novelty and would be both interesting and valuable if they were true. The most notable of these 'new' facts is that relating to the annual revenue of the Province of Gujarat, which is said, not once but twice,[1] to have amounted to '150 tons of gold'. Now if this is the English ton and we are not told that it was not, equivalent to about 55 maunds of 40 pounds each, this quantity would correspond to 13,200,000 tolas (150 × 55 × 40 × 40) of gold, and if the gold *tola* is valued at only ten rupees, the total amount would be 13 krores and 20 lacs of rupees. This is an impossible figure by itself and it is besides unworthy of credit because De Laet himself states in another paragraph which has been repeatedly cited with approval by Thomas and others that the aggregate revenue of the whole Mughal Empire at Akbar's death was only 17 krores and 45 lacs of rupees.[2] Elsewhere, De Laet says that the total revenue of Ahmadābād came to more than 'six millions of gold pieces', i.e., about six krores of rupees at ten rupees to the gold *Muhr* or *Ashrafi*. Now whichever way this second statement is understood—whether it refers to the *Sarkār* only of Ahmadābād or to the whole *Suba* of Gujarāt (or Ahmadābād), the assertion is a palpable exaggeration as, according to Abul Fazl, the revenue of the *Sarkār* was only 208,306,994 *dāms* or little more than fifty-two lacs of rupees,[3] and that of the whole *Suba* only about 43 krores and 70 lacs of *dāms* or less than one krore and ten lacs of rupees.[4] And Abul Fazl's statements are both borne out by the figures for the revenue of the province which are found in the *Bādshāh-nāma*, the *Mirātu-l-Ālam* and the *Dasturs-al-Amal* of different dates which are cited in the works of Thomas, Irvine and Sarkar.[5]

Lastly, De Laet informs his readers in the section on the city of Broach that the revenue obtained from that place was, according to Dutch writers, '2,00,000 *Mahmudis*, each of which *Mahmudis* was equal to ten Dutch *Stupferi*, i.e., Stivers.[6] But in the chapter on the

[1] Pp. 16 and 111.
[2] P. 172.
[3] *Āin-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Trans., ii, 252.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, p. 52; *Storia do Mogor*, ii, 416; *India of Aurangzeb*, p. l. iv; Elliot and Dorwson, *History of India*, vii, 7.
[6] P. 24.

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'Wealth of the Prince,' he appears to have forgotten what he himself had written and declares that the revenue of this identical town was 1,260,000 *Mahmudis*—i.e. more than six times as much—on the authority of these same 'Dutch sources'!

But perhaps the most arresting passage in the whole work is the circumstantial and apparently exact inventory of Akbar's treasure in the fort of Agra. De Laet does not say where or from whom he obtained this list, but whatever its source, such a statement would be both interesting and important if it bore internal evidence of genuineness and accurate transcription. Indeed, Mr. Vincent Smith has drawn pointed attention to it in an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and declared that it supplies 'one of the numerous facts of importance neglected by the historians and biographers' of the Great Emperor.[1] He has also expressed his conviction that it is '*directly* transcribed from official records and is peculiarly deserving of credit'. In these circumstances, it may be permissible to examine it somewhat narrowly with a view to estimate its real value. De Laet writes:[2]

'On the death of Achabar × × × his treasures were carefully counted and were found to amount in all × × to 34 crores 82 lakhs and 26,386 rupees; (i.e., to Rs. 34,82,26,386¾). Of this total, Rs. 19,83,46,666¾ was in specie of all descriptions. As regards first the gold specie; this King had struck some coins of a weight of 100 *toli* (1150 *massae*) each and some of a weight of 50 and 25 *toli*. The total of these reckoned in the massæ, amounted to 6,970,000 *massae*; and at a rate of Rs. 14 to each *massae* were worth in all Rs. 9,57,80,000¾. In the second place the silver coins, rupees of Achabar amounted to Rs. 10,00,00,000. In the third place, the copper coins (*Peysa* or *pici*) numbered 230,000,000 and reckoning 30 *tacki* per rupee, were worth altogether Rs. 76,66,666. Thus the total comes (as given above) to Rs. 1,98,34,66,66¾.'

Now all this appears at first sight to be very elaborate and mathematically exact, but a little examination shows that these five or six

[1] *J.R.A.S.* 1915, p. 238. Mr. Smith is hardly justified in thus making this assertion. There *is* a list of the treasure left by Akbar in Firishta's History and in Khāfi Khan's *Munta Khahu-l-Luhāb Tārikh*. *Firishtā* (Lucknow Leth) I. 272 Briggs's Trans. Reprint 1909, II. 284; Khafi Khan. *Bibl. Ind.* Text. I. 208.

[2] P. 107.

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lines are vitiated by almost as many errors—errors so gross as to throw serious doubts on the authenticity and credibility of the entire statement.

In the first place, we are told that the weight of one variety of these enormous gold pieces was 100 *tolas* or 1,150 *māshas* and that the total weight of the 'gigantic coins' of all the three varieties enumerated (100, 50 and 25 *tolas*) was 6,970,000 *māshas*.[1] And we are likewise informed with an ostentatious display of arithmetical rectitude that the aggregate value of these 6,970,000 *māshas* weight of gold was just 9,75,80,000$\frac{3}{4}$ rupees at the rate of 14 rupees to a *māsha*! Fourteen rupees for one *māsha* of gold is a manifest absurdity and it is clear that here De Laet is confounding the *tola* with the *māsha*, its twelfth part, just as in other places he commits the equally egregious blunder of reckoning the lac as equivalent to a million.[2]

In a word, the calculation founded on this obviously impossible valuation of a *māsha* must be pronounced untrustworthy.

Secondly we are told that each of the heaviest pieces weighed 100 *tolas* or 1,150 *māshas*. This equation also is open to doubt and cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. In the first place, one hundred *tolas* would be equal to 1,200 *māshas*, not 1,150. We also know on the best authority that *muhrs* of three different weights, viz., of 14 *māshas*, 4$\frac{3}{4}$ *ratis*, of 12 *māshas* 1$\frac{3}{4}$ *ratis* and of 11 *māshas* were introduced by Akbar and specimens of the last two varieties are to be found in fairly large numbers in our public and private cabinets of coins.[3] But a gold *muhr* of 11$\frac{1}{2}$ *māshas* does not appear to have been ever struck by the great Emperor. It was Akbar's *rupee* which turned the scale at 11$\frac{1}{2}$ *māshas* and our author would seem to have ignorantly imagined that the Akbari *muhr* also weighed 11$\frac{1}{2}$ *māshas* because the rupee had that weight. Thirdly, we know that there were two types of the one-hundred *muhr* piece, one weighing 1,222 and the other 1,100 *māshas*.[4] Abul Fazl explicitly says so, and his testimony completely invalidates the

[1] The whole question of these gigantic coins struck by Akbar and other Mughal Emperors is more fully examined in my 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics.'

[2] Pp. 27, 41, 74.

[3] *Āin Akbari*, Blochmann's, Tr. i. 28; Lane Poole *British Museum Catalogue*, *passim*.

[4] *Ibid.*

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calculation based on the supposition that a piece containing 1,150 *māshas* had been stamped.

Then, again, if this official and trustworthy inventory was copied *directly* from registers or documents *of the time of Akbar*, it is difficult to understand why the price of a *tola* of gold is reckoned in it *i.e.*, in 1605, at the high figure of Rs. 14. The ratio of silver to gold was perhaps 14 to 1 in the time of Shah Jahān, but then it would be easy to bring a cloud of witnesses to prove the price of a *tola* of gold was, *at the most*, ten rupees only *in the time of Akbar* and the 'prince of Indian numismatologists' Thomas has, after examining all the evidence, pronounced the opinion that the relative value of the two metals was only 9·4 to 1 in the last decade of the sixteenth century.[1]

Lastly, we know that a rupee was equivalent to forty *dāms* or twenty *tankās*, i.e., double *dāms*. At p. 176, De Laet himself says that there were twenty *tangaes* in the rupee. But here and at p. 104, he reckons the rupee as equivalent to *thirty*. Similarly he uses the word *peysa* sometimes for the half-*dām* and at others for the full *dām*. When he says (p. 104) that the *peysa* weighed twelve drams (avoirdupois) he has in mind the *whole dām*; when he says in the same breath that three *peysas* were equivalent to an English penny and that there were thirty of them in a Gujarat *mahmudi*, he means the *half-dām*. When again he reckons twenty *tangas* to the rupee, he is thinking of the book-rate, theoretical or money-of-account value of the *tanka* or *double dām*, as it had been fixed by Akbar. When again, as here, he takes the *tanka* as the thirtieth part of the rupee, he is confusing it with the *single dām* of which the book-rate value in Akbar's time was $\frac{1}{40}$th of a rupee, but which, on account of the rise in the price of copper, had about 1630 A.C. soared up to such an extent that only thirty (whole) *dāms* exchanged for a rupee. This, confusion between the *dām*, the *peysa* and the *tanka* vitiates his chapter on 'Money and Weights' also, and only shows that he was talking only by rote and merely repeating statements which he did not understand.

In summing up this discussion, it may be said that the errors which pervade this precious 'inventory' are so vital that they cannot be explained away. It is not necessary to say that the list is *entirely* faked or

[1] *Āin*, Tr. i. 30; *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, 424–5.

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spurious, but it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that the contemporary registers or documents from which the details are said to have been drawn have been so grossly misunderstood and their true meaning so seriously misrepresented by the ill-informed exegesis of the paraphrast that it is rendered all but useless for historical purposes.

A few remarks may be now offered in regard to the *Fragment of the History of India gathered from Dutch Sources* which fills the last hundred and odd pages of the volume. To say that we have discovered here a new and original source for the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir which deserves to be critically studied is, I am afraid, to go far beyond the bounds of discriminate eulogy. To declare that it is 'based on an unknown but genuine Persain chronicle' is to do great injustice to that class of writings, which with all their defects, are rarely guilty of such gross lapses from historical verity as disfigure almost every one of the first forty or fifty pages of this 'early authority'.

The truth is that this 'original source' is made up of three or rather four different pieces of writing which are very unequal and which have to be clearly distinguished from one another. The introductory matter relating to the reigns of Babur, Humayun and the Sūris is a marvel in the way of error and *absolutely worthless*. The comical story of Babur going out in disguise with thirty calenders to conquer all India, the ignorance of any difference between Shir Shah and Islam Shah, the jumbling up of the details of the battles of Chaunsa and Kanauj and the rigmarole about 'the kings of Deccan' is not sober history but stupid fiction.

The account of the first thirty years of Akbar's reign is *comparatively* better, but there is not a date anywhere in it and not a single event of importance is related without some capital error or even in the true chronological order. The details of the last invasion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim are mixed up with those of the first. The two expeditions to Gujarat which were conducted by Akbar in person are rolled up into one. The story of Muhibb Ali Khan's capture of Rhotas is a myth and the ascription to him of the Doli trick shows only that the compiler was unable to tell even a folktale correctly. The execution of Daud Khan Kararāni and the suicide of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat are both antedated by several years and the facts relating to those events are hopelessly 'mixed up'. The capture and imprisonment of

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Todarmal by the Bengal rebels is a fable and the story of the conquest of Kashmir is told without any regard for the true sequence of events. In view of these and other blunders, we are obliged to conclude that for this part of the fragment the writer had neither 'Persain chronicle' nor any other authority than hearsay or the rambling accounts of persons who had a dim recollection of the facts, which were distorted in the telling, as such folk's talk always is.

The state of things is somewhat altered considerably when we come to the latter period of Akbar's reign and the first fifteen years of that of his son. The Jesuits had now arrived on the scene and there can be little doubt that this part of the narrative is mainly founded on the Annual Letters or Reports of the Jesuits which are extracted or summarized in the works of DuJarric and others. One has only to compare De Laet's account with the extracts translated by Maclagan,[1] Mr. Payne and Dr. Hosten's article on Khusrū's rebellion in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* to see that the former is a mere rechauffé of the latter and that it can consequently claim no independent authority. But even this part is not free from error and even Mr. Banerjee admits that there is some *confusion* in the dates of the Embassies to Persia and the names of the ambassadors.'[2] The fact of the matter is, that here as elsewhere, the statements of the European writers of the day in regard to the history of the country rarely possess much value. Their descriptions of cities, towns and the condition of the people or of things which they saw with their own eyes are often instructive, but as Prof. Beni Prasad has justly said, 'They often go hopelessly astray whenever they treat of matters beyond their immediate purview. Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw.'[3]

The fourth part which covers the last seven or eight years of the reign of Jahangir stands on a still more different footing. The fulness of detail, and the almost embarrassing profusion of names of persons and places which mark the narrative of Shah Jahan's rebellion and the *coup d'etat* of Mahābat Khān indicate that we have here the work of a contemporary eyewitness—the narrative of a person recording the events of his own day.

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, 1896. [2] P. 191.

[3] *History of Jahangir*, p. 464.

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The authorship of the fragment has been generally attributed to Van den Broecke, but Mr. Moreland has given good reasons for believing that it was primarily the work of Pelsaert, who is said to have learnt Persian and tried to acquire a knowledge of the history of the country. Now both of them arrived in India about 1620 and Pelsaert was sent forthwith to Agra, Van den Broecke remaining at Surat.[1]

If there is *anything in this book which deserves to be critically studied*, it is the narrative of the events of the seven years (1621--1627) in which Pelsaert resided at the capital. These forty and odd pages are undoubtedly of considerable value but they are also in glaring contrast with the seventy or eighty which precede them. It cannot perhaps be claimed for them that they tell us any thing important which we did not know already from the Autobiography of the Emperor himself and the *Iqbālnāma* written by his Secretary, but they are certainly deserving of unprejudiced critical examination. And that is because they are founded, not on oral tradition, the flotsam and jetsam of rumour and hearsay, or the not always intelligent reports of the missionaries of an alien faith, but on the *Waq'ia* or Court and Official Gazettes. We know that a day-to-day record of all events was kept not only at the capital but in all the principal towns. We are also told by Manucci and others that this Court Register was for a small fee open to public inspection and it is not unlikely that the foundation of this fourth part was not a regular 'Persian chronicle' but the Public Diaries of the *waqi'a nais* or *Siwānih nigār* of Ahmadabad and Agra. It would, of course, be easy to prove from the manner in which the proper names have been bungled that the original *author* was a foreigner and a tyro in the art of deciphering the Persian script. However, this does not really matter, and any one who reads Muatamad Khan's History and this part of Pelsaert's narrative side by side may easily perceive and correct the errors; but, at the same time, he cannot fail to be struck by the close resemblance between the two narratives even in small matters. It is almost self-evident that each of them is paraphrasing or translating into his own tongue the contents of the *Wāqi'a*, or Public Register of Events, but it can scarcely be claimed that the Dutch version is in any way superior to the Persian and the similarity only

[1] *Remonstrantie*, English Trans., p. 9.

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furnishes a convincing proof of the accuracy and fidelity to truth of the indigenous chronicle.

The older Anglo-Indian writers :—Dow and Briggs, Elphinstone, Jonathan Scott, Elliot and Dowson justly and wisely laid stress on the history of India as told by its own historians. But about fifty years ago, Talboys Wheeler introduced the fashion of decrying the indigenous Musalman Chronicles and asserting that they were the bombastic and lying effusions of flatterers and hirelings, which were to be rejected and treated as naught whenever they differed from or lent no support to the scandalous tales and rumours repeated by Catrow, Mandelslo, Tavernier and other European travellers. Very lately Mr. Vincent Smith has taken up the same parable and followed closely in Wheeler's footsteps. His favourite sources are the Annual Letters of the Jesuits, Montserrat's *Commentaries* and De Laet. He would have us believe that Akbar was a drunkard, a sot, and a murderer, that he acquired the fortress of Asirgarh by an act of perfidious treachery, that he pretended to have seen God and even laid claim to Divinity in his own person. He has even declared that Abul Fazl was deliberately guilty of perjury and forgery and that he would be certainly convicted of both those offences in any Court of Law. His praises of De Laet have hitherto rested on two or three extracts and he has enlarged with considerable skill on their supposed merits. But the reader who has now in his hands a complete translation and can see the *Descriptio* in all its beauty, will find in it very small warrant for his eulogy.

Whatever the informative value of this book may have been in its own day, it can possess but little in ours. For us its contents can have only that interest which belongs to its marking a stage, or being a sort of milestone in the history of the European knowledge of India—to its furnishing an illustration and example of the meagreness and inexactitude of that knowledge.

The majority of the learned in De Laet's day were unable to read English and Dutch and he might be justly credited with having rendered a sevice to *them* by disseminating the knowledge he had himself acquired in a language which they could understand. But the modern Indian reader can have no use for this tinned and potted version of Purchas and Pelsaert and Van den Broucki. He may surely and safely refuse to fall down before or worship the

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resurrected simulacrum of his second-hand stuff. He can read all that De Laet says, and much more in the fourth volume of Mac Lehose's Reprint of the *Pilgrims* and Mr. Moreland's version of the *Remonstrantie*. Nay, he may even do without either, for he can find almost everything that is valuable in De Laet's First Part in Sir William Foster's cheap but beautifully-edited *Early Travels in India*. As regards the Second Part, it does not appear to be generally known, but it is true that a very fair paraphrase of the *Fragmentum* was made available to English readers more than three centuries ago. This old rendering is about as useful as Mr. Hoyland's and in some respects, even superior to it. At any rate, a careful comparison indicates that the proper names are not so atrociously mangled and mutilated by Sir Thomas Herbert as by De Laet.

And the reason is that Herbert had acquired some knowledge of Persian, of which De Laet as well as his Editors appear to have been absolutely innocent. It may be also noted that several discrepancies between Herbert and De Laet, indicate that the recension of the text of the *Fragmentum* used and followed by the English was different from that which was in the hands of De Laet .

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Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

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Continued from page 92 of volume VII. Part I.

Kings

The institution of kingship was an ancient one among the Tamils, for several old words exist which mean a king: e.g., *Kon*,[1] *Ēndal*,[2] *Vēndan*,[3] *Mannan*,[4] *Kuriśil*,[5] *Iṟaivan*;[6] besides, the words *Vaḷḷal*,[7] and *Aṇṇal*,[8] restricted in later usage to nobles or petty chiefs, rulers of small territories, *Kuṟunilamannar*,[9] but applied to kings also. The government of a people by a king was called *Āṭchi*,[10] an abstract noun from the verb *Āḷ*,[11] to rule over, from the noun *Āḷ*,[12] a subject, originally a person. Government was conceived as being similar to a herdsman ruling a herd, helping it to feed and protecting it from enemies. The name *Ēndal*,[13] (and *Vēndan*,[14] which perhaps is etymologically the same word) is derived from *Ēndu*,[15] to support, and refers to the chief function of a king, that of protecting his subjects from harm. But the oldest Tamil word for a king is *Kō*,[16] or *Kōn*,[17] which also means a cowherd. This implies that kingship arose first in the pastoral stage of the evolution of human life. It is in this stage that men began to acquire wealth, cattle, *paśu*,[18] *pecu*, being the earliest form of wealth that man could acquire. Pastoral life required that a tribe should settle with its wealth of cattle on a patch of grass-land. Unlike other forms of wealth, cattle and sheep constantly reproduce their kind, and herds always grow in size. The sons of a herdsman may partition the herd belonging to the family among themselves, but the pasture-land cannot thus be partitioned, for, where a small holding of a rice-field may well be cultivated by its owner and arable land may continue to be sub-divided into little plots for generations, pasture-land cannot thus be subdivided, for grass-fields below a minimum size are unfit for pasturing a herd. Hence the joint-family system became a necessity. The patriarch of a tribe thus acquired great influence and became its king. Hence the word *Kō*, cowherd, came to be applied to a king when kingship evolved.

The house where the king resided was the *Kōṭṭai*.[19] As the royal power increased, as the science of warfare developed, the royal residence, *Kōṭṭai*, became a fort. The fort was surrounded by strong

[1] கோன். [2] ஏந்தல். [3] வேந்தன். [4] மன்னன். [5] குரிசில். [6] இறைவன். [7] வள்ளல். [8] அண்ணல். [9] குறுநிலமன்னர். [10] ஆட்சி. [11] ஆள். [12] ஆள். [13] ஏந்தல். [14] வேந்தன். [15] ஏந்து. [16] கோ. [17] கோன். [18] பசு.

[19] கோட்டை. Another early word for a palace was *Kōil*, (கோயில்) which, after the rise of the grand modern temples, became restricted to Gods' houses.

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walls, *araṇ*;[1] hence the fort was called *araṇmanai*;[2] *araṇ*[3] originally meant both beauty and defence, and hence came to be applied to the walls of a fortress, also called *madil*.[4] These walls were made of mud, mixed with boiled ragi flour and were so strong and elastic that they could resist battering very much better than inelastic brick or stone walls. In the Tinnevelly district there exists even to-day many a *madil* made after the ancient recipe, which are very difficult to pull down. The fort was surrounded by an *agaḻ*,[5] *agappā*,[6] or *agaḻi*,[7] a moat, (from *ag*[8], to dig, whence the following Tamil words are derived, *Agam*,[9] home, inside, mind, the inner life, love, etc., *Agakkāḻ*,[10] heart-wood, *agaḍu*,[11] inside, *agaṇi*,[12] interior, heart-wood, also a rice-field dug out of the soil, *agappu*,[13] depth, *agalam*,[14] breadth, *agal*,[15] a bowl, *agavai*,[16] internal quality, *agal*,[17] to dig), *agappai*,[17] a ladle scooped out. The *agaḻ* was also called *uḍu*,[18] *ōḍai*,[19] *kayam*,[20] *kēṇi*,[21] *parigam*,[22] *parigai*,[23] *puriśai*[24] and *pāmburi*,[25] (that which surrounds a fort as closely as the skin round a snake). The wealth of names for the moat shows that it was a very familiar object to the ancient Tamils. The entrance to the fort was called *Koṭṭi*[26] and the batter, i.e., receding slope from the ground upwards behind a wall, topped by a flat platform, *Kottaḻam*.[27] *Ñāvil*[28] is the name of another part of a fortification: what it means is not known clearly. Within the royal residence there were many rooms, each called *aṛai*,[29] (from *aṛu*,[30] to cut off), a portion of the house walled off from other portions for special purposes. One of these rooms was the store-room, *Koṭṭaṛai*,[31] or *Koṭṭaḍi*,[32] (whence perhaps was derived the Sanskrit word *Koshṭa*). The state-room was the *Koluvaṛai*[33] or *Koluchchāvaḍi*,[34] where the king sat in state on occasions of ceremonial. This was called *koluviruttal*,[35] or *Vīṛiruttal*.[36] The *Koluchchāvaḍi* was no doubt decorated with flags[37] (*koḍi*,[38] *tugil*,[39] *togai*,[40] *śatti*,[41] *kattigai*,[42] *kadali*,[43] on these occasions, as well as with flowers and bunting, flowers and leaves playing a large part in South Indian life as will be shown later. On such formal occasions, the king wore a crown. As the crown was called *muḍi*,[44] band, we may be sure that it was a band of gold tied around the forehead, like the gold bands found at Ādichchanallūr. Indian crowns of recent ages were tall conical caps of solid gold, imbedded with gems such as now adorn gods when going out on processions; these are so heavy that gods alone can wear them for any length of time, and could not have been worn by the ancient Tamil kings, all the more so as kings, like all other men of the ancient Tamil country, grew a whole head of hair. Shaving was unknown in South India and was introduced by the Āryas; this is proved by the fact that there is no proper, ancient Tamil name for the barber, and there are only words derived from the Sanskrit, like *pariyāri*,[45] *ambaṭṭan*,[46] *nāvidan*,[47] *maṅgali*[48] or descriptive compounds

[1] அரண். [2] அரண்மனை. [3] அரண் [4] மதில். [5] அகல். [6] அகப்பர. [7] அகழி. [8] அக். [9] அகம். [10] அகக்காழ். [11] அகடு. [12] அகணி. [13] அகப்பு. [14] அகலம். [15] அகல். [16] அகவை. [17] அகல். [17a] அகப்பை. [18] உடு. [19] ஓடை. [20] கயம். [21] கேணி. [22] பரிகம். [23] பரிகை. [24] புரிசை. [25] பாம்புரி. [26] கொட்டி. [27] கொத்தளம். [28] ஞாயில். [29] அறை. [30] அறு. [31] கொட்டறை. [32] கொட்டடி. [33] கொலுவறை. [34] கொலுச்சாவடி. [35] கொலுவிருத்தல். [36] வீற்றிருத்தல். [37] Flags used to decorate a street were called *viḍaṅgam* (விடங்கம்). [38] கொடி. [39] துகில். [40] தோகை [41] சத்தி. [42] கத்திகை. [43] கதலி. [44] முடி. [45] பரியாரி. [46] அம்பட்டன். [47] நாவிதன். [48] மங்கலி.

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like *mayirvinaiyāḷan*[1] (hair-dresser), *māśutīrppōn*,[2] (one who puts an end to a hairy cheek). Moreover, throughout the interior of South India, people who have not taken to Aryan or European customs do not even now patronize barbers.

Wearing a crown and gold bracelets round the wrist, above the elbow and the ankles, (*Kaḷal*)[3] furnished with tinkling bells, (*śadaṇgai*),[4] garlands of pearls, *muttu*,[5] coral, *pavaḷam*,[6] and rings, *Kaṅaiyāḷi*,[7] the king, during darbar, *Kolu*,[8] was seated on a throne; this was called *Kaṭṭil*,[9] and, as this name implies, was a construction of boards tied together to form a seat. Pillows, *aṙiaṇai*,[10] supported his back. Surrounded by his personal servants, *aḍiyār*,[11] *ūḷiyar*,[12] by heralds who proclaimed his greatness, *agavar*,[13] and by *vaḷḷuvar*,[14] publishers of royal orders, and *pāṇar*,[15] poets who sang the praises of the king, with nobles, *vaḷḷal*,[16] *aṇṇal*,[17] seated in front of him, and the common people, *āṭkaḷ*,[18] standing respectfully at a distance, the king heard complaints, dispensed justice and conducted state affairs of all kinds. The king often went out on processions, seated in a chariot, *tēr*.[19] Other names for it were *ari*,[20] *kavari*,[21] *kuyavu*,[22] *kūviram*,[23] *tigiri*,[24] *vaiyam*.[25] The royal charriot was certainly well-decorated with wood carving, for this art was practised from lithic times: the conical top of a chariot, carved to look like a lotus was called *kūmbu*,[26] *kūviram*,[27] *koḍiñji*.[28] The middle of a chariot was called *taṭṭu*,[29] or *nāppaṇ*;[30] its floor, *pār*,[31] the boards around its body, *kiḍugu*,[32] its spoke, *ār*;[33] the raised platform with steps near the car, from the top of which it is possible to step into the car, *muḷṭi*, [34]or *pirambu*.[35] The existence of so many names shows what an important institution the royal car was, as the temple car is now, for all the appurtenances of temple-idols are but adaptations of royal paraphernalia. The only difference between the royal car and the temple car is that the latter is drawn by human beings who desire to participate in the virtue of dragging it, but the former was drawn by bulls (*kāḷai*,[36] *eṛuḍu*,[37] *viḍai*,[38] *iṛāl*[39], *ēṛu*[40], *kuṇḍai*,[41] *kūḷi*,[42] *koṭṭiyam*,[43] *kō*,[44] *chē*,[45] *pagaḍu*,[46] *pāṇḍil*,[47] *pāral*,[48] *puḷḷam*,[49] *pūṇi*,[50] *peṛṛam*[51] *pōṭṭu*,[52] *mūṛi*),[53] or by the elephant (*yānai*,[54] *kaḷiṛu*)[55]. There are about twenty[56] other names for this favourite animal, belonging to Tamil alone, besides several others for the male animal and several more for the female. The cars were decorated with flags and trappings, (*terchchīlai*).[57]

The royal revenue, besides the proceeds from the royal lands, were derived from taxes (*vari*),[58] tolls, (*suṅgam*,[59] *uḷgu*,[60] *iṛai*),[61] and tributes (*kappam*,[62] *pariśu*,[63] *tiṛai*).[64]

[1]மயிர்வினையாளன். [2]மாசுதீர்ப்போன். [3]கழல். [4]சதங்கை. [5]முத்து. [6]பவழம். [7]கணையாழி. [8]கொலு. [9]கட்டில். [10]அரியணை. [11]அடியார். [12]ஊழியர். [13]அகவர் [14]வள்ளுவர். [15]பாணர். [16]வள்ளல். [17]அண்ணல். [18]ஆட்கள். [19]தேர். [20]அரி. [21]கவரி. [22]குயவு. [23]கூவிரம். [24]திகிரி. [25]வையம். [26]கும்பு. [27]கூவிரம். [28]கொடிஞ்சி. [29]தட்டு. [30]நாப்பண். [31]பார். [32]இடுகு. [33]ஆர். [34]முட்டி. [35]பிரம்பு. [36]காளை. [37]எருது. [38]விடை. [39]இருள். [40]ஏறு. [41]குண்டை. [42]கூளி. [43]கொட்டியம். [44]கோ. [45]சே. [46]பகடு. [47]பாண்டில். [48]பாரல். [49]புல்லம். [50]பூணி. [51]பெற்றம். [52]போத்து. [53]மூரி. [54]யானை. [55]களிறு. [56]Such as அறகு, ஆம்பல், இம்மடி, உம்பல், உவா, எறம்பு, ஒருத்தல், ஒல்கல், கடிவை, கன்வன், கறையடி, கைப்புலி, கைம்மலை, கைம்மா, கோட்மா, சண்டாலி, சூனிகை, திண்டி, தும்பி, தூங்கல், தென்னி, தோல், நால்வாய், நூழில், பகடு, புகர்முகம், புழக்கை, பூட்கை, பெருமா, பொக்கடி, மருண்மா. மறமலி, மொசி, வயமா, வல்லிலங்கு, வழுவை, வேழம். [57]தேர்ச்சீலை. [58]வரி. [59]சுங்கம் [60]உலகு. [61]இறை. [62]கப்பம். [63]பரிசு. [64]திறை.

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Love

The chief royal occupations or amusements, (for in the case of kings, it is difficult to distinguish amusements from occupations) were love and war, both of which formed the subject of innumerable odes sung by the early bards. Love and war were respectively called *agam*[1] and *puṟam*,[2] the inner life which one cannot share with other men and the outer life of action which other men can appreciate and admire. The love of kings and other men was of two kinds. (1) Love at first sight, so impetuous as to lead to immediate consummation, called *kaḷavu*,[3] to be leisurely legitimatized by a formal marriage, (*maṇam*,[4] *maṇṟal*,[5] *varaivu*,[6] *vēṭṭal*)[7]. (2) Post-nuptial love, called *kaṟpu*.[8] The course of love, pre-nuptial or post-nuptial, furnished the bards with innumerable incidents fit for poetic treatment and this is the subject of three chapters of the grammar of poetry, called *Poruḷadigāram*,[9] of *Tolkāppiyam*, viz., *Agattiṇaiyiyal*,[10] (referring to both),[11] *Kaḷaviyal*,[12] *Kaṟpiyal*.[13] The chief incidents of the course of both forms of love, viz., the first catastrophic meeting of the lovers called *iyaṟkaippuṇarchchi*,[14] their waiting in expectation of meeting each other, *iruttal*,[15] lamentations for temporary separation *irangal*,[16] brief and long quarrels and reconciliations, *pulavi*,[17] *ūḍal*[18] and *kūḍal*,[19] and the parting of lovers, *piridal*,[20] were respectively correlated to the five natural regions, *Kuṟiñji*, *Mullai*, *Neydal*, *Marudam* and *Pālai*. The fact that Tamil literary conventions arose absolutely independent of the literary conventions of the Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, shows that the correlations of the incidents of love with natural regions, peculiar to Tamil poetry, were based on actual customs which prevailed among the Tamil people in the third millennium B.C., and earlier. We can understand how these customs, i.e., social conventions, on which the literary conventions were based, first arose. The romantic scenery of Kuriñji land is the greatest stimulus of love and the opportunities it affords for immediate consummation fans the flame of impetuosity which is the special characteristic of Kuṟiñji love. Pre-nuptial love must have been the norm in the mountainous region, and the life of the hunter. In the Mullai region, the herdsman-lover had to be separated all day long from the mistress of his heart and hence the waiting of lovers for each other was associated with this region. In the Neydal, the woman has to sit desolate for days together, when her lover has gone on a voyage attended with risks to far off lands, and hence Neydal symbolizes the lamentations of lovers. So Pālai, the desert region, where the lovers have necessarily to part company, aptly symbolizes the separation of lovers. In Marudam, people led a settled agricultural and industrial life and they could enjoy longer periods of lazy leisure than the people of other regions. Hence the formal Tamil marriage-rite was evolved in Marudam.

[1] அகம். [2] புறம். [3] களவு. [4] மணம். [5] மன்றல். [6] வரைவு. [7] வேட்டல். [8] கற்பு.
[9] பொருளதிகாரம் [10] அகத்திணையியல். [11] புறத்திணையியல். [12] களவியல். [13] கற்பியல.
[14] இயற்கைப்புணர்ச்சி. [15] இருத்தல். [16] இரங்கல். [17] புலவி. [18] ஊடல். [19] கூடல்.
[20] பிரிதல்.

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MARRIAGE

The ancient wedding-rite is described in the following two odes from *Agam*. 'There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests were fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. Flower-garlands were hanging. It was the morning of the day of the bright bent (crescent) moon, when the stars shed no evil influence. Then women bearing pots on the head, others carrying new broad begging bowls handed them over one after another, fair elderly dames making much noise the while. Then four women, mothers of sons, with their pudenda marked with natural beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water) and at the same time blessed her, saying, 'Do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you'. On the night of the day after that of the celebration of the marriage, the neighbouring ladies assembled and said to the bride, 'Become the mistress of a great house', and she went in trepidation to the bed-room dressed in new clothes.'[1]

'Having boiled the rice free from all impurities and mixed *ghi* with it, they served it to the elders. The auspicious birds flew in the bright, beautiful, broad sky. The asterism Rohiṇi was in conjunction with the moon. They decorated the house which was free from dirt, and worshipped God. The big drum sounded, the marriage-volley was beaten. The women who desired to witness the marriage assembled in haste. The flower-eyed goddesses witnessed the marriage and disappeared. They strung on white thread the double leaf of the *agatti* which has soft flowers, many blades of the *aṛugai*-grass which the calf eats, and the young flowers of the blue water-lily which are like clean gems when the sounding rain-drops fall from the sky and adorned the bride with these garlands. Underneath a pandal strewn with sand which was cool as if rain had fallen on it, the relatives of the bride

[1] உழுந்துதலைப் பெய்த கொழுங்கனி மிதவை
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை நிற்ப நிரைகாற்
றண்பெரும் பந்தர்த் தருமணன் ஞெமிரி
மனைவிளக் குறுத்து மாலை தொடரிக்
கணையிரு ளகன்ற கவின்பெறு காலைக்
கோள்கா னீங்கிய கொடுவெண் டிங்கட்
கேடில் விழுப்புகழ் நாடலை வந்தென
வுச்சிக் குடத்தார் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
பொதுசெய் கம்பலை முதுசெம் பெண்டிர்
முன்னவும் பின்னவு முறைமுறை தரத்தரப்
புதல்வற் பயந்த திதலையவ் வயிற்று
வாலிழை மகளிர் நால்வர் கூடிக்
கற்பினின் வழாஅ நற்பல வுதவிப்
பெற்றோற் பெட்கும் பிணையை யாகென
நீரொடு சொரிந்த வீரித ழுலரி
பல்லிருங் கதுப்பி னெல்லொடு தயங்க
வதுவை நன்மணங் கழிந்த பின்றைக்
கல்லென் சும்மையர் ஞேரேரெனப் புகுதந்து
பேரிற் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
வோரிற் கூடிய வுடன்புணர் கங்குற்
கொடும்புறம் வளைஇக் கோடிக் கலிங்கத்
தொடுங்கினள்.

Agam 86.

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gave her away.'[1] In the ancient marriage-rite there was no circumambulation of fire, *tvalam śeydal*,[2] which Brāhmaṇa purohitas of later ages invented in imitation of the wedding-rite of the higher varṇas and introduced into the marriage-ritual of the Tamils.

In the agricultural region, there also arose *kūttiyar*[3] and *viṛaliyar*,[4] dancing-women and singing women, who were ladies of easy virtue and lived the life of *hetairae*, the *parattaiyar*,[5] who brought to a premature end the course of wedded love. Hence *ūḍal* and *kūḍal*, estrangement and reunion between husband and wife, was correlated to Marudam.

Besides these five incidents of normal love, there also existed, among the ancient Tamils, two forms of abnormal love, viz., *Kaikkiḷai*,[6] love of a man for an immature girl incapable of feeling the gentle passion, and *Perundiṇai*,[7] love of a man for a woman who does not reciprocate his love; in such a case, the man maddened with passion, made a horse of the sharp-edged stem of the palmyra, provided it with wheels and rode through the streets, bleeding, till the lady relented, or committed suicide if she did not, a proceeding technically called *Maḍaleṟudal*[8] ; these are also described in many odes.

'They make, of the stem of a palmyra leaf, a horse which does not require fodder, and attach to it reins adorned with small bells ; the hero, wearing a garland of the short flowers of the *erukku*,[9] *calotropis gigantea*, mounts it. We drag the horse along the streets and boys gather behind and follow the procession.'[10]

'Wearing a garland in which the fresh flowers of the *āvirai*,[11] *cassia auriculata*, which resemble gold in colour, are strung on many threads,

[1]மைப்புறப் புழுக்கி நெய்க்கனி வெண்சோற
வரையர வண்மையொடு புரைபோர்ப் பேணிப்
புள்ளுப் புணர்த்தினிய வாகத் தெள்ளொளி
யங்க னிருவிசும்பு விளங்கத் திங்கட்
சகடம் வேண்டிய தகடூர் கூட்டத்துக்
கடிகைர் புனைந்த கடவுட் பேணிப்
படுமண முழவொடு பருஉப்பிணை யிமிழ
வதுவை மண்ணிய மகளிர் விதுப்புற்றுப்
பூக்கணு மிமையார் சோர்குபு மறைய
மென்பூ வாகைப் புன்புறக் கவட்டிலை
பழங்கன் றகிக்கும் பயம்பம லறுகைத்
தழங்குரற் வானின் றலைபெயற் றோற்ற
மண்ணுமணி பன்ன மாயிதழ்ப் பாவைத்
தண்ணறு முகையொடு வெண்ணூல் சுட்டித்
தூவுடைப் பொலிந்த மேவரத் தவன்றி
மழைபட் டன்ன மணல்மலி பக்த
நிழையணி நெடுப்பிற் பெயர்வியர்ப் பாநிதித்
தமர்கமக் கீந்த தலைஞர்.

[2]மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழி காட்டிடத்
தீவலஞ் செய்வது.

Agam 136.

Śilappaadigāram i.

[3]கூத்தியர். [4]விறலியர். [5]பாத்தையர். [6]கைக்கிளை. [7]பெருந்திணை. [8]மடலேறுதல்.
[9]எருக்கு.

[10]திறமணி தொடர்ந்த பொருக்கிர கிறீஇக்
குறுமுஞ் செருக்கங் கண்ணி குடி
புண்ணுஞ் சுன்னாப் பண்ணி யெம்முடன்
மறுகுடன் றிரிந்தருஞ் சிறுசு மாக்கள்

Naṛṛinai 220.

[11]ஆவிரை.

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he rides the horse made of (the stem of the leaf of) the palmyra, shame torturing his mind.'[1]

'Should I one day wearing a garland of gems on my breast and decorated with bones, go along the streets, without shame and ridiculed by others ?'[2]

These seven *tiṇais* constitute the *Agattiṇai*, the class of poems celebrating love.

WAR

The other subject of ancient poetry was war. The wars of ancient Tamil kings were not inspired by earth-hunger, for we find, throughout the ages, the boundaries of the Śēra, Śōḷa, and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were intact. Wars were undertaken either as affording exercise for the development of martial virtues or for the purpose of achieving, by personal prowess, supremacy in rank and the title of the liege lord of the Tamil country and for the privilege of wearing the triple crown, *Mummuḍi*.[3] Wars were undertaken in the season which followed the harvest, when the king and the subjects had no more agricultural work to do before the next rainfall. Warlike operations were divided into five, namely, *veṭchi*,[4] *vañji*,[5] *uḻiñai*,[6] *tumbai*,[7] *vāgai*,[8] respectively corresponding to *kuṟinji*, *mullai*, *marudam*, *neydal* and *pālai*. It will be noticed that all these ten are the names of flowers and each flower symbolizes the incident which is named after it. Each of these incidents, called *tiṇai*,[9] subdivided into *tuṟai*,[10] were celebrated by people wearing garlands of flowers appropriate to it. Thus we find that the Tamils noted and named hundreds of flowers and dedicated each of them with their leaves and twigs to some separate life-situation, which they celebrated by decorating their persons with garlands of those leaves and flowers, by singing measures and dancing dances specially appropriate to each of them. The passion the Tamils had for wearing garlands, symbolic or otherwise, is further indicated by the fact that there are several words meaning garland, *kaṇṇi*,[11] *tār*,[12] *toḍaiyal*,[13] *alaṅgal*,[14] *kōdai*,[15] *teriyal*.[16] This ancient love of flowers is

[1]பொன்னே ராவிரைப் புதுமலர் மிடைந்த
பன்னூன் மாலைப் பணைபடு கலிமாப்
பூண்மணி கறங்க வேறி நாணுடைப்
பழிப்ப ருண்ணெய் வழிவழி சிறப்ப
Kuṟundogai 173.

[2]விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை வியன்மா மடன்
மணியணி பெருந்தார் மார்பிற் பூட்டி
வென்னென் பணித்தபிற ரென்னத் தோன்றி
யொருநாண் மருங்கிற் பெருநாணீக்கித்
தெருவினியலவுந் தருவது கொல்லோ?
Ib. 182.

[3]மும்முடி. [4]வெட்சி. [5]வஞ்சி. [6]முழிழை. [7]தும்பை. [8]வாகை. [9]திணை. [10]துறை. [11]கண்ணி. [12]தார். [13]தொடையல். [14]அலங்கல். [15]கோதை. [16]தெரியல்.

There are sixteen other names for garlands, which shows what great love the Tamils have for personal decoration with flowers. This is further indicated by the fact that garlands had differentiated names ; thus, a garland for the face was *ilambagam*,[1] *śūṭṭu*,[2] for the hair-knot, *karōḍigai*[3] ; a garland where the flowers were tied together, *śigaḻigai*,[4] *toḍaiyal*,[5] *mālai*,[6] *vāśigai*,[7] a plaited garland, *piṇaiyal* ;[8] a strung garland, *kōvai*,[9] *paḍalai*,[10] *vāśigai*,[11]

[1]இலம்பகம். [2]சூட்டு. [3]கரோடிகை. [4]சிகழிகை [5]தொடையல். [6]மாலை. [7]வாசிகை, [8]பிணையல். [9]கோவை. [10]படலை. [11]வாசிகை.

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being slowly choked out, especially in towns, by the pressure of the drab civilization of Europe, which is robbing us of many simple joys coming down from ancient times, when the love of flowers was so strong as to lead the Tamils to adopt flowers and leaves even as the distinctive uniforms of soldiers. In the battle-fields, the soldiers of each of the three great Tamil dynasties of kings could be distinguished from each other only by the garlands they wore. Thus the Pāṇḍya soldiers were decorated with the leaves and flowers of the *Vēmbu*,[1] Margosa, the Śoḷa soldiers, with those of the *Āṭṭi*[2] or *Ār*[3], *Bauhinea racemosa*, and the Śera soldiers, of the *Panai*,[4] the palmyra. The early literature, and especially the Tolkāppiyam, contains frequent references to the symbolic use of leaves and flowers, and these prove that the ancient Tamils led a happy life of constant merry-making unoppressed by a too pessimistic view of the world and of man's destiny and that they were inspired by a love of nature superior in strength to that of other peoples, ancient or modern.

Of the five subdivisions of *Puṟam*, *Veṭchi*, the first, refers to the preliminary lifting of the enemy's cattle, and confining them in a pen in one's own country, which was the ancient method of the declaration of war. This proves that kingship, like formal war, began in the pastoral stage of life. As large herds of cattle are kept in the hilly region, *Veṭchi*, corresponds to *Kuṟinji*. *Vañji* corresponds to *Mullai*; it deals with the expedition into the enemy's country, which has necessarily to pass through the wooded country surrounding the lower river valleys, where forts were built for storing in safety the accumulated agricultural and metallic wealth.

Uḻiñai has for its subject the siege of the forts, and especially the capital, of the enemy king, situated in the heart of the *Marudam* region. *Tumbai* refers to the fierce fighting which succeeds the mastery of the fort-walls, and *Vāgai*, the final victory. As *Agattinai* has on the whole seven subdivisions, so two more have been added to *Puṟattiṇai*, viz., *Kāñji*,[5] which generally deals with the transitoriness of earthly pleasures in general and the vanity of military glory in particular, the first touch of asceticism which was destined to overwhelm Indian life from the middle of the first millenium before Christ, and *Pāḍāṇ*,[6] the last of the *Puṟattiṇai*, which contains poems praising the munificence of kings and nobles towards the poets who sought their patronage.

As it was love of display of prowess and of glory that drove the ancient Tamils to war, there is no doubt that fighting was an annual institution, undertaken in the season between the gathering of the harvest and the starting of the tillage for the next year. War was called *pōr*,[7] *śaṇḍai*,[8] *śeru*,[9] *muraṇ*,[10] *tevvu*,[11] and by about twenty other words.[12] This wealth of words meaning war indicates that it was a favourite amusement with the ancient Tamils, amusement because the object of ancient war, like that of wrestling, *maṟpōr*,[13] which was thus a variety of *por*, was not for satisfying the lust for bloodshed, but for proving strength and skill. The field of battle was called *kaḷam*,[14]

[1] வேம்பு. [2] ஆத்தி. [3] ஆர். [4] பனை. [5] காஞ்சி. [6] பாடாண். [7] போர். [8] சண்டை. [9] செரு. [10] முரண். [11] தெவ்வு. [12] அமர், ஆர்ப்பு, இகல், உறழ்வு, கணயம், கதனம், கலி, குரம்பு, கூடம், சமர், ஞாட்பு, தாக்கு, திறல், தும்பை, நிகம், நிகர்ப்பு, பண்டனம், மலைப்பு, மலைவு, மறல், முயல், மொய், விறப்பு, வினை. [13] மற்போர். [14] களம்.

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kaḷari,[1] *paṟandalai*,[2] *mudunilam*;[3] these words also indicate waste uncultivated land, on which contests of all kinds took place and show that war did not imply the ruination of crop-bearing land. The army, *paḍai*,[4] *tānai*,[5] was divided into various groups, *aṇi*,[6] *uṇḍai*,[7] *oṭṭu*;[8] the front ranks were *ākkam*,[9] *koḍippaḍai*,[10] *tār*,[11] *tūśi*,[12] *nirai*,[13] and the back ranks, *kūḷai*.[14] This shows that military science was not unknown to the Tamils.[15] In later times the army was divided into four sections, chariot-warriors, elephant-warriors, horse-warriors, and foot-soldiers. Of these all but the horse-arm came down from ancient times. South India was not the home of the horse and has always imported horses from the valley of the Sindhu, from Persia and other countries. But there is no doubt that the elephant was used from early times both for royal ostentation and military purposes. 'The warrior sits on an elephant, which looked like the god of death (*maṟali*). He has a broad and high breast, covered with a coat made of the tiger's skin, which the volley of arrows cannot pierce. The elephant resembles the ship that passes on the sea, the moon which moves among the stars; it is surrounded by armed *maṟavar* like sharks, and is so excited as not to recognize its mahout.'[16] The elephants were skilfully trained and carefully looked after by the *pāgan*,[17] tied to posts, *kandu*,[18] *taṟi*,[19] in the *ālai*,[20] elephant-house, and fed with palmyrah trunks, rice and jaggery; they were bathed in tanks or rivers, their face painted with vermilion and decorated and armoured with face-plates, *ōḍai*,[21] *suḷi*.[22] Chariots heavily decorated with wood-carving, in the profusion of which Indians revelled, and brilliantly coloured, *śāyam tōytta*,[23] trappings in various patterns and elephant warriors and foot-soldiers decked with garlands of the leaves and flowers which were the badge of each royal house, formed the serried ranks assembled on the battle-field. Of the implements of war, some came down unaltered from the Stone Age, such as the club, *taḍi*,[24] *eṟuḷ*,[25] *taṇḍu*,[26] the shorter one being *kuṇil*,[27] the bow, *vil*,[28] *kokkarai*,[29] *śilai*,[30] *taḍi*,[31] *tavar*,[32] *muni*,[33] besides the compound noun *koḍumaram*, bent-wood. Other implements were made of stone at first, and iron was substituted for stone in the early Iron Age: such as the sword, *vāḷ*,[34] *uvaṇi*,[35] *ēdi*,[36] *kaḍuttalai*,[37] *tuvaṭṭi*,[38] *navir*,[39] *nāttam*,[40] *vañjam*,[41] *vaḷ*,[42] short swords being called *kuṟumbiḍi*,[43] *śurigai*,[44] *katti*,[45] and bent ones

[1]களரி [2]பறந்தலை. [3]முதுநிலம். [4]படை. [5]தானை. [6]அணி. [7]உண்டை.
[8]ஓட்டு. [9]ஆக்கம். [10]கொடிப்படை. [11]தார். [12]தூசி. [13]நிரை. [14]கூழை.

[15]Murugan, the Tamil war-god, who was assimilated by the northerners with the non-Vedic god Subrahmaṇya, also called Shaṇmukha, Kārttikeya, is said to have invented different forms of military formations and written a treatise on the subject in Sanskrit.

[16]புலிநிறக் கவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைய
வெய்கணை துளைத்த பகட்டெழின் மார்பின்
மறலி யன்ன களிற்று மிசையோனே
கனிறே முன்னீர் வழங்கு நாவாய் போலவும்
பன்மீ னுப்பட் டிவ்கன் போலவுஞ்
சுறவினத் தன்ன வானோர் மொய்ப்ப
மீனியோ ரறியாது மைந்துபட் டன்றே. *Puṟan 13.*

[17]பாகன். [18]கம்பம். [19]தறி. [20]ஆலை. [21]ஓடை. [22]கழி. [23]சாயம் தோய்த்த.
[24]தடி. [25]எறியும். [26]தண்டு. [27]குனில். [28]வில். [29]பொக்கரை. [30]சிலை. [31]தடி.
[32]தவர். [33]முனி. [34]வாள். [35]உவணி. [36]ஏதி. [37]கடுத்தலை. [38]துவட்டி.
[39]கலிர். [40]சாட்டம். [41]வஞ்சம். [42]வள். [43]குறும்பிடி. [44]சரிகை. [45]கத்தி.

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kōṇam,[1] the spear, *īṭṭi*,[2] *iṭṭi*,[3] *kaḷukkaḍai*,[4] *kaḷumul*,[5] the lance and the javelin, *vēl*,[6] the implement of Murugan, *eyil*,[7] *araṇam*,[8] *ehkam*,[9] [from *ehku*,[10] (1) sharp, (2) steel], *kundam*,[11] *ñāṅgar*,[12] the shorter ones being *uḍambiḍi*,[13] *viṭṭeṟu*,[14] etc.; the trident, *kaḷu*,[15] *kāḷ*,[16] the battle-axe, *maḷu*,[17] *kaṇichchi*,[18] *kundāli*,[19] *kuḷir*,[20] *taṇṇam*;[21] the arrow, *ambu*,[22] *kaṇai*,[23] *kaḍiram*,[24] (allied to *kaḍir*,[25] ray, spike), *kō*,[26] *kōl*,[27] *toḍai*,[28] *tōṇi*,[29] *pagaḷi*,[30] *paḷḷam*,[31] *puḍai*,[32] *vaṇḍu*,[33] *vāḷi*;[34] the arrow being one of the earliest implements used by the Tamils in fighting with animals and men, has so many names; so too the string of the bow, *nāṇ*,[35] *nāṇi*,[36] *pūram*,[37] *āvam*,[38] *toḍai*,[39] *nāri*,[40] *narambu*,[41] *pūṭṭu*,[42] the particular point where the arrow was placed being called *uḍu*.[43] The defensive weapons were the shield, *kēḍagam*,[44] *kiḍugu*,[45] *kaḍagam*,[46] *taṭṭu*,[47] *parisai*,[48] *palagai*,[49] *maṛai*,[50] *vaṭṭaṇam*,[51] *vaṭṭam*;[52] those made of hide were distinguished as *tōl*,[53] *toṛparam*,[54] and of cane as *taṇḍai*,[55] *vaḷḷi*.[56] A coat of armour was *mēḷagam*,[57] *araṇi*,[58] *āśu*,[59] *kandaḷam*,[60] gauntlets for protecting the hands, being called *kaippuḍai*.[61]

Musical Instruments

Drums and other musical instruments were used in warfare to inspire men and elephants (and later, horses) with martial enthusiasm. Musical instruments generally were called *iyam*,[62] *vāttiyam*,[63] *vāchchiyam*,[64] *isaikkaruvi*,[65] *iśai*,[66] being the general term for music. Musical instruments were divided into four kinds, *toṛkaruvi*,[67] those covered with leather, *tuḷaikkaruvi*,[68] those provided with holes, *narambukkaruvi*,[69] stringed instruments, and *miḍaṛṛukkaruvi*,[70] throat-instruments. Seven names of notes belonging to Tamil are *kural*,[71] *tuttam*,[72] *kaikkiḷai*,[73] *uḷai*,[74] *iḷi*,[75] *viḷari*,[76] and *tāram*,[77] said to be produced respectively in the throat, the tongue, the palate, the head, the forehead, the pharynx, and the nose. Perhaps these are the seven notes of the scale. The chief wind-instrument was the *kuḻal*,[78] the flute, of which there were many kinds, *paṇai*,[79] made of the bamboo, *āmbal*,[80] of reed, *koṇṛai*,[81] of the fruit of the Cassia perforated and *mullai*, of the creeper *jasminum trichotomum* twisted to serve as a flute. There were also different forms of the trumpet, *tārai*,[82] *kāḻam*,[83] *kākaḻam*,[84] *ammiyam*,[85] *śinnam*,[86] the cornet or horn, *kombu*,[87] *kōḍu*,[88] *iralai*,[89] *vayir*.[90]

The chief stringed instrument was the *yāḻ*.[91] There were many varieties of it, one for each of the five regions. The number of strings in the *yāḻ* varied from four to seven, sixteen, seventeen, twenty-one.

A *yāḻ* was composed of various parts: 'its *pattal*[92] (probably sounding-board) had its edges depressed and its middle raised, like the

[1]கோணம். [2]ஈட்டி. [3]இட்டி. [4]கழுக்கடை. [5]கழுமுள். [6]வேல். [7]எயில். [8]அரணம். [9]எஃகம். [10]எஃகு. [11]குந்தம். [12]ஞாங்கர். [13]உடம்பிடி. [14]விட்டேறு. [15]கழு. [16]காம். [17]மழு. [18]கணிச்சி. [19]குந்தாலி. [20]குளிர். [21]தண்ணம். [22]அம்பு [23]கணை. [24]கதிரம். [25]கதிர். [26]கோ. [27]கோல். [28]தொடை. [29]தோணி. [30]பகழி. [31]பள்ளம். [32]புடை. [33]வண்டு. [34]வாளி. [35]நாண். [36]நாணி. [37]பூரம். [38]ஆவம். [39]தொடை. [40]நாரி. [41]நாம்பு. [42]பூட்டு. [43]உடு. [44]கேடகம். [45]கிடுகு. [46]கடகம். [47]தட்டு. [48]பரிசை. [49]பலகை [50]மறை. [51]வட்டணம். [52]வட்டம். [53]தோல். [54]தோற்பாம். [55]தண்டை. [56]வள்ளி. [57]மேழகம். [58]அரணி. [59]ஆசு. [60]கந்தனம். [61]கைப்புடை. [62]இயம். [63]வாத்தியம். [64]வாச்சியம். [65]இசைக்கருவி. [66]இசை. [67]தோற்கருவி. [68]துளைக்கருவி. [69]நரம்புக்கருவி. [70]மிடற்றுக்கருவி. [71]குரல். [72]துத்தம். [73]கைக்கிளை. [74]உழை. [75]இளி. [76]விளரி. [77]தாரம். [78]குழல். [79]பணை. [80]ஆம்பல். [81]கொன்றை. [82]தாரை. [83]காளம். [84]காகளம். [85]அம்மியம். [86]சின்னம். [87]கொம்பு. [88]கோடு. [89]இரலை. [90]வயிர். [91]யாழ். [92]பத்தல்.

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impression on the earth of an antelope's foot; this was covered by a skin of the colour of a flame and it was stitched in the middle and the stitches resembled the row of thin hair on the belly of a fair girl in the early stages of pregnancy; the skin was fixed to the wood by means of nails which looked like the eyes of the crab which lives in a mountain-cave; its mouth without a palate was of the shape of the moon on the eighth day after the new moon; its beam was like a serpent with its head upraised; its straps were like bracelets on the forearm of a black woman; its strings were taut and, struck by fingers looking like husked *tinai*, resounded.'[1]

In another poem it is described as having a *tol*,[2] hide of the colour of the core of the *pādiri*,[3] the trumpet flower, *Bignonia. Chelonoides*, a *tuḷai*,[4] a hole with two eyes like the bud of the *kamugu*,[5] areca-palm, a green *pōrvai*,[6] looking homogeneous as if made of melted metal, a *vāy*,[7] mouth dark like a dried up spring, a *kaḍai*,[8] extremity of the shape of the crescent, a *tivavu*,[9] bands with strips of leather, moving like the bangles at the wrists of a lady, a *maruppu*,[10] or *taṇḍu*,[11] trunk, dark like sapphire, and *narambu*,[12] strings, as if of gold.[13]

The drum, *paṟai*,[14] *murašu*,[15] *pērigai*,[16] *āguḷi*,[17] *ellari*,[18] *šalligai*,[19] *šallari*,[20] *kiṇai*,[21] was also of various kinds and differed from region to region and also according to the purposes for which it was used. *Taḍāri*[22] or *uḍukkai*,[23] was a small double drum shaped like a sand-glass and carried by minstrels, *pāṇar*.[24] The *taṭṭai*,[26] or *karaḍigai*[26] uttered a sound like the grunt of a bear. 'Pure Tamil' names of various tunes, *paṇ*,[27] viz., *pālai*,[28] *kuṟiñji*,[29] *marudam*,[30] *śevvaḷi*,[31] occur; moreover the names of a few rāgams now sung are old Tamil names, but nothing definite about old Tamil music can be ascertained unless ancient books like the *Iśainuṇukkam*,[32] of the *Iḍaichchaṅgam*,[33] the *Širriśai*,[34] and the *Pēriśai*,[35] of the *Kaḍaichchaṅgam*[36] are discovered.

The arms, offensive and defensive, and the drums, referred to above, were also used in hunting, *vēṭṭai*,[37] *āgēḍagam*,[38] *pābatti*.[39] which was another favourite occupation of kings and nobles. The professional shikari had numerous names, *āviyar*,[40] *kānavar*,[41] *kuṟavar*,[42]

[1] குளப்புவழி யன்ன கவடெடு பத்தல்
வினக்கழ லுருவின் விரியுறு பச்சை
பெய்பா வினஞ்சுற் செய்யோ னெவ்வயிற்
றைதமயி ரொழுகிய தோற்றம் போலப்
பொல்லம் பொதிந்த பொதியுறு போர்வை
பனிவா முலவன் கண்கண் டன்ன
தினைவாய் தூர்த்த நுரப்பமை யாணி
யெண்ணுட் டிங்கள் வடிவிற் றுஇ
பண்ணு மில்லா வமைவரு வறவாய்ப்
பாம்பணந் தன்ன வோங்கிரு மருப்பின்
மாபோன் முன்கை யாய்தொடி கடுக்கும்
கண்கூ டிருக்கைத் திண்வணித் திவவி
னுய்நிலை யரிகி யவைய லன்ன
வேய்வை போக்கிய விரலுளர் காம்பிற்
கேள்வி போகிய சீள்விசித் தொடையல்.

Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, 4-18.

[2]தோல். [3]பாதிரி. [4]தினை. [5]கமுகு. [6]போர்வை. [7]வாய். [8]கடை. [9]திவவு. [10]மருப்பு. [11]தண்டு. [12]காம்பு. [13]*Perumbāṇaṟṟuppaḍai*, 4-16. [14]பறை. [15]முரசு. [16]பேரிகை. [17]ஆகுளி. [18]எல்லரி. [19]சல்லிகை. [20]சல்லரி. [21]கிணை. [22]தடாரி. [23]உடுக்கை. [24]பாணர் [25]தட்டை. [26]கரடிகை. [27]பண். [28]பாலை. [29]குறிஞ்சி. [30]மருதம். [31]செவ்வழி. [32]இசைநுணுக்கம். [33]இடைச்சங்கம். [34]சிற்றிசை. [35]பேரிசை. [36]கடைச்சங்கம். [37]வேட்டை. [38]ஆகேடகம். [39]பாபத்தி. [40]ஆவியர். [41]கானவர். [42]குறவர்.

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kuṟavar,[1] *kūḷiyar*,[2] *kolaiñar*,[3] *śavarar*,[4] *śilavar*,[5] *śillar*,[6] *tīyar*,[7] *puḷḷar*,[8] *puḷaiñar*,[9] *maṟavar*,[10] *marudar*,[11] *vēḍar*,[12] showing how widespread that profession was. They were also employed as policemen, armed with the bow and the sharp arrow.[13]

Towns and Villages: Houses

Round the *Koṭṭai* where the king resided, grew the *pēṭṭai*,[14] (from *pē*,[15] vulgar, whence is derived *pēdai*,[16] common people, the poor, *pēy*,[17] the wild plant, also goblin). Naturally the followers of each trade gravitated towards each other and each principal profession was confined to a single pēṭṭai; there were thus many suburbs around a town, separated from each other. These pēṭṭais were each surrounded by rice-fields or gardens. There are many words to indicate a house, such as *vīḍu*,[18] *agam*,[19] *il*,[20] *illam*,[21] *śērbu*,[22] *pātti*,[23] *manai*,[24] *vayin*,[25] besides the compound words *uṟaiyuḷ*[26] and *pukkil*.[27] The houses of richer men were called *māḍam*[28] (whence perhaps *māḍi*,[29] upper story) or *māḷigai*[30] from the root *māḷ*,[31] great. They were built almost entirely of timber upto about twelve centuries ago. The following words relating to parts of a house may be noted: *iṟappu*,[32] *iṟai*,[33] *vaḷavu*,[34] *tāḻvāram*,[35] sloping roof; *muṉṟil*,[36] *muṟṟam*,[37] courtyard, inside or outside a house; the compound word *nilāmuṟṟam*,[38] a flat roof on which one can walk up and down; *uttiram*,[39] *tūlam*,[40] beam *śuṟṟuvāri*,[41] *tāḷ*,[42] *tuḍai*,[43] *mugaḍu*,[44] *viḍaṅgam*,[45] beam projecting beyond a wall. In front of the houses was the *tiṇṇai*[46] a raised and covered platform, which served the purposes of a drawing-room and bed-room for the day and even for the night. Before the *tiṇṇai*, was the *kuṟaḍu*,[47] open platform, flanked by the *oṭṭuttiṇṇai*.[48] The walls, the *tiṇṇai* and the floor of the house were no doubt polished like a mirror or black-marble, the cement being compounded of clay, charcoal and cattle-dung, *maṇ*,[49] *kari*,[50] and *śāṇi*,[51] and applied to the surface wet and rubbed over for hours with a bit of flattened quartz, an art which is fast dying out. The entrance to the house was not flush with street, as there was a *vāyilpaḍi*,[52] door-step. It was provided with a wooden frame work, *nilai*,[53] and a door, *kadavu*,[54] also called *araṇam*,[55] *aravam*,[56] *kāppu*,[57] *toṭṭi*,[58] *puḍavu*,[59] *vāri*,[60] secured by a wooden bolt and heavily carved outside, as they are even today in houses not ruined by modern civilization. The houses were provided with windows, *śāḷaram*,[61] *śannal*,[62] *palaganṇi*,[63] being, as the name implied, a many-eyed lattice window. Behind the door ran a narrow passage, *iḍaikaḷi*,[64] or *naḍai*,[65] which led into the house. The houses were provided with

[1]குன்றவர். [2]கூனிபர். [3]கொஞ்ஞர். [4]சவரர். [5]சிலவர். [6]சில்லர். [7]தீயர். [8]புல்லர். [9]புலைஞர். [10]மறவர். [11]மருதர். [12]வேடர்.
[13]கூர்நல் அம்பின் கொடுவில் கூனிபர்.

Malaipaḍukaḍām, 422.

[14]பேட்டை. [15]பே [16]பேதை. [17]பேய். [18]வீடு. [19]அகம். [20]இல். [21]இல்லம். [22]சேர்ப்பு. [23]பாத்தி. [24]மனை. [25]வயின். [26]உறைபுன். [27]புக்கில். The houses of Brāhmaṇas were given the Sanskrit name of *Āharam*, (ஆகாம்.) and the street where they lived *akkirāhāram*.(அக்கிரகாரம்.)

[28]மாடம். [29]மாடி. [30]மாளிகை. [31]மாள். [32]இறப்பு. [33]இறை. [34]வளவு. [35]தாழ்வாரம். [36]முன்றில். [37]முற்றம். [38]நிலாமுற்றம். [39]உத்திரம். [40]தூலம். [41]சுற்றுவாரி. [42]தாழ். [43]தடை. [44]முகடு. [45]விடங்கம். [46]திண்ணை. [47]குறடு. [48]ஒட்டுத்திண்ணை. [49]மண். [50]கரி. [51]சாணி. [52]வாயில்படி. [53]நிலை. [54]கதவு. [55]அரணம். [56]அரவம். [57]காப்பு. [58]தாட்டி. [59]புதவு. [60]வாரி. [61]சாளரம். [62]சன்னல். [63]பலகணி. [64]இடைகழி. [65]நடை.

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संदर्भ ग्रंथ
REFERENCE BOOK

drains, *śākkaḍai*,[1] or *śālagam*,[2] as were the houses of Mohenjo-daro, recently unearthed. The spout of the drain was *tūmbu*,[3] *puḷal*,[4] *śuruṅgu*.[5] The inside walls were provided with niches, *purai*,[6] in which were placed, among other things, the lamps to light the house by night. These lamps were little bowls of stone or earthern-ware, or metal, *agal*,[7] *tagaḷi*,[8] *tagaḷi*,[9] *iḍiñjil*,[10] *pāṇḍil*,[11] in which castor oil or other oils were burnt with a cotton wick.[12] Behind the house was another *kuṛadu*,[13] which was a lumber room. Behind this the house-well, *kiṇaṛu*,[14] *aśumbu*,[15] *uṛavi*,[16] *kuḷi*,[17] *kūval*,[18] *kūḍam*,[19] *tuṛavu*,[20] *kēṇi*.[21] *pūval*,[22] the latter three being water pits without a protecting structure of wood around them. Behind the well stretched a garden, either a kitchen garden or a fruit tope, *kollai*,[23] *tōppu*,[24] *tōṭṭam*,[25] *āvalam*,[26] *tuḍavai*,[27] *toḍuvu*,[28] *paḍappai*,[29] *pāvagam*,[30] *puṇam*.[31] In the *kollai* behind the house was the *koṭṭil*,[32] cattle-shed, *koṭṭu*,[33] from probably the same word as Telugu *goḍḍu*, cattle, and *il*, meaning house. Behind the garden stretched the corn fields, *vayal*.[34]

The furniture of houses was utensils for polishing and grinding rice and for cooking it in various ways. *Ural*[35] and *ullakkai*[36] mortar and pestle, of both wood and stone, pounding stones of several shapes, sometimes the shape of the tortoise or other animals, *ammi*,[37] *tiruvai*[38] *āṭṭukkal*,[39] *kuḷavi*,[40] mealers of stone, *puṭṭil*,[41] *vaṭṭigai*,[42] basket, *muṛam*,[43] *śinnam*,[44] *suḷagu*,[45] *taṭṭu*,[46] *muṛṛil*,[47] winnowing fan, *śalladai*,[48] sieve; different forms of pots of earthenware or soft stone, *pānai*,[49] *śaṭṭi*,[50] *śāl*,[51] *kuḍam*,[52] *miḍā*,[53] *pānā*,[54] *mallāy*,[55] lid for the same, *maḍakku*;[56] spoons, at first made of wood, and then of iron or other metal, *agappai*,[57] (of three kinds, *taṭṭagappai*,[58] *śandagappai*,[59] *śiṛṛagappai*,[60]) *śaṭṭuvam*,[61] *karaṇḍi*,[62] *muṭṭai*, *tuḍuppu*,[63] *maravai*,[64] *marakkāl*,[65] or *ambaṇam*,[66] *toṭṭi*,[67] *kiṇṇam*,[68] *vaṭṭi*,[69] *vaṭṭil*,[70] flat spoon, all of wood or stone coming down from the stone age and a few of metal since the commencement of the iron age; other household furniture were *maṇai*,[71] planks for sitting on or shaped logs used as pillows, *peṭṭi*,[72] *pēḷai*,[73] *mañjikai*,[74] box, the stone-age form of which was the *kaṭṭuppeṭṭi*,[75] a box of wicker work without any metal parts and bound together by means of cocoanut coir, and hence absolutely unpollutable by touch and fit for storing eatables and the Lares and Penates; *kaṭṭil*,[76] literally bound place, a cot made of bamboos fitted together into an oblong framework bound together with ropes, also called *pāṇḍil*;[77] literature mentions richer forms of

[1]சாக்கடை. [2]சாலகம். [3]தூம்பு. [4]புழல். [5]சுருங்கு. [6]புரை. [7]அகல். [8]தகளி. [9]தகழி. [10]இடிஞ்சில். [11]பாண்டில் [12]பஞ்சி வெண்டிரிச் செஞ்சுடர் நல்லில், *Kuṛuṇḍogai*, 353. A good house with red flames issuing from white wicks of cotton wool. [13]குறடு. [14]கிணறு. [15]அசும்பு. [16]உறவி. [17]கூழி. [18]கூவல். [19]கூடம். [20]தறவு. [21]கேணி. [22]பூவல். [23]கொல்லை. [24]தோப்பு. [25]தோட்டம். [26]ஆவலம். [27]தடவை [28]தொடுவு. [29]படப்பை. [30]பாவகம். [31]புனம். A new *kollai* was *vidaippunam*, (விதைப்புனம்.) and an old one, or one made by cutting and burning down a forest, *mudaippunam* (முதைப்புனம்.) [32]கொட்டில். [33]கொட்டு. [34]வயில். [35]உரல். [36]உலக்கை [37]அம்மி. [38]திருவை. [39]ஆட்டுக்கல். [40]குழவி. [41]புட்டில். [42]வட்டிகை. [43]முறம். [44]சின்னம். [45]சனகு. [46]தட்டு. [47]முற்றில். [48]சல்லடை. [49]பானை. [50]சட்டி. [51]சால். [52]குடம். [53]மிடா. [54]பானை. [55]மல்லாய். [56]மடக்கு. [57]அகப்பை. [58]தட்டகப்பை. [59]சந்தகப்பை. [60]சிற்றகப்பை. [61]சட்வெம். [62]காண்டி. [63]துடுப்பு. [64]மாவை. [65]மரக்கால். [66]அம்பணம். [67]தொட்டி. [68]கிண்ணம். [69]வட்டி. [70]வட்டில். [71]மணை. [72]பெட்டி *Tapalai*, *tavalai*, and *śaruvam* are now used for metal pots and are perhaps loan-words of a later age. [73]பேழை. [74]மஞ்சிகை. [75]கட்டுப்பெட்டி. [76]கட்டில். [77]பரண்மேல்.

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the *pāṇḍil*, which will be described later on, tied with tape, *taṭṭam*,[1] or *kachchu*,[2] woven with decorative lines, like the stripes of a tiger; this kind of cot was called *kachchukkaṭṭil*,[3] the former being *kayiṟṟukkaṭṭil*.[4]

Besides the cot there was the *toṭṭil*,[5] cradle, literally, hanging place, (from *to*,[6] whose intensive is *toṅgu*,[7] to hang,) *tūli*,[8] hammock, *ūñjal*[9] or *vīśupalagai*,[10] swinging plank, *kuḍalai*[11] plaited basket for gathering flowers, *śimiḻ*,[12] small casket, *uṟi*,[13] or *śimili*,[14] a loop of string suspended from the roof of a house or from the end of a pole called *kāvaḍi*,[15] by means of which one man can carry two men's loads; *kaṇappu*,[16] or *kumbaṭṭi*[17] for warming the hands and the breast during cold nights, *paṭṭaḍai*,[18] *śumuḍu*,[19] *śummāḍu*,[20] contrivances on which to stand pots *kūḍu*,[21] coop, *kudir*,[22] granary, *paraṇ*,[23] *idaṇam*,[24] *kaḻudu*,[25] *paḍagam*,[26] *paṇavai*,[27] loft for storing articles, also raised platform for watching birds and other enemies of the growing crops, *taḍavu*,[28] *indaḻam*,[29] censer, *ñelikōl*,[30] stick for churning fire, *tūkku*,[31] *kā*,[32] *niṟaikol*,[33] steelyard introduced into Europe by the Dutch and hence called Dutch steel-yard, *kavaṇ*,[34] *taḻal*,[35] sling, also bull-roarer; *pāy*,[36] mat, and *mettai*,[37] *aṇai*,[38] *amaḻi*,[39] *kāguḷi*,[40] *taviśu*,[41] *taḻimam*,[42] bed stuffed with cotton. These constitute, even now, the complete furniture of Tamil homes such as have not come under the seductive influence of European foreign trade.

The poorer people lived in huts, *kuḍiśai*,[43] *kuḍil*,[44] *kuchchu*,[45] *kuchchil*,[46] *kurambai*.[47] Their walls were made of wattle and clay, and they were generally circular, rarely rectangular, in shape; the roof was rarely aspidal, but mostly domical and topped by a pot, *kuḍam*,[48] through a hole in which were passed the bamboos constituting the framework of the roof; and from the early days when such huts were built, temples were built in similar fashion, and when later they were built of brick or stone, over the shrines was built a domical roof, furnished with a metal pot, now called *kalaśam*[49] and serving an ornamental, not useful, purpose.

The following is a description of a hunter's hut of old times :—

'In the huts of the hunters were leaning, on the planks decorated with bells, lances whose ends were blunted and smelling of flesh from the bodies of enemies whom the hunters killed and left lying on the ground, a prey for kites. Bows with the string tied in knots were also leaning on the walls on which there was a thatch of *ūga*[50] grass. Bundles of arrows with notches like honeycombs on hills were hanging from the thick legs of the pandal. The huts were guarded by dogs chained to posts. The compound was surrounded by a living hedge of thorns. The door was fastened by a strong beam. In front were

[1]தட்டம். [2]கச்சு. [3]கச்சுக்கட்டில். [4]கயிற்றுக்கட்டில். [5]தொட்டில்.
[6]தொ. [7]தொங்கு [8]தூளி. [9]ஊஞ்சல். [10]வீசுபலகை. [11]கூடலி.
[12]சிமிழ். [13]உறி. [14]சிமிலி. [15]காவடி. [16]கணப்பு. [17]கும்பட்டி.
[18]பட்டடை. [19]சுமுடு. [20]சும்மாடு. [21]கூடு. [22]குதிர். [23]பாண்.
[24]இதணம். [25]கழுது. [26]படகம். [27]பணை. [28]தடவு. [29]இத்தனம்.
[30]ஞெலிகோல். [31]தூக்கு. [32]கா. [33]நிறைகோல். [34]கவண். [35]தழல்.
[36]பாய். [37]மெத்தை. [38]அணை. [39]அமளி. [40]காகுளி. [41]தவிசு. [42]தளிமம்.
[43]குடிசை. [44]குடில். [45]குச்சு. [46]குச்சில். [47]குரம்பை.
[48]குடம். [49]கலசம். [50]ஊகம்.

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fixed rows of stiff-standing, cruel-pointed stakes. Such were the houses of the hunters who were armed with the bent bow.'[1]

More or less irregular rows or groups of *kuḍiśais*,[2] huts, sparsely interspersed with *māḷigais*,[3] constituted the street, *teru*,[4] *āvaṇam*,[5] *kōśam*,[6] *ñellal*,[7] *maṛugu*;[8] a long street was called *manṛam*,[9] a short one, *kōṇam*,[10] and the place where many streets meet, *śadukkam*,[11] or *śandu*.[12] Towns and villages were named variously according to the regions, *tiṇai*,[13] they belonged to. Thus in Kuṛiñji, they were called *śiṛukuḍi*,[14] *kuṛichchi*;[15] in Mullai, *pāḍi*,[16] *śeri*,[17] *paḷḷi*;[18] in Marudam, *ūr*;[19] in Neydal, *pākkam*;[20] and in Pālai, *paṛandalai*.[21] In the towns dwelt, side by side, *mēlōr*[22] or *uyarndōr*[23] and *kīḻor*[24] or *tāḻndōr*,[25] the higher and the lower classes. The later literature of the early Christian centuries speak of two assemblies of men who were the recipients of royal confidence—*aimberukuḻu*[26] and *eṇpērāyam*.[27] *kuḻu*[28] and *āyam*[29] meant assemblies; the five assemblies have been explained by commentators as those of ministers, priests, army leaders, ambassadors and intelligence officers, but the names of these, viz., *amaichchar*,[30] *purōhitar*,[31] *śēnāpadiyar*,[32] *tūduvar*[33] and *śāraṇar*[34], are all *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit and hence it is difficult to decide that the five groups of officers existed from old times. The group of eight are said to consist of ministers, executive officers, treasury officers, door-keepers, citizens, generals, elephant-warriors, horse-soldiers.[35] This enumeration, mixing men of high and low degree, does not strike one as referring to very ancient times. An early commentator of *Śilappadigāram* gives a less improbable enumeration of these five and eight assemblies; the five are made up of sages, Brahmans, physicians, soothsayers and ministers; even this cannot be a classification of the Pre-Aryan Epoch because Brāhmaṇas occurs in the list. The eight are those who apply sandal paste to the person of the king, those that decorate him with flowers, those that

[1]பருந்துபட
வொன்னாத் தெவ்வர் நடுங்க வோச்சி
வைந்நுதி மழுங்கிய புலவுவா யெஃகம்
வடிமணிப் பல்கையொடு நிறைஇ முடிநாட்
சாபஞ் சாத்திய கணைதுஞ்சு வியனக
ருகம் வேய்ந்த வயர்நிலை வரைப்பின்
வரைந்தேன் புரையுங் கவைக்கடைப் புதையொடு
கடுந்துடி தூங்குங் கணைக்காற் பந்தர்த்
தொடர்நா யாத்த துன்னருங் கடிநகர்
வாழ்முள் வேலிச் சூழ்மிளைப் படப்பைக்
கொடுநுகந் தழீஇயப் புதவிற் செந்நிலை
நெடுநுதி வயக்கழு நிறைந்த வாயிற்
கொடுவி லெயினர் குறும்பு.

Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai. 117—129.

[2]குடிசை. [3]மாளிகை. [4]தெரு. [5]ஆவணம். [6]கோசம். [7]ஞெல்லல். [8]மறுகு. [9]மன்றம். [10]கோணம். [11]சதுக்கம். [12]சந்து. [13]திணை. [14]சிறுகுடி. [15]குறிச்சி. [16]பாடி. [17]சேரி. [18]பள்ளி. [19]ஊர். [20]பாக்கம். [21]பறந்தலை. [22]மேலோர். [23]உயர்ந்தோர். [24]கீழோர். [25]தாழ்ந்தோர். [26]ஐம்பெருகுழு. [27]எண்பேராயம். [28]குழு. [29]ஆயம். [30]அமைச்சர். [31]புரோகிதர். [32]சேனாபதியர். [33]தூதுவர். [34]சாரணர் அமைச்சர் புரோகிதர் சேனாபதியர் தவாத்தொழிற் றூதுவர் சாரணரென்றிவர் பார்த்திபர்க் கைம்பெருங் குழுவெனப்படுமே. *Divākaram* 168.
[35]காரணத்தியலவர் கருமவிதிகள், கனகச்சுற்றங்கடை காப்பாளர், நகரமாந்தர் நனிபடைத்தலைவர், யானைவீர ரிவுளிமற வரினையரெண்பே ராயமென்ப. *Ib.* quoted in the commentaries on *Śilappadigāram*, v. 157, p. 144.

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fasten his belt, those that clothe him, those that supply arecanut and betel leaves and those that put on his armour.[1] This looks like a genuine list of the persons immediately round the king.

DRESS.

The cotton plant is a native of India and the Indians of the later stone age learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread, *nūl*,[2] *iḻai*,[3] *saraḍu*,[4] *toḍar*,[5] *nuvaṇam*,[6] *panuval*,[7] *piśin*,[8] and to weave cotton yarn into long pieces of cloth. The idea of cloth was no doubt suggested by *pannāḍai*[9], also called *neyyari*[10] which the people wore, besides hides, before the invention of cotton-weaving. *Pannāḍai* is the web at the bottom of a young palmyra or cocoanut leaf and was used as cloth in very ancient times, for *maravuri*,[11] tree-flay, also called *āśini*, [12] *iṟaiñji*, [13] *śiram*, [14] *sīrai*, [15] is one of the forms of dress which possesses the holiness of hoary antiquity and is patronized by sacred ascetics and pilgrims. The supply of cotton was abundant and weavers wore endless lengths of cotton cloth, *tugil*, [16] which they cut into short pieces, *aṟuvai*, [17] *tuṇi*, [18] *tuṇḍu* [19] before winding round their persons. The number of words meaning dress is very great : *āśāram*, [20] *āśiḍai*,[21] *āḍai*, [22] *iḍaidal*, [23] *ilakkāram*, [24] *uḍukkai* [25] *uḍai*,[26] *eḍagam*, [27] *oliyal*, [28] (specially used for *mēlāḍai*, cloth worn over the shoulder), *kandai*, [29] *kattiyam*, [30] *kappaḍam*, [31] *kalai*, [32] *kāḍagam*, [33] *kāṇḍam*, [34] *kāḻagam*,[35] *kūṟai*,[36] (now used for cloth, presented to the bride during marriage), *kōḍi* [37] (now used for cloth, unwashed, straight from the hands of the weaver or the vendor), *śambaran*, [38] *sāḍi*, [39] *siṟṟil*,[40] *śirai*, [41] *śūḍi*, [42] *śēlai*, [43] *tānai* [44] (also *mēlaḍai*), *tūśu*, [45] *tūṭṭi*, [46] *tūriyam*, [47] *tōkkai*, [48] *miḍiyal*,[49] *uḍavai*,[50] (now restricted to the long piece of cloth worn by women), *paḍām*,[51] *paṭṭam*;[52] and many others. All these words meant cloth woven of the fibre of cotton. Those woven of silk werecalled *karambu*,[53] *paṇi*.[54] *paraṇam*, [55] *pāḻidam*,[56] and woollen cloth, *mayiragam*, [57] *vayiriyam*.[58] The fewness of the names of silk and woollen cloth shows that weaving in these was scarce. Cloth dyedin various colours, *śāyam toytta*, [59] was freely used. Indeed decoration being the chief aim of Indian art, as will be explained later, plain white cloth was considered as fit for occasions of mourning and for being worn by women in permanent mourning, i.e., widows. Hence dyed cloth and that decorated with flowers on the borders and throughout the body of the cloth was the usual wear. A much decorated cloth,

[1] சாந்துபூக் கச்சாடை பாக்கிலே கஞ்சுகமெ
யாய்ந்த வீவரெண்ம ராயத்தோர்—வேந்தர்க்கு
மாசனம் பார்ப்பார் மருத்தர் வாழ்நிமித்த ரோடமைச்ச
ராசிலவைக் களத்தாரைத்து. *op. cit.* p. 144.

[2] நூல். [3] இழை. [4] சரடு. [5] தொடர். [6] நுவணம். [7] பனுவல். [8] பிசின். [9] பன்னுடை. [10] செய்யரி. [11] மரவுரி. [12] ஆசினி. [13] இறைஞ்சி. [14] சீரம். [15] சீரை. [16] துகில். [17] அறுவை. from root அற to cut. [18] துணி. [19] துண்டு, both from root துண் to cut. [20] ஆசாரம். [21] ஆசிடை. [22] ஆடை. [23] இடைதல். [24] இலக்காரம். [25] உடுக்கை. [26] உடை. [27] எடகம். [28] ஒலியல். [29] கந்தை. [30] கத்தியம். [31] கப்படம். [32] கலை. [33] காடகம். [34] காண்டம். [35] காழகம். [36] கூறை. [37] கோடி. [38] சம்பரம். [39] சாடி. [40] சிற்றில். [41] சீரை. [42] சூடி. [43] சேலை. [44] தானை. [45] தூசு. [46] தூட்டு. [47] தூரியம். [48] தோக்கை. [49] மிடியல். [50] புடவை. [51] படாம். [52] பட்டம். [53] கரம்பு. [54] பணி. [55] பரணம். [56] பாவிதம். [57] மயிரகம், [58] வயிரியம். [59] சாயம்தோய்த்த.

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woven so finely that the yarn could not be distinguished by sight and adorned with woven flowers so that it looked like the skin of the serpent, is refered to in literature.[1] The sentiment against plain, white, undecorated cloth was so strong even two generations ago, when machine-made cloth began to compete vigorously with hand-woven cloth, that the more conservative of the men, who were tempted to use Manchester mull on account of its cheapness, stitched across its borders and along its edges, lines of red thread to make it look respectable. Even to-day the old instincts assert themselves on occasions of festive celebrations, when undecorated cloth is taboo. This objection to undecorated cloth, yards of unrelieved whiteness, this sentiment springing from age-long association of plain, undyed, undecorated cloth with mourning and the offensiveness of its monotony to eyes trained to a sense of beauty and to the æsthetic instincts common to all Indians, has in the last two generations been vanquished by the glamour of machine-made cloth, woven of yarn spun evenly by spinning machines and polished by chemical appliances, ever-new forms of which are being invented day after day. Tamil ladies alone have presented a solid front of opposition to this destruction of the æsthetic sense of South Indians by soul-less, machine-made cloth.

Weaving in wool is as ancient as weaving in cotton ; it was essentially an industry, not of *marudam*, but of *mullai*, in the less fertile parts of which lived the *Kuṟumbar*,[2] the class of herdsmen who tended the *kuṟumbāḍu*,[3] and wove from its fleece the *kambaḷam*,[4] ten thousands years ago as they do to-day. Wool weaving did not go beyond its crude stage in Southern India ; but in Northern India, and especially in Kashmir, where the supply of soft wool from the necks of Himalayan goats was unlimited and where vegetation on the banks of hill-streams and beds of flowers on mountain-sides, presented ever varying patterns to be incorporated by the weaver in wool, was developed the splendid industry of shawl-weaving, which will never be killed by the greatest growth of machine-weaving, so long as man has eyes to see beautiful forms and sense to appreciate beautiful designs.

Silk was used chiefly for decorating the edges of cotton cloth, since the silk fibre was not abundant ; but from the earliest times cloth was also wholly woven of silk thread ; silk cloth and woollen cloth are less susceptible of the pollution of touch than cotton cloth, showing that they were older manufactures than the latter. A cloth woven from rat's hair is also mentioned. [5] But cotton cloth was peculiarly sensitive to touch, in the sense that it could be easily polluted. Every piece of cotton cloth, doffed, *viḻutta*,[6] after wear even for a second became *viḻuppu*,[7] polluted, and the pollution could be got rid of only after being washed with water, dried in air and folded, when it became *maḍi*.[8] This last word meaning fold, came to mean a cloth

[1] நோக்கு நறைகல்லா நண்மைய பூக்களிற் தாவுரியன்ன வறவை. *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai, 82.83.*

[2] குறும்பர். [3] குறும்பாடு. [4] கம்பளம்.

[5] *Silappadigāram* xiv, 205–7 speaks of the streets where were sold, cloth folded a hundred-fold, woven of fine cotton yarn, hair and silk thread ; here the commentator explains hair to be rats' hair.

"தூலிலு மயிரிலு நறைதூற் பட்டிலும், பால்வகை தெரியாப் பன்னூறுக்கத்து நறுமடி செறிந்த வறவை வீதியும்"

[6] விழுத்த. [7] விழுப்பு. [8] மடி.

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sacramentally pure, when folded after being washed and dried. Such cloth was unfolded and worn, a long piece around the waist and another, round the trunk, loose and graceful, beautiful to look at and allowing the air and the sun to kiss the skin and destroy the innumerable germs that get lodged in it and destroy its health. The supply of cotton being unlimited and the patience of the weavers being inexhaustible, there was no temptation, such as existed in wool-wearing countries, to cut up cloth so as to make small bits go a long way, and to prepare stitched clothes. Not that the needle (*ūsi*,[1] *iḻai-vāṅgi*,[2]) or its use in stitching, *tunnal*,[3] *taiyal*,[4] was unknown,[5] but in addition to the objection that stitched clothes reveal too much the human anatomy, there was no necessity to use them when cloth was plentiful. Indeed whole cloth, without a tear, mended or unmended, became in popular estimation sacramentally pure, and stitches of any kind rendered cloth unfit for use on ceremonial occasions. Ladies who in all respects preserve ancient orthodoxy intact, do not wear stitched cloth on such occasions. The jacket, the only form of stitched clothes ladies wear, has got the non-Tamil name of *ravikkai*;[6] it was possibly introduced into the country by Yavana (Greek and Roman) ladies that formed the body-guard of Indian kings two thousand years ago, or later by the Muhammadans. Whatever its origin, it is worn only on secular occasions and even then only by young women, who are allowed greater lapses into heterodoxy of conduct than elderly ladies. Serving men and soldiers wore coats, *śaṭṭai*,[7] *kuppāyam*,[8] *taippai*,[9] *meyppai*,[10] the latter two *kāraṇappeyar*, indicating that a coat was a late introduction in the lives of the Tamils. The absence of stitched clothes among the Indians struck that accurate foreign student of Indian manners, Al Bērūni, as so peculiar, that he remarks that the Indians 'wore turbans for trousers,' a long piece of unstitched cloth appealing to the Muslim imagination as being fit only for turbans. The Tamils did not wear turbans as a rule, their unshaved head serving as sufficient protection against the sun; but in the cotton districts where the summer sun is so fierce, men wore huge turbans and tight fore-lap cloth. This latter, *kachchu*,[11] *kachchai*,[12] *kōvaṇam*,[13] is the only absolutely indispensable garment for the Tamil people, and is woven with decorative lines, athwart and along, even to-day in parts of South India. Apparently the turban was not universal; only one name for it is traceable—*pāgai*,[14] or *pāgu*,[15] often with *talai*,[16] prefixed to it, it is not possible to guess why. There remain *kuḍai*,[17] umbrella, made of palm leaves and fixed to a stick or clapped on the head like a hat, and *śeruppu*,[18] leather sandals and *kuṛaḍu*,[19] wooden sandals, for the feet, both also being referred to by the compound word *midiyaḍi*.[20]

[1] ஊசி. [2] இழைவங்கி. [3] துன்னல். [4] தையல்.

[5] A poor man's rags are described in *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*, 80–81, as cloth stitched, full of threads other than those with which it was woven and wet with sweat.

வேரொடு நனைந்த வேற்றிழை நுழைந்த. துன்னற் சிதா அர்.

[6] ரவிக்கை. [7] சட்டை. [8] குப்பாயம். [9] தைப்பை. [10] மெய்ப்பை. [11] கச்சு. [12] கச்சை. [13] கோவணம். [14] பாகை. [15] பாகு. [16] தலை. [17] குடை. [18] செருப்பு. [19] குறடு. [20] மிதியடி.

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Decoration

The artistic instincts of the Indian people expressed themselves in the form of personal decoration by means of dress and ornaments. Love of decorating not only the person but of every article, has been the inspiring motive of Indian art throughout the ages. Their dwellings were decorated with colour drawings, as is proved by the fact that palettes, and pencils have been found in Stone Age settlements and that even to-day painting on walls and covering the floor daily inside and outside houses with most elaborate designs in coloured powders is practiced. The custom is so old that only on occasions of a death in the house, is it temporarily suspended. Such adornment of the floor is called *kōlam*,[1] which word means beauty, ornaments, embellishments, costumes, trappings, and *kōlam buṇaippeṇ*,[2] or *vaṇṇamagaḷ*,[3] is the girl who is expert in embellishment, also a lady's dressing maid. This is one of many ancient Indian customs that is dying out on account of the impact of Western civilization; our ladies are struggling to keep up the custom, but our young girls are being no more apprenticed to our matrons for being trained as *kōlam buṇaippeṇ*. As the soul-less 'type-design' buildings constructed by the D.P.W., are destroying taste in architecture, so the education that is given in our girls' schools is killing out the ancient Indian art of house decoration, which now exists only in the villages round celebrated temples and which can be witnessed only on occasions when the temple God is brought out in procession.

Every article of domestic furniture was decorated with art work. Stone articles were made in the shape of tortoises, fishes, heads of cows, etc. and their surface decorated with lines. All articles of wood were filled with wood-carving in various designs. Most of these designs were based on the parts of the lotus plant. The lotus is a plant, every part of which is useful to man; its flower, its seed, its root and its stem are edible and also used in Indian medicine. Its stem and flowers and leaves are used for purposes of decoration. Hence the shape of its leaf and flower and of its stem and seed were combined in various ways to make designs for carving in wood or metal. Every part of the house was ornamented with such carvings: the door-frame, the doors, beam-ends, every part of a pillar, its base, its body, its cornice, was filled with beautiful carvings. When stone was substituted for wood as material for all this work, designs for wood-carving were transferred to stone, though it is very difficult to copy on stone the kind of carving suited to wood.

Not only fixtures but also all moveable articles were filled with decorative carving. Sitting and other planks had many designs cut on them; lotus flowers, cut in metal, were used to make them look pleasing to the eye. All household utensils of wood or metal were works of art. Drinking vessels and water-pots were not only made of the most artistic shapes but were decorated with line-drawingand carving; this continues to be so except in towns where the ugly machine-made products of modern European factories are slowly displacing the products of ancient Indian art-work and the artistic sense of the Indian people being slowly choked out.

[1] கோலம். [2] கோலம் புனைப்பெண். [3] வண்ணமகள்.

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The humblest tool used by the ancient Indian was made of a beautiful shape and was besides decorated; the humble bill-book, *arivāḷ*,[1] which is hooked on to the waist-string of the labourer, is not only of a beautiful shape, but is provided with leaf shaped notches and the brass ferule which binds it to its handle is decorated with art work. The vegetable knife, used in every house, *arivāḷmaṇai*,[2] has its iron part shaped to resemble a bird and its wooden part covered with line-design. No Indian workman will finish any work of his hands, small or big, humble or otherwise, without putting on it some bit of art work. The country cart, cumbrous as it looks to the careless observer, has every part of it, including the beam, *achchu*,[3] on which the frame-work rests and which holds or does duty for the axle-tree is filled with carvings of the lotus flower or the lotus leaves or stems. The rich carvings on temple-cars which are but copies of ancient wood temples, are too well known to require description here.

The extraordinary development of wood-carving (succeeded by stone-carving) in preference to other forms of art in India was due to two causes. Hard woods that lent themselves to most minute carving grew in abundance. But the more important cause is that the aim of Indian art is decorative and not imitative. Ancient Greek art had for its aim the imitation of the forms of men and of natural objects; the nearer the copy was to the original, the more successful was the art product claimed to be. The art work was executed for its own sake, because as Keats said, 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. Hence art was an end in itself and art-objects were not considered decorations of the drawing room or of something other than themselves. Thus the famous frescoes which exist in various parts of the country are but decorations of cave temples and cave-monasteries, just as carving and group-statuary in stone, in stucco, or in wood, are but decorations of the *vimānam*,[4] *gōpuram*,[5] or the car of the temple. Hence whereas pictures or statues which belong to Greek art are individual objects, those belonging to Indian art are extensive compositions, stories in paint, or stone or wood. Greek art aims at perfection of form, because each art-product exists by itself: Indian art aims at representation of life and moving objects and not still life, because each figure is but the part of an extensive composition. Self-restraint is the chief characteristic of the Greek art, but the Indian artist lets himself go without any restriction on the outflow of his genius. As a singer when performing[1] *ālāpanam*[6] of a *rāgam*,[7] takes a theme and rings endless changes on it, as many as his throat is capable of producing, as a poet, started on a description, seems never to be able to exhaust his subject, so the painter and the carver is never tired of multiplying details in the exposition of the central idea. Foreigners do the greatest injustice possible to Indian art when they take away from their proper place pieces of the stone work of Bharhut or Amarāvati, bits of paintings from Ajanta or Ellora, and judge them divorced from their environment, and in conditions of light different from those where they were originally placed. It looks like judging Shakespeare's plays from a dictionary of quotations.

[1] அரிவாள். [2] அரிவாள் மனை. [3] அச்சு. [4] விமானம்.
[5] கோபுரம். [6] ஆலாபனம். [7] ராகம்.

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Indian art did not aim at producing specimens for the drawing room, but the æsthetic sense was correlated with other senses, so that every object, big or small, was decorated with art work, the only undecorated objects being the head and neck of a widow who wants to observe life-long mourning. Hence our ladies love to decorate their persons with jewels and silks and it will be an unhappy day for India if their æsthetic sense is blunted by the modern virtue of possessing a bank-balance and they should sell their personal decorations, their 'barbaric pearl and gold' for developing the habit of depositing their wealth in banks. The Tamil ladies of ancient times were decorated in various ways. Their *kūndal*[1] was dressed in various artistic ways, one of which was in imitation of *suṛavu vāy*,[2] shark's mouth. Other ways of *mayirmudi*[3] or binding the hair into knots were *uchchi*,[4] *koṇḍai*,[5] *koppu*,[6] *sigaḻigai*,[7] *tammilam*,[8] and *muchchi*.[9] The different kinds of garlands with which the head and neck were adorned have already been referred to. The body was painted with pastes and powders of various kinds. The chief of the pastes were *manjal*,[10] turmeric or saffron made into a paste, *śandaṇakkuḻambu*[11] also called *tēyvai*,[12] *śāndu*,[13] *toyil*,[14] *toyyil*,[15] sandal paste mixed with various scents. The latter was spread on the chest, the mammæ and the abdomen and beautiful designs in line-drawing drawn thereon. A variety of paste for the hair was called *tagaram*.[16] On the paste was strewn powders of several kinds. One such was *poṛchuṇṇam*,[17] powdered gems, gold, sandal wood, and camphor.

The Tamils were exceedingly fond of decoration; so there are many words meaning to decorate, *e.g.*, *aṇi*,[18] *ār*,[19] *śūḍu*,[20] *puṇai*,[21] *pūṇ*,[22] *malai*,[23] *milai*,[24] *vēy*,[25] *milai*,[26] *ey*, *vari*.[27]

So, too, there are numerous words which mean an ornament, of which some are *aṇi*,[28] *aṇikalam*,[29] *āram*,[30] *iḻai*,[31] *nagai*,[32] *paṇi*,[33] *pūṇ*,[34] *mañju*,[35] *madāṇi*,[36] *valḷi*.[37] The lobes of the ears were pierced to receive the *tōḍu*[38] or *kūḻai*;[39] poorer people wore the *ōlai*,[40] which was at first a bit of tender palmyra leaf, sometime coloured, rolled into a circle; then the same was made of gold plate rolled into various shapes, including the shapes of mythological monsters; the same, set with gems, became the ear-ornament of the rich, *tāḻuruvi*,[41] *kaḍukkan*,[42] *kaḍippam*,[43] *kuṇukku*,[44] *koṭṭai*,[45] *tūkkam*,[46] *toṅgal*,[47] *veḍam*,[48] were other ear-ornaments The jewel symbolic of a married woman was the *tāli*[49] now made of gold and of a peculiar shape. Probably the original *tāli* was made of the teeth or claws of the bear or the tiger[50] killed by the husband in the chase. It may be noted that

[1]Other names for the hair that adorns the head of ladies were *alagam*, *aimbāl*, *ōdi*, *kural*, *kuruḻ*, *kuḻal*, *kūral*, *kūḻai*, *kōdai*, *śuriyal*, *śurul*, *neḍumai*, *marāṭṭam*; that which grew equally plentifully on men's heads sometimes halfshorn, *ilai*, *ōri*, *kuñji*, *kuḍumi*, *taḻai*, *toṅgal*, *navir*, *pittai*; besides *kaḍuppu*, *kōḻi*, which meant both. கூந்தல், அளகம், ஐம்பால், ஓதி, குரல், குருள், குழல், கூரல், கூழல், கோதை, சுரியல், சுருள், நெடுமை, மராட்டம், இலை, ஓரி, குஞ்சி, குடுமி, தலை, தொங்கல், நவிர், பித்தை. கதுப்பு, கோலி.

[2]சுறவுவாய். [3]மயிர்முடி. [4]உச்சி. [5]கொண்டை. [6]கொப்பு. [7]செலிகை. [8]தம்மிலம். [9]முச்சி. [10]மஞ்சள். [11]சந்தணக்குழம்பு. [12]தேய்வை. [13]சாந்து. [14]தோயில். [15]தொய்யில். [16]தகரம். [17]பொற்கண்ணம். [18]அணி. [19]ஆர். [20]சூடு. [21]புனை. [22]பூண். [23]மலை. [24]மிலை. [25]வேய். [26]மினை. [27]வரி. [28]அணி. [29]அணிகலம். [30]ஆரம். [31]இழை. [32]நகை. [33]பணி. [34]பூண். [35]மஞ்சு. [36]மதாணி. [37]வள்ளி. [38]தோடு. [39]கிழை. [40]ஓலை. [41]தாழுருவி. [42]கடுக்கன். [43]கடிப்பம். [44]குணுக்கு. [45]கொட்டை. [46]தூக்கம். [47]தொங்கல். [48]வேடம். [49]தாலி. [50]புலிப்பற்றாலி. *Kuṛuṇdogai 161.*

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South Indian women of all castes regard the *tāli* as the most sacred symbol of marriage, so much so that they will rather die than be without it for a second. But the tying of a *tāli* is not according to the Arya canon-law or North Indian practice an essential part of the wedding rite. According to the Arya law taking seven steps (*saptapati*) with the taking of the bride's hand (*pāṇigrahaṇam*) constitutes the act of marriage and if the bridegroom should die before the *saptapati* is completed, the woman does not become a widow and is fit for marrying another man. But this is not the belief of the women. What can be inferred from this? Either the first Brāhmaṇas of South India were Tamil men affiliated to the Brāhmaṇa priesthood or, if they were all emigrants from North India, they took unto themselves Tamil women as their wives; women being noted for their conservatism, the Tamil custom of tying a *tāli* as a symbol of marriage had to be given a premier place in the Brāhmaṇa wedding-rite. It is difficult to believe that, if the first Brāhmaṇa men and women were both foreign emigrants, they borrowed a Tamil custom and made it more important than their Ārya ones. Other important ornaments were strings of gold-thread, pearls, coral, etc., provided with pendants set with gems. They were called *kāḻ*,[1] *tāmam*,[2] *savi*,[3] *saraḍu*,[4] *koḍi*,[5] *nāṇ*,[6] *śaṅgili*,[7] *kayil*,[8] *kaḍai*,[9] *kōvai*,[10] *toḍar*,[11] *kokkuvām*.[12] The pendants besides the *tāli*, were *kavaḍi*,[13] *sarappaḻi*,[14] etc. At the waist were also worn strings of gold or silver, *kuṛaṅguśeri*,[15] *kavānaṇi*,[16] *paṭṭigai*,[17] on which were strung little tinkling bells, *sadañgai*,[18] *kiṇkiṇi*.[19] Ornaments for the ankles were *śilambu*,[20] *kaḻal*,[21] *pāḍagam*.[22] They were also furnished with tinkling bells. At the wrists and above the elbows were worn *vaḷai*,[23] literally a circle, *kāppu*,[24] a guard, *kanṛu*,[25] *kurugu*,[26] *saṅgu*,[27] *śari*,[28] *śūḍagam*,[29] *toḍi*,[30] *vaṇḍu*,[31] *vaḷḷi*,[32] *piḍigam*.[33] Several forms of wristlets, bracelets and anklets were given by kings as a reward for feats of strength or skill. The fingers and toes were ornamented with rings, *mōdiram*,[34] *āḻipīli*.[35] Women wore a cap of pearls for the mammæ,[36] which were tied by means of a belt, *mulaikkachchu*[37]. Besides human beings, elephants, horses, bulls and even vehicles were heavily decorated.

Here is a description of a highly-decorated cot. 'They take the tusks of the fiercely-fighting elephant, which have dropped of their own accord, and cut the sides till they are of uniform shape and colour, fix between them leaves carved by the sharp chisels of the skilled carpenter. They place all round panels carved with scenes of lion-hunting and lined with many-coloured hairs of tigers; they decorate it with twigs, jasmin and other flowers; they furnish the cot with windows. Then they hang all around the broad cot, curtains made of pearls strung on thread. They tie tapes woven with coloured lines so as to look like the stripes of a tiger. The ends of the legs of the cot are rounded like bowls which look like the breasts of a pregnant woman; above the bowls, the legs are made to look like roots of

[1]காழ். [2]தாமம். [3]சவி. [4]சரடு. [5]கொடி. [6]நாண். [7]சங்கிலி [8]கயில். [9]கடை. [10]கோவை. [11]தொடர். [12]கொக்குவாம். [13]கவடி. [14]சரப்பளி. [15]குறங்குசெறி. [16]கவானணி. [17]பட்டிகை. [18]சதங்கை. [19]கிண்கிணி. [20]சிலம்பு. [21]கழல். [22]பாடகம். [23]வளை. [24]காப்பு [25]கன்று. [26]குருகு [27]சங்கு. [28]சரி. [29]சூடகம். [30]தொடி. [31]வண்டு. [32]வள்ளி. [33]பிடிகம். [34]மோதிரம். [35]ஆழிபீலி. [36]முத்தணி கொங்கை *Tiruvāśagam* ix. 10–1. [37]மூலைக்கச்சு ஆரந்தாங்கிய வலர்முலையாகத்து. *Neḍunelvāḍai 136.*

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garlic. The bed, stitched thin and broad, was filled with the pure-coloured down of a swan in love; on it were placed pillows; on it was spread a sheet, woven with figures of the water-lily and well-starched.[1]

Amusements

The ancient Tamils were a mirth loving people; they gave themselves up to merry-making frequently. Till Aryan religious ideas took firm root in their minds in the post-Christian centuries pessimism did not pull them down. They did not indulge in dark cogitations about the evils of earthly existence and seek for means to abolish the present joys of life for securing a future state of unchanging bliss. Their religious rites, *viḻavu*[2] were accompanied by drinking, singing, dancing and dumb show. Their secular amusements were the chase, *vēṭṭai*,[3] *āgēḍagam*[4], *pābatti*[5], wrestling, *marpor*[6], sword play, single stick, *śilambam*[7], racing with chariots, elephants, bulls, etc. *pandayam*,[8] playing with balls, *ammānai*[9], *pandu*[10], gambling and playing with shells, *kavaḍi*[11], *palagaṛai*[12], *alagu*[13], *sōḻi*[14]. Music was called *iśai*[15] or *pāṭṭu*[16], and has been partly discussed under war. Different kinds of tunes, *paṇ*,[17] one at least for each region, was developed. Probably the *paṇ* of *kuṛiñji* is the tune called *kuṛiñji* to-day. That of *mullai* was perhaps what is now called *madhyamāvatī*, for this is also called *brindāvana sāraṅga*. That of *marudam* was perhaps that called *kēdāram*, for *kēdāram*, like *marudam*, means a ploughed field. The *paṇ* for Neydal was probably that now called *punnāgavarāḷi*, that now used for sailor's songs. Instrumental music was called *pāṇ* and as bards accompanied their songs with playing on the *yāḻ*, they were called *pāṇar*. There were various forms of drums, the beating of which accompanied singing and dancing. Different kinds of measures or volleys were beaten for different occasions. As specimens, the following may be mentioned: *ēṛukoṭpaṛai*,[18] the cattle

[1]பொருதொழி நாக மொழியெயி றருகெறிந்து
சீருஞ் செம்மையு மொப்ப வல்லோன்
கூருளிக் குயின்ற வீரிலை யிடையிடுபு
தூங்கியன் மாளிர் வீங்குமுலை கடுப்பப்
புடைதிரண் டிருந்த குடத்த விடைதிரண்
டுள்ளி நோன்முதல் பொருத்தி யடியமைத்துப்
பேரள வெய்திய பெரும்பெயர்ப் பாண்டில்
மடைமா ணுண்ணிழை பொலியத் தொடைமாண்டு
குத்துடைச் சாலேக நாற்றிக் குத்தறத்துப்
புலிப்பொறிக் கொண்ட பூங்கேழ்த் தட்டத்துத்
தகடுகண் புதையக் கொளீஇத் துகடீர்ந்
தூட்டுறு பன்மயிர் விரைஇ வயமான்
வேட்டம் பொறித்து வியன்கட் கானத்து
முல்லைப் பலபோ துறழப் பூநிரைத்து
மெல்லிதின் விரிந்த சேக்கை மேம்படத்
துணைபுண ரன்னத் தூநீறத் தூவி
யிணையணை மேம்படப் பாயனை யிட்டுக்
காடிகொண்ட கழுவுறு கலிங்கத்துத்
தோடமைத் தூமடி விரித்த சேக்கை.

Neḍunalvāḍai 117–135.

[2]விழவு. [3]வேட்டை. [4]ஆகேடகம். [5]பாபத்தி. [6]மற்போர். [7]சிலம்பம். [8]பந்தயம். [9]அம்மானை. [10]பந்து. [11]கவடி. [12]பலகறை. [13]அளகு. [14]சோழி. [15]இசை. [16]பாட்டு. [17]பண். [18]ஏறுகோட்பறை.

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lifting measure, *murugiyam*[1], measure for *veṛiyāṭṭam*[2], Muruga dance, *maṇamuḻavu*[3], marriage drum, *nellarikiṇai*,[4] harvest drum, *tērōṭṭuppaṛai*[5], the drum beaten for dragging cars, *puṛappāṭṭuppaṛai*,[6] the drum announcing the king's or a god's going out of the *kōil*, *mīnkōṭpaṛai*[7], the drum beat announcing a haul of fish, *śūṛaikōṭpaṛai*[8], dacoity-drum. Different kinds of noises were also emitted from trumpets to suit various occasions, auspicious and inauspicious, marriage or death processions.

Dancing, *āṭṭam*[9], *kūttu*[10], was of various kinds. Almost every incident of life had its appropriate dance. *Kūttu*, *kaḷi*[11], *kunippu*,[12] was a kind of dumb show, in which ideas were expressed by dancing and by elaborate gestures. This was the ancient form of the Tamil drama—the drama where the characters spoke or sang their parts belonged to North India—and is still kept up in Malabar under the name *kathakaḷi*[13]. *Kūttar*[14], *kaṇṇuḷar*[15], and *kūttiyar*[16] were elaborately made up. The actresses were women of easy virtue for *kūttiyar* has come to mean harlots. Children's dances were *kummi*[17], *teḷḷēṇam*[18], *sāḻal*[19], *ōrai*[20], etc. Boys played a kind of primitive cricket, in which the bat and the ball were both represented by long and short sticks, *kiṭṭu*[21], *puḷ*[22].

Music was dispensed by wandering bards who were generally famished if they stuck to their homes.

'O *Pāṇan*, whose legs are tired by wandering from place to place like birds in search of fruits on hills which are covered by mist on the cessation of rain, because you have no one to support you in the world surrounded by the sea, and are surrounded by relatives crying for food, whose body is emaciated and whose mouth denounces the learning he has acquired'.[23]

Angling was another amusement. The following is a description of angling :—

'The expert angler of the *pāṇar* tribe carries on his shoulders a leather-bag full of bits of meat and sticks it at the end of a string tied to a long bamboo stick ; the fish bites the meat hanging at the bent end of the angling-rod and shakes the string ; missing it, the *vāḷai* fish stays with open mouth.'[24]

Capturing game by means of nets was another favourite amusement.

[1]முருகியம். [2]வெறியாட்டம் [3]மணமுழவு. [4]நெல்லரிகிணை. [5]தேரோட்டுப்பறை. [6]புறப்பாட்டுப்பறை. [7]மீன்கோட்பறை [8]சூறைகோட்பறை. [9]ஆட்டம். [10]கூத்து. [11]களி. [12]குனிப்பு. [13]கதகளி. [14]கூத்தர் [15]கண்ணுளர். [16]கூத்தியர். [17]கும்மி. [18]தெள்ளேணம். [19]சாழல். [20]ஓரை. [21]கிட்டு. [22]புள்.

[23]தண்கடல் வரைப்பிற் றுங்குநர் பெறாது
பொழிமழை துறந்த புகைவேல் குன்றத்துப்
பழுமரந் தேரும் பறவை போலக்
கல்லென் சுற்றமொடு கால்கிளர்ந்து திரிதரும்
புல்லென் யாக்கைப் புலவுவாய்ப் பாண.

Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai, 18–22.

[24]பச்சூன் பெய்த சுவல்பிணி பைந்தோற்
கோள்வல் பாண்மகன் தலைவலித் தியாத்த
நெடுங்கழைத் தூண்டி னடுங்க நாண்கொளீஇக்
கொவொ யிரும்பின் மடிதலை புலம்பப்
பொதியிரை கதுவிய போழ்வாய் வாளை.

Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai, 283–287.

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'Hard-eyed hunters fix closely woven nets on the thorns of the hedges of fields in Pālaī land and drive into them rabbits which have long ears like the outer petals of the thorny-stalked lotus; they then proceed along with dogs whose jaws are wide-open, beat the shrubs and hunt the rabbit and eat them'.[1]

Trials of strength by wrestling was also a common amusement among the Tamils; the following is a description of *maṟpor*, wrestling :—

In Āmūr which produces sweet and strong liquor he overcame the great strength of the wrestler; he bent one of his knees and planted it on his adversary's chest; with the other leg he defeated the tactics, bent the back of his rival; as an elephant which tries to eat a bamboo, he hammered his rival's head and feet and conquered him: may Tittan the heroic father of the wrestler see the sight, whether it would please him or not.

(*To be continued.*)

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Reviews

THE 'STONE' AGE 'IN INDIA

BY

PROFESSOR P. T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR, M.A.

[Published by the University of Madras, Price Rupee One].

THE book under review is the full text of the Sir Subramania Aiyar lecture (1925) delivered under the distinguished auspices of the Madras University, by one who holds a unique place among the older generation of scholars in the field of Indian history and culture. He was the first historian in India to demolish the unsound theory of the Aryan invasion of India. He has no faith in race-theory in general, and he believes that the Aryans are as much autochthones as any other people or peoples claim to be. His researches for decades together have led him to conclusions which are found scattered throughout this work.

Years ago in the course of his excellent review of the Professor's 'Life in Anceint India', Mr. Kennedy spoke of him as a great anthropologist. In this learned lecture Professor Aiyangar has shown himself an anthropologist of a high order. No one has yet seriously approached the study of India's past in her palæolithic and neolithic ages. And the present attempt is indeed a fruitful one in that direction. Latest researches in geology have led geologists to the conclusion that the first home of man was in the North of India at the foot of the Himalyas, and man must have lived somewhere about 100,000 years before. Professer Aiyangar examines the palæolithic and neolithic finds which have been industriously collected by Foote and other scholars, and has argued that the Deccan plateau was the first home of the man, and man lived long before the time fixed by our modern geologists.

His chief theories may be categorically stated. First wood was used for tools and implements, and secondly stone took the place of wood. Even here a distinction is made between the old stone age and the new stone age. Thirdly man began his career on the globe as

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an eater of fruits and nuts. It was only when he found their supply running short owing to seasonal variations that he took to flesh eating and consequently hunting. Fourthly there is evidence of the use of fire by striking flint. Fifthly palæolithic man abandoned the dead wherever they dropped down; but the neolithic man used pottery in the form of burial urns and trays. Sixthly primitive man was stark naked. Then he covered himself with the hides of animals, then tree-flay and the author incidentally traces the origin of *Yajñopavīta*. Lastly the predominance of goddesses as village deities shows the family organization to be matriarchal in character. These things influenced Vedic literature profoundly.

The reference in Vedic literature to Viṣṇu being the mountain god, and the planting of His step in three places is ingeniously explained as three different stages in the growth of the Himalayas. Yet another is the reference to the *kalaśam* of temples.

In the neolithic age man domesticated animals. Increase in population led to tribal movements. The five races according to regional divisions of land occurring in Tamil literature are said to have been so in the neolithic age. There was intercourse with the world outside in neolithic times. In discussing the religion of neolithians, and from the two finds of *Lingam* it is argued that Śiva worship began in South India in neolithic times and that Śiva is a hunter god and the author traces some connection with this in the *Rigveda* where the term *Śiśnadēvas* occurs. There are scholars who interpret this term as *Sesha* or serpent. Hence whether the *Śiśnadēvas* of the *Rigveda* were really worshippers of Śiva is a matter for future research to decide. In the same way Krishna is said to be a god of pastoral type as opposed to Vedic gods especially Indra. These suggestions are fortified by the fact that while the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu and Amba is fireless, the Vedic is a fire-rite.

This monograph is concluded with the equally interesting theory that the new stone age was immediately succeeded by the Iron Age, and that South India was the original place where iron was first discovered and used. The book is thus full of new and interesting suggestions which afford ample food for thought for scholars and specially anthropologists. The value of the work is further enhanced by the select plates appended at the end of the book.

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PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE

Pallava Architecture, Part II, The Intermediate or Māmalla period. Mem. Arch. Surv. No. 34.

BY

A. H. LONGHURST

DURING the last decade or two the study of Pallava history and monuments has been making steady progress. It will be remembered that an account of Pallava architecture formed the subject matter of a work by the late Alexander Rea. In his *Pallava Architecture* however he confined himself to a study of the Pallava structural temples at Conjeevaram. The subject continued to interest scholars and was taken up by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar whose account of the monuments and antiquities of Mahabalipur forms a valuable contribution to the study of the subject. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil confining himself to the archæological aspect has produced two interesting volumes on the antiquities of the Pallavas in which he brings together almost all the monuments in the Tamil districts that may be ascribed to the Pallava age. He is also the author of the classification of the Pallava monuments on the basis of their style and evolution into four groups namely, the Māhendra, Māmalla, Rājasimha and the Aparājita styles. This has been followed by later writers among whom is Mr. Longhurst of the Archæological Survey who gave, in his Report of Archæological work of the Southern circle for the year 1919–20, an account of the Pallava monuments of the style of Māhendra, based exclusively on Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's methods of investigation.

Part I of Pallava Architecture issued as one of the memoirs of the Archæological Survey some four years ago is nothing but a reprint of this summary of the Annual Report with a few embellishments and illustrations. This has now been continued and the monuments in the style of what is called the Māmalla style are examined. The method of treatment remains the same and the arguments based on the style of architecture such as the shape of the pillar, the pose of the door-keepers, the shape of the *lingam* and the appearance of the cornice are given a greater prominence than other factors in determining the

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age of the respective monuments. Mr. Longhurst like Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil is an enthusiast in the study of the styles of architecture, but in so doing he is led into dangerous pitfalls by neglecting other aspects of evidence such as literature and epigraphy.

We may illustrate this position by one or two instances. In the first place the author assumes that Mahābalipuram with the monuments of which the present memoir is mostly concerned, was first founded by Narasimhavarman I and had no previous existence. Students of South Indian history will at once perceive the weakness of this position. But we may point out for Mr. Longhurst's information that the place did have a previous existence and was the reputed birthplace of one of the early Āḻvārs who refers to the place as Mallai. In the second place there are several monuments at the place which even following the stylistic standards of Mr. Longhurst may be safely assigned to Mahendravarman I. Mr. Longhurst himself admits that the *Dharmaraja Maṇḍapa* and the *Koṭikal Maṇḍapa* are exactly like the Maṇḍagapattu and the Mahendravaḍi cave temples of Mahendravarman I, but for reasons which we cannot understand assigns them to the earliest period of Māmalla. The discovery of the portrait sculpture of Mahendravarman I in the Varāha temple is another clear indication of the close connection that must have existed between Mahendravarman I and some at least of the monuments of Mahābalipuram. This point is dealt with in greater detail in my forthcoming paper to the ensuing Session of the Oriental Conference.

After devoting the opening paragraphs to the indication of the origin of the place and making certain observations on the methods of excavating the monoliths adopted by the Pallava architects he passes on to an examination of about twenty-five monuments at this place in the Mamalla style which, according to him, include not only the cave temples which are clearly in an earlier style but also the Raths and the rock-sculptures such as the relief representing the Penance of Arjuna. With reference to the last he questions the identification of the bas-relief as that of Arjuna's penance and remarks that 'there can be little doubt that the whole scene is a symbolic representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas. This conclusion has already been suggested by Jouveau-Dubreuil, V. Gorlebew and others. What stands in the way of this identification is the impossibility of accounting for the scene here representing a boar hunt which forms a part of the

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Arjuna's Penance, as also the failure to represent the descent of the Ganges as described in the *Ramayana* flowing down through the coiffure of Siva. As a matter of fact everything characteristic of the story of the celebrated penance of Bhagiratha is absent and we cannot presume that the Pallava artists were ignorant of the details of the Pauranic account of the scene or made an imaginary representation of the same.

Without entering into the other details it is sufficient to point out that while Mr. Longhurst has succeeded in producing an interesting account of some of the monuments, he could easily have made it valuable by avoiding the pitfalls indicated above. There is an interesting suggestion on p. 8 of the work which indicates that the palace of the Pallavas existed in this spot. It is unfortunate that having apparently been built of perishable material they did not survive but the terraced-footings for the foundations for the fortwalls, gateways and tank revetments are still to be seen cut in the rock as is seen from a photograph. (Plate 2.)

The illustrations, of which there are a good many, form the most important feature in this work and we hope that in the forthcoming concluding part dealing with the last phase of the Pallava architecture the author would deal with the subject in the light of the suggestions made here so as to make the work really useful to the scholar.

R. G.

'SIR ASUTOSH MEMORIAL VOLUME'

BY

J. N. SAMADDAR, PATNA

[Price, Rs. 15]

THANKS to the enterprising efforts of Professor J. N. Samaddar, convener, Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, we are in possession of a good and useful work before us. The volume is printed in two parts, both of them bound together nicely and in a handy manner. Both the parts contain a number of learned articles contributed by distinguished scholars, as a fitting tribute to that eminent son of India, who is

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unfortunately no more with us in flesh and blood but who is pervading with his spirit our minds, instilling in us fresh enthusiasm to carry on the noble work of disseminating the glorious culture of the ancient Hindus to which the late much lamented Mookerjee devoted himself.

In the opening pages of the volume we are given a short sketch of Sir Asutosh's life and work by Prof. Jaya Gopal Bannerjee. It is indeed interesting reading, and is remarkable as exhibiting what a talented son of India is capable of, given sufficient opportunity to display his inherent powers. Among the contents of the first part, the most interesting contributions are the 'Authenticity of the *Arthaśāstra*' by Dr. A. B. Keith, '*Dharmaśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*' by Prof. M. Winternitz, 'Political Philosophy of the Hindus' by Dr. Shamasastri, 'the Evolution of Ancient Indian Politics' by Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar, and 'Indian Political Evolution' by Mr. N. C. Banerjee. Of these one word might be said about Dr. Keith's contribution. In spite of a volume of evidence in favour of the theory that the *Arthaśāstra* was the composition of the fourth century B.C., Dr. Keith still maintains his old theory, namely, that the date of the composition could not be earlier than A.D. 200 and remarks, among others, that the worship of the Aśvins could not be antiquated in the third century A.D. But Dr. Keith need not be told that by the beginning of the Christian era, the later form of Hinduism with its movements Saivism and Vaishnavism, had taken a definite shape, and the earlier form of Hinduism which was the Vedic mode of worship and practice has begun to decline. The *Arthaśāstra* which has distinct references to Vedic religion and only indirect references to popular religion cannot be brought to post-Christian epoch.

Attention may also be drawn to the equally learned contributions of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on 'Vikramāditya' and Dr. D. R. Bhāndarkar on the 'Date of Kālidāsa'. Professor Sukumar Dutt of Dacca contributes an interesting article on 'Sidelights on Some Aśokan Edicts.' He examines Aśoka's relation to the Buddhist *Saṃgha* on the evidence of three Pillar Edicts; Sāranath, Sānchi and Kauśāmbi. He establishes the following theories which seem to be rational. First Aśoka cannot be regarded as the 'Head' or the 'Ruler' of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. And secondly Aśoka's *Śāsāna* is not a new law imposed by a superior authority on the Buddhist

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Samgha. As a constitutional sovereign he could not make new laws but all he could do was to administer the old laws.

Turning our attention to the contents of the second part, we find the subject of much prolonged debate—'the problem of Bhāsa,' by Mr. K. G. Sankara. The author of this contribution accepts that all Bhāsa's plays have come down to us almost intact, and that Bhāsa is the author of only nine plays and not all the fourteen or fifteen plays ascribed to him by the late lamented Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri. When the authorship is accepted for a large number of plays of that category, why not accept it for the remaining few plays especially in the absence of any *direct* evidence to warrant the contrary conclusion. He further makes the remark that *Chārudatta* is only an abridged version of the *Mṛchchakatika* compiled about 750 A.C. Why it may not be that the latter work is indebted to *Chārudatta* must be answered before we accept this theory. The identification of Bhāsa with Śūdraka has no leg to stand on.

A reference may be made to the learned contributions of Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the 'Chronology of the Śātavāhanas' and 'Some Thoughts on Buddhist Art' by Dr. Saunders of the Californian University. The latter makes the significant statement (p. 126), 'Far too much time has been spent seeking to prove the foreign influence at work in this art; and it has been too little emphasized that from Bārhut to Barabudur, and from Ajantā to Hoṅuji, it is essentially a National Indian art, developing by clear and recognizable stages.'

The second part closes with Dr. J. Jolly's interesting essay on 'the Old Political Literature of India and the Various Writers'. He does not give us anything new but simply reviews some of the Indian publications on 'Ancient Indian Polity' and concludes, 'much as one may sympathize with the liberal tendencies of these Indian researches, their views on history as well as their results are to be considered with care, and one cannot altogether acquit the above-mentioned authors of the blame of not demarcating History from Politics' (p. 137). Benoy Kumar Sarkar, we find, has already made a reply to this and other statements of Jolly in reviewing the German translation of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* by J. J. Meyer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June, 1928). We may conclude with the remark that History is past politics, and politics is present history.

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'THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA'

BY

J. N. SAMMADDAR

WITH FOREWORD BY

DR. A. B. KEITH

[Price. Rs. 8]

THIS is the second edition of the well-written work of Professer Samaddar, being the Readership Lectures delivered before Patna University (1922). The very fact that a second edition has been called for is in itself a testimony to the popularity of the work as a valuable contribution on the history of Magadha from the earliest times. In the first lecture itself Professor Samaddar takes us from the Vedic period. In the Vedic literature there are incontrovertible references to Magadha, as a country not fit for habitation by pure Brahmans. There are two theories. One is that the people there were non-Aryans alien to Brahmanical culture and with anti-Brahmanical tendencies. The other and more reasonable view is that they were Aryans but held a much lower status perhaps due to taking to other professions. This leads us to the consideration of the social status of the *Vrātyas* of Ancient Hindu literature. This has been examined by many a scholar but still the problem requires elucidation.

The second lecture is about the capitals of the Magadha kingdom. It had two capitals, first Gīrivraja, latterly known as Rājagṛha and then Pataliputra. A plan of old Rājagṛha is given, and its importance in Ancient Indian literature is brought out. By the time of Fa Hien, the city came to a ruined state. This was to be attributed to the rise of Pataliputra as the capital. The stone railings and other excavations found at Pataliputra are considered to be quasi-Persepolitan. A number of beautiful plates which are attached will afford interest to art critics. The valuable portion of this chapter is the comparative study of Megasthenes' accounts with Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* to demonstrate how the *Arthaśāstra* is to be accepted as the authoritative account of political and social conditions of India in the fourth century before Christ. Otto Stein who has attempted to prove discrepancies between the two accounts must admit the resemblances also, and must needs revise his opinion on the subject.

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The third and fourth lectures are on the edicts of Aśoka. The edicts are so important and so epoch-making that they have been edited and annotated by a number of scholars like the late Mr. V. A. Smith, Bhandarkar and Mookerjee and Woolner. We beg to differ from Professor Samaddar who observes that Aśoka was a Buddhist monarch, that the *Śukranīti* is a very late work, and that Buddhism and animal sanctity had got intermingled together. It is not correct to say that Aśoka adopted Buddhism as his religion. Like the great Mughal Emperor Akbar in later days, Aśoka was a tolerant monarch. He had respect for all creeds and faiths which propagated the *dharma* or *sacred law*. If he built Buddhist *stupas* he equally built temples for the Jains and made generous gifts to the Brahmans. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of his faith. Suffice it to say that he was a cosmopolitan in his religion, and his propaganda work consisted mainly for the dissemination of culture and principles which are the underlying factors of all religions.

In this context we may point out that there was no period like the Buddhist period of Indian history, when Hinduism declined in importance. It is wrong to speak of a revival of Hinduism. There is evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* that the old Vedic religion continued to thrive in the days of the first Mauryan king Chandragupta. The various regulations about sacrifices show the earlier form of Hinduism in vogue. Further too much is made of the doctrine of *ahimsa*. This doctrine was more of the Jains than of the Buddhists. Even the Jain view is not a novel one. It is as much the Brahmanical principle as any other. Perhaps the Jains carried the theory to its extreme limit.

The other statement of Samaddar that the *Śukranīti* is a very late work cannot be accepted. Its rules and regulations are much antiquated and barring a few passages, it must be ranked with the *Rāja Dharma* section of the *Mahābharata*. It is therefore proper that the extant treatise is as much an authority for Hindu India as any other.

The lectures (V and VI) are a study on the Universities of Nalanda and Vikramaśila. The endowments, courses of study and chief teachers are all given in detail worthy of a true research scholar. The value of the book is very much enhanced by as many as twenty-five plates, which themselves afford an interesting study. Though we differ on a few points, still we congratulate the author on his painstaking study of

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several controversial subjects, and an impartial and unbiassed presentation of them in an attractive style. We commend these lectures, with Dr. Keith, as an earnest and able contribution to an important field of study.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'THE BAKSHALI MANUSCRIPT'

BY

G. R. KAYE

[A Study in Mediæval Mathematics, Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. xliii. Price, Rs. 23. Government of India, Central Publication Branch.]

THE publication of this important work on mediæval mathematics in the New Imperial Series of the Archæological Survey of India will be welcomed by all students interested in the subject of Hindu mathematics. It would be remembered that the work was discovered more than forty-five years ago at Bakshali written in birch-bark and that its discovery created considerable interest. Dr. Hoernle published a short account of it in 1888 intending to publish a complete edition of it in due course. But this hope remained unfulfilled although a considerable part of the analysis of the manuscript which forms the subject-matter in sections B, G, H, K, and L of the present work was prepared by him. These materials which were entrusted to Mr. Kaye have been utilized in the course of the present work and a thoroughly fresh examination of the whole work has been attempted with the result that in many respects such as the authorship and date of the work the views of Mr. Kaye differ completely from those of the late Dr. Hoernle.

The manuscript consists of seventy leaves of birch-bark, some of these being mere scraps. The text is written in the *Śārada* script which flourished in the N.W. borders of India from about the ninth century A.D. The language of the text is written according to Dr. Hoernle in the so-called *Gāthā* dialect used in North India till the end of the third century A.D., but Mr. Kaye describes it as 'irregular Sanskrit' with the peculiarities of spelling and grammar commonly met

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with in the inscriptions of the twelfth century in North-West India. The contents of the work are described in Chap. IV. As the work now stands it is concerned with problems involving systems of linear equations, indeterminate equations of the second degree, arithmetical progression, quadratic equations, approximate evaluations of square roots, complex series, miscellaneous problems and mensuration. The most interesting sections are those relating to quadratic equations which is the most complete in the whole MS. and miscellaneous problems which give glimpses of literary and social references, in the illustrative material. Mr. Kaye, afterwards proceeds to give the exposition and method; an analysis of the mathematical contents of the text is then furnished which is of interest only to specialists in the subject.

Chapter IX is devoted to a discussion of the age of the manuscript and the age of the work. It will be remembered that the late Dr. Hoernle held the view that the mathematical treatise (which is contained in the so-called Bakshali manuscript) was considerably older than the manuscript itself and that the work was composed six centuries earlier than the copy. Mr. Kaye after an elaborate analysis of the material, the format, the script employed, the language and the metre comes to the conclusion that the work is a composition of the twelfth century A.D. He also considers that the use of the place-value principle in the manuscript under review, as well as the square-root rule and the use of sexagesimal notation clearly point to the posterior composition of the work as in the opinion of Mr. Kaye they indicate foreign influence commencing at a period much later than the one given by Dr. Hoernle to the manuscript. The question therefore needs to be very carefully examined and decided upon by future research.

In the second part of this work the author gives a complete transliteration of the text (pp. 105–156) as well as the facsimiles of the whole text in collotypes from photographs of the manuscript obtained from the Bodleyan Library.

The author as well as the Archæological Survey are to be congratulated on the production of this excellent work and it is hoped that other rare manuscripts of like importance will also be published on these lines by the Government.

R. R.

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'INDIA'S PAST, A SURVEY OF HER LITERATURES, RELIGIONS, LANGUAGES, AND ANTIQUITIES'

BY

A. A. MACDONNELL

[Oxford, 1927. 10*s*.]

IN the words of the learned author of this book the work summarizes India's intellectual history setting forth the mental development of the most easterly branch of the Aryan civilization since it entered India by land till it came into contact by sea with the most westerly branch of the same civilization after a separation of at least three thousand years. It would be remembered by readers of Prof. Macdonnel's works that this formed the subject of the professor's studies for the last fifty years in some one or other of its various aspects. The work opens with an introduction dealing with the physical characteristics of the country and its influences on the history and the following three chapters deal respectively with the Ancient-Vedic Period, the later Vedic Period, Post-Vedic period. Chapters V and VII are devoted to a description of the stories, fairy-tales and fables, their general literary characteristics and external influences in countries outside India, the technical literature in Sanskrit in the shape of works on grammar, lexicography, philosophy, law, medicine, astronomy, etc. (p. 115–193). In the next chapter the vernacular literature of the country is taken up, and it deals with the distribution of these vernaculars and the rise of their literatures. The final chapter is a brilliant account of the manner in which the Westerners became acquainted with India's past through her literature, and furnishes a succinct account of the efforts in research made in the archæological, epigraphic, numismatic and other fields. The dearth of old coins in Dravidian Deccan referred to on page 271 by the author is perhaps not correct as large quantities of these are now in the Madras Museum undergoing classification by Mr. R. Srinivasa Ragava Aiyangar. Similarly the statement of the author on p. 220 that Tamil versions of the *Mahābhārata* belong to a later date than the eleventh century A.D. is inaccurate as earlier translations are known such as the one by Perundevanar. The name of Tirugnana Sambandar is misspelt on the same page while the famous collection of Saiva hymns known as the

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Tevaram is not mentioned at all. The period of Rāmanuja's activity is wrongly ascribed by Prof. Macdonell (p. 149) to A.D. 1175 to 1250, a statement which is quite untenable as it is definitely known that his activities belong to the latter half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth.

The work is rendered very useful by the addition of a large number of photographic illustrations, four maps, as well as a comprehensive bibliography affixed at the end of each chapter.

R. G.

'A HISTORY OF INDIA'

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI AND M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

PROF. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI

[Part I, *Hindu India* : Publishers, Srinivasa Vardachari & Co.]

'HINDU INDIA' which forms Part I of *A History of India* designed for the use of students of colleges marks a considerable advance on text-books written in recent times covering the same ground and when complete, promises to be very useful to those for whom it is intended. Opening with a clear account of the physical features of India and their influence on the history of the land, the learned authors describe in lucid and simple language the history of Hindu India in fourteen chapters of which eight are devoted to the history of North India. The political history dealt with in each section is followed by welcome account of the social, economic, political, literary and religious condition of the period which is intended to bring home to the students the cultural development of the various ages. The treatment of South Indian dynasties is particularly good and considerable details at present found only in detailed research journals are summarized for the benefit of the students with full references to the sources. The account of the Pallavas and the significance of the new culture associated with them may be pointed out in this connection (pp. 137–8, 183). The appendices are good but the chronological table giving the Annals of politics and culture deserves to be worked up still further in great detail. (E.g.) The date of the Mahābhārata war is not given.

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In conclusion it may be mentioned that the spellings adopted for certain terms by the writers needs to be revised in the next edition which the work is bound to attain to.

We come across with two different spellings for the term *Bhakti* on the same page (p. 224) while forms like Alwar, Thevaram, Someswara, Brihadiswara and Dwarasamudra freely occur in the work where we are now accustomed to write Alvar, Tevaram, etc. The place name of Dalavanur is misspelt on p. 186. The statement that the death of Paramesvaravaram II was followed by a war for the possession of the throne needs to be revised in the light of recent research as the Vaikuntaperumal inscriptions indicate a peaceful succession to the throne. The book is enriched by the addition of six maps but it is not clear why illustrations of important monuments (such as those representing Asokan pillars or Pallava temples, or portraits of kings) have not been included. We are anxiously awaiting the subsequent part of this excellent work and have no doubt that the minor errors would be rectified in a subsequent edition, by the learned authors.

VISHNUGOPA.

'THE MAKING OF A STATE'

BY

T. G. MASARYK

[George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London.]

THE Great War and the reconstruction of Europe following thereon have been responsible for the output of a great mass of literature of varying degrees of interest. Among the publications which resulted in consequence, there are some of the highest value from the point of view of humanity generally, such as for instance, the revision of the conception of democracy and the efforts at reconstruction of society on principles acceptable to human intelligence and reason. The work under review, *The Making of a State*, is an illuminating example of the struggles of a state trampled down by centuries of subordination to foreign rule exerting itself through some of the best of her sons to establish herself on an independent footing as a small state in the congeries of states constituting reconstructed Europe. It is of the nature, more or less of the autobiography of the principal man,

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Professor Masaryk as he was, who, as voluntary exile, exerted himself to bring about the support of the Allies to the legitimate aspirations at independence of the country of the Czechs. It is a very interesting autobiography and reveals one of those pages of European history not generally seen on the surface, nor readily understood, from works on general history. Historical judgment will have to count Masaryk a great man and the real builder of the state, and his ideas summarized in the last part of his work on democracy as a humanizing principle will, as it looks, become the guiding principle of politics in the reconstructed Europe in the immediate future. Masaryk's friend, Henry Wickham Steed, is the author of the English version, which provides interesting reading, and we may conclude with the following sentences from the introduction :—'The Masaryk revealed in these pages is a standing refutation of the shallow view that the Great War brought forth no great man. To me, who had experience of the Austria in which he grew up, of the deadening spell she cast over her children, of the Hapsburg system that was a perennial negation of political morality, the emergence of Masaryk seems well-nigh as miraculous as his triumph in the fight he fought, all but single-handed, against inveterate oppressors.'

'INDIA OFFICE RECORDS; HOME MISCELLANEOUS SERIES'

BY

S. C. HILL, 1927

THIS is a volume of selections from records in the India Office, and is the last work of that indefatigable Records Officer, S. C. Hill of the Education Department, who retired as Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces. Since retirement in 1912, he made large contributions on the subject of these records generally to the English *Historical Review*, *The Indian Antiquary*, *Bengal Past and Present*, *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, etc. Perhaps he is best known as the author of *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*, published in 1914. In the line of the records purely, he published an analytical catalogue of the Orme Manuscripts in 1916. In 1920 he undertook the publication now given to the world under the caption Home Miscellaneous Series. It is a great pity that he did not live to

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complete the work himself, but the work of cataloging was so thoroughly done that the bulk of the proof could be seen through by his widow without detriment to the work. However we are deprived of what might have proved a very illuminating introduction to the whole set of valuable documents from his pen, by his untimely death.

This defect is made up to some extent by a comparatively short introduction given by Mr. William Foster, who brought the collection down to date by a supplement to the work. The name, Home Miscellaneous Series, was given at the outset and has been continued notwithstanding the fact that it very soon ceased to signify the contents of the volume. The division was taken from the original classification of Mr. Danvers, the first Registrar and Superintendent of Records at the India Office, who made arrangements for publishing the papers in the India Office, and the first 47 volumes of the series conform to that plan. Thereafter it has ceased to be exclusively papers originating from Home and got to include papers originating from whatever source, so long as they were found connected both in point of time and subject. This series includes a vast mass of miscellaneous papers of which the details and the key to the references are given in a paragraph by Mr. Foster. The work is a very valuable one for those who wish to delve into these records for a large variety of subjects for research work and is a thoroughly analytical handbook which would serve as a valuable guide to anyone seeking information. It is provided with an excellent and exhaustive index which the author had taken care to complete while the work was still in the stage of manuscript. The index itself is about a hundred and fifty pages while the analysis of the records runs through 532 pages. We are grateful to the Government of India for having favoured us with a copy, which is indispensable to anybody that cares to work on any subject of modern Indian History.

'BARABUDUR'

BY

N. J. KROM

[Martinus Nijhoff, Hague, Holland.]

THE great monument reckoned among the wonders of the world called Barabudur was taken up for restoration by the Dutch Government and the restoration work was carried on during the years 1907 to 1911.

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It was the intention of the Government and the Archæological Department alike that a new monograph on the subject should be published superseding that of Leeman's issued so long ago as 1873. Although the idea was certainly excellent it was not so easy of execution and the difficulty at once presented itself as to how far it would be possible to issue a monograph containing a complete explanation of all that is depicted on the great monument and thereby indicating the significance of the monument itself. After the necessary consultation the Government decided that defective as the monograph may be it must be issued, if for nothing else, at least to promote further research and make it possible for the future at any rate to complete the explanation that may be possible only in part now. The result of this effort on the part of the Government was the publication of an Album of 400 plates together with an explanatory letterpress introduction issued some five years ago. The architectural part was entrusted to Mr. T. Van Erp who had charge of the restoration work and therefore was the most qualified to do it. The archæological part of it was first undertaken by Professor Vogel and when he had to resign it in 1915, it was taken over by Mr. Krom. When the Dutch edition of the work was published a promise was made that an English edition would be given to the public as well and that edition delayed beyond expectation. Even so the English edition came out early in 1927, the Dutch edition having preceded it by almost seven years. The English edition is not a mere translation of the Dutch edition, and it could not be issued by the Government as was originally projected and the publication work of this English edition was taken up by Mr. Nijhoff. The English edition differs in two respects from the Dutch edition ; the descriptive part of unidentified reliefs is abridged and secondly the references have been brought up to date by taking into consideration literature on the subject published since 1918. In some cases, these are also worked up in the text part.

Although these sumptuous editions of the work on the great monument have given us a volume of material such as we never had before, it still leaves room for a great deal of work to understand the monument and expound its full significance. The importance of the work, however, consists in the great facility that it gives now to a serious student to go to work in his own study and continue the research work which is already done and incorporated in the work

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itself. This is not a small advance and the public interested in Indian and Indonesian archæology cannot be too grateful to the Dutch Government or to Mr. Martinus Nijhoff for having given us the two publications in the form in which they have been placed before the public.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters beginning with the foundation and history of Barabudur and proceeding to describe the various reliefs incorporating the life story of Buddha as it is embodied in various classics of Buddhist literature. It is here that one encounters the difficulty that all the reliefs are not capable of either correct or full explanation. But it must be said that what has been attempted is a remarkable achievement in as much as it takes us a good long way in understanding the monument in all its details as far as the research work done on this vast department of Indian culture has been studied from the literary side. The monument incorporates the culmination of Indian and Indonesian genius on the religious, artistic and architectural side of it and is well worth the study of all those interested in Indian culture and its spread beyond the frontiers of India. The work is comparatively costly, it may be too costly for private resources, but no public library and libraries of educational institutions should be without this monumental work, which is an unparalleled achievement of Indian and Indonesian genius and as such ought to appeal to Indians of culture. There are interesting chapters on Barabudur as a monument of Hindu-Javnese art and culture, on the pantheon, the great monument and on the kind of Buddhism of which it is an exposition in stone. There are also introductory chapters on the history of the monument apart from the exposition of the actual reliefs.

A smaller book containing the life of Buddha as portrayed in the monument was already issued in 1926. The monument seems actually to be the work of the best period of the empire of Sri Vijaya founded at Palembang in Sumatra and is generally assigned to the eighth century A.D. It is supposed to represent Mahayana Buddhism which gained its ascendency with the ascendency of Sri Vijaya. The history of the intercourse between these islands and India goes back at least to the early centuries of the Christian era and the communication between South India and these seems to have been regular and even frequent. The dynasty that distinguished itself in Sri Vijaya is known to

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historians as the Sailendra and whether it had anything to do with the Sailodbhavas or the Sailendras of Orissa, though not quite certain, seems probable enough. But the period of the ascendency of these Sailendras corresponds to that of the great Pallavas of Kanchi, and of whose period an inscription has been found by Col. Gerini at the mouth of the River Takopa. This was published by Hultzch in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, so that it cannot be said that even in the period of the ascendency of the Sailendras, communication with South India was not real. The monument is supposed to be due to a person named Guṇadharma and belongs to the earlier part of the century A.D. 750–850, and though originally designed as a *stupa* containing some of the relics of the Buddha, it gradually developed into a symbolical representation of Buddhism and its secret of salvation.

The name Barabudur has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Neither the first part of the name nor the second has so far been made out. One cannot be very clear what language the name is in, as it seems to be of very late origin. If it should be regarded ancient *kāwi*, perhaps the first part *bara* may be a modification of the term *biara* meaning temple. The second part, *buḍur*, one cannot be sure is connected with the name Buddha. But there is a South Indian word *buḍur* still used, we believe in Tulu, which means a palace. In such a case, we shall have to regard it as a foreign word, and, from the locality of its provenance on the west coast of India, it would be difficult to provide historical warrant at present for its introduction in Java. Proceeding by sound alone, one may go the length of making another guess that Barabudur is nothing but a modification of the Tamil *Perumbūdūr*. Here again it would be dangerous merely to proceed on the similarity of sound alone, unless we can raise a reasonable presumption that the monument was constructed by immigrants from the Tamil country.

In regard to the significance of the monument itself, the elaborate investigation contained in the two big volumes before us do not appear to lead very far. So much however is certain that the part relating to the life of Buddha seems to be based unmistakably on the *Lalitavistara*, perhaps borrowing details from other well-known works on the life of the Buddha. After discussing in five or six other chapters the various subjects in the illustrations, the author proceeds to discuss the great monument as a work of Hindu-Javnese art and culture, its pantheon

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and its religious significance. After conducting an elaborate investigation, the learned author comes to the conclusion, the only possible conclusion so far, that a study of this monument alone cannot lead to important conclusions in any one of these departments, although a thorough study of this great monument is of the first importance in an investigation of the questions involved. On the first subject of investigation the conclusion seems clearly derivable that the monument is the work not of Hindus from outside nor Javnese altogether from inside the island, but is a complex compound of the two. A study of the pantheon of Buddhism is of value for determining the character of the Buddhism meant to be represented. While there is ample material in the monument for regarding it as an exposition of Buddhism to the eye and through it to the understanding, it does not lead to any clear conclusions in regard to the character of the Buddhism itself. On these important questions therefore, the elaborate investigations undertaken remain inclusive, although it cannot be denied that the study certainly receives a substantial advance by way of clearing of the preliminaries for a final, or at any rate, a fairly final conclusion reachable by a far more elaborate study by bringing all the available material into comparison. The work is of the highest value and, taken along with the plates in two volumes, together contribute enough material for a good study, such as other monuments do not yet possess either in India or in Indonesia. We wish the enterprise all success.

'THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL'

A translation of DeLaet's 'Description of India and Fragment of Indian History'

BY

J. S. HOYLAND

[New Edition with critical notes and introduction by S. N. Banerjee. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.]

THIS work is published in a new edition with notes of value by Mr. Banerjee, Mohindra College, Patiala. The book was originally written in Latin from which it was translated, and it is now published with introduction and notes by Professor Banerjee of Patiala. The

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value of this book as a source of Mogul history was perhaps unduly exaggerated by early writers and among later ones, by the late Dr. Vincent Smith. Even so, it is of value to have the work in the form in which it is presented to us in this new edition. We do not attempt any particular review of the book, as we are publishing in this number a detailed, critical review by such a competent scholar as Mr. Hodivala. We welcome the edition, however, as a handy volume for reference and use by scholars, and the work is likely to be useful in many ways, among which perhaps the most important consideration would be a warning not to trust too much the authority of writers like this, and perhaps what is worse prefering this to other contemporary sources of information. It affords a good illustration of the caution that is required in the use of authorities such as this. If for nothing else, the work is bound to be of great use, and we recommend it as such.

'ŚRĪ ŚIVA BHĀRATA'

BY

S. M. DIVEKAR, POONA

[Published for the first time with an elaborate introduction and notes in Marathi].

THE work of which we are for the first time provided with an excellent edition, is one of the rare manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore where we have had the pleasure of examining it almost about a decade ago. It is a piece of Sanskrit writing in the *Kāvya* style on the life of Śivaji, but cast in a form to prejudice the historical student at first sight. It has got a Tamil version, the reading of which gives the impression that the work is of very little historical value. The Sanskrit *kāvya* presented to us enables us to form a better opinion of the work, although it must be admitted that even in this better form, it is, as it is written, far from history proper. The presentation is undoubtedly in the style of an epic with all its poetical machinery and the exaggeration characteristic of epic poems in India, but on the whole it presents the outline history of the life of Shāhji and Śivāji fairly fully. It is of value as a contemporary document, claiming as it does that its author composed the work at request of Śivāji himself, and the work was actually read to the

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pilgrims assembled in Benares, where Kavīndra Paramānanda, the author, happened to be on a similar holy errand. It is composed of thirty chapters of which almost about twenty are taken up with the early life of Śivāji, in which the work of Shāhji as a Bijapur officer is dealt with more or less fully. Notwithstanding the epic treatment, there is a sobriety in the narration, poetic as it is, and gives one confidence that it is stating the facts as accurately as the method of treatment would admit. The Marathi introduction brings the facts together and examines them from other sources for the history of the period. We shall be glad to present our readers with a review of this in the next issue of the journal.

N.B.—*The Editor regrets that he is compelled to hold over other reviews owing to pressure on space.*

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Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

April 1928—

A. H. Sayce: 'The Original Home of the Hittites,' and the Site of Kussar. Holds the view that the original homes of the founders of the royal dynasties of the Hittites was the country of Kussar.

R. Levy: 'The Nizamiya at Baghdad.'

C. A. F. Rhys Davids: 'The Unknown Co-founders of Buddhism.'

In the course of this interesting investigation commenced in the Journal last year the writer feels convinced of the existence of a man whose original message to mankind has been woven into the earliest teachings we call Buddhism but whose name has not survived.

Tucci (G.): 'On the Fragments of Dinnaga.' These notes are intended to supplement the important contribution of Mr. Randle's 'Fragments of Dinnaga' to the knowledge of Indian logic.

A. K. Coomaraswamy: 'Some Early Buddhist Reliefs Identified.'

Y. R. Gupte: 'Rathare Budruk plates of Madhava-varman.' The author assigns the record to the sixth or the seventh century. The donor is Madhavavarman and the village granted is called Retturaka, S.E. of the river Krishna-Venna.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

Vol. III, Nos. 1 & 2

A. A. Fyzee: 'A Descriptive List of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS. in the B. B. R. A. Society.'

V. S. Bakhle: 'Satavahanas and the Contemporary Kshatrapas.' This is the first instalment of B. L. Indraji's Prize Essay and gives a brief account of the period which covered the century after the death of Asoka. It discusses then the question of the home of the Satavahanas and says that W. India was their

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original home. The name Satavahana is derived from Satiya-putra and the essay proceeds with the list of kings. Then follows an account of the Kshatrapas, Satavahana possessions during this period and the Kshatrapas of Ujjain and their relation with the Satavahanas.

DR. S. K. AIYANGAR: 'The Bappa Bhaṭṭi Charitha and the Early History of the Gujara Empire.'

A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'The Authors of the *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīya* and *Gadya Chintamani*.'

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'Some copper-plate grants recently discovered.' These include (1) Bantia plates of Dharasena II of Valabhi of (Gupta-Valabhi) Sam. 257. (2) Bhavanagar plates of Dharasena III of Valabhi of Sam. 304. (3) A grant of W. Chālukya sovereign, Pulikesin II. (4) A grant of Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign, Govinda III. (5) Asvi plates of the early Yadava Irammadeva.

R. R. HALDAR: 'Some reflections on Prithviraja-rasa.'

J. J. MODI: 'The Story of Alexander the Great and the Poison damsel of India.'

K. RAJWADE: 'Indra's enemies.'

H. HERAS: 'Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious discussions.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

March 1928—

H. HERAS: 'The Decay of the Portuguese Power in India.' Discusses the views of the late R. Sewell's remarks on the subject and critically examines the real causes of the decay, internal and external, ascribing it to (1) the destruction of the Vijayanagar Empire, (2) English opposition, (3) Dutch enmity, (4) and bad Government at home.'

DR. BAL KRISHNA: 'The Economic History of India.' Examines the materials for research at Bombay.

B. A. FERNANDES: 'Sopra: The Ancient Port of the Konkan.' Examines the antiquity of the port since the days of the Puranas to the rise of Portuguese power in 1534.

N. V. RAMANAIYA: 'The Place of Virakurcha in the Pallava Genealogy.' Puts forward the theory that the interval between the Sanskrit and Prakrit records of the Pallavas is exaggerated

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and that Sanskrit displaced Prakrit within two generations. According to the writer the Vīrakorchavarman of the Darsi fragment was the father of Sivaskandavarman of the Hirahadagalli plates and can be safely identified with 'Mah. Bappasvami' mentioned therein.

Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute

No. 11

J. S. TARAPOREWALA: 'Some Aspects of the History of Zoroastrianism.'

J. C. TAVADIA: 'Recent Iranian Researches by European Scholars.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

March 1928—

M. WINTERNITZ: 'Jātaka Gāthas and Jātaka Commentary.' Examines how far the Jātakas can be used for historical purposes, more especially for the history of Indian literary types, and for the history of social life and institutions of ancient India.'

A. B. KEITH: 'The Authorship of Nyaya Pravēśa.'

N. DEY: 'Rāḍha or the ancient Gangarāshṭra.'

S. R. DAS: 'Alleged Greek Influence on Hindu Astronomy.'

N. K. SINHA: 'Ranjit Singh's Civil Administration.'

H. C. CHAKLADAR: Eastern India and Āryāvartha.'

M. M. BOSE: 'Asoka's Rock Edicts: I, VIII, IX, XI.'

A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'The Battle of Soraṭṭūr.'

A. G. WARRIAR: 'The Tali Inscriptions in the Cochin State and Their Importance.'

Bengal, Past and Present

January–March, 1928—

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Bengal Chief's Struggle for Independence in the Reign of Akbar and Jahangir.'

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI: 'The East India Company's Commercial Mission through the Wilds of Burma in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century.' The papers connected with the accounts of these missions are in the archives of the Imperial Records

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Department and the materials of the present paper have been taken from the records which deal with the commercial missions which Dr. Richardson and Captain Mcleod undertook from Moulmein during the years 1835–37.

M. J. SETH: 'Gorgin Khan: The Armenian Commander-in-Chief and Minister of Nawab Mir Kassim of Bengal.'

Bengal, Past and Present

April–June, 1928—

'Letters from Bengal: 1788–95.'

SIR E. COTTON: 'Unpublished Papers from the Correspondence of Ozias Humphry, preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy.'

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Bengal Chief's Struggle for Independence.'

JADUNATH SARKAR: 'A Description of North Bengal in 1609 A.D.' Translation of a Persian account from the Diary of Abdul Latif, the favourite retainer of Abul Hasan, a brother of Nurjahan. It gives a description of a journey to Bengal, its cities, shrines, etc., observed by the writer on the way in the Royal tour in which he joined.

P. PISSURLENCAR: 'Prince Akbar and the Portuguese.' Written from the unpublished Portuguese letters of Viceroy Francisco de Tavora preserved in the Government archives at Pangim. Studies the relationship of Prince Muhammad Akbar the fourth son of Aurangzeb.

Discovery

March, 1928—

A. PERSSON: 'Excavations in the Tombs of Dendra.' Studies the rich tombs of Dendra.

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, PARTS I TO III

D. R. SAHNI: 'Ahar Stone Inscription.'

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Jejuri Plates of Vinayāditya.'

D. R. SAHNI: 'Seven Inscriptions from Mathura,' these are (1) The Buddha image inscription of the year 22. (2) Bodhisattva image inscription of the year 39. (3) The Bodhisattva

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inscription. (4) Vardhamana image pedestal inscription of the year 84. (5) Stone slab inscription. (6) Stone bowl inscription in the Jamna Bagh. (7) Stone channel inscription.

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Kalyan Plates of Yaśovarman.'

HIRALAL: 'Amoda plates of the Haihaya King Prithvideva I: Chedi Sam. 831.'

K. V. S. AYYAR: 'Takkolam Inscription of Rājakēsarivarman (Āditya I).'

G. V. SRINIVASA RAO: 'The Kandukūru Plates of Venkaṭapatidēva I: Śaka 1535.'

D. R. SAHNI: 'Mathura Pedestal Inscription of the Kushaṇa year 14.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'Patna Museum Plates of Somēśvara II.'

Y. R. GUPTA: 'Rithapur Plates of Bhavattavarman of the Nala Family.' Palaeographically the record is assignable to the later half of the fifth or the first half of the sixth century A.D.

V. RANGACHARYA: 'Two Inscriptions of the Pallava King Raja Simha—Narasimhavarman II.' The first is the record discovered by the Archaeological Department in 1912. The second Panamalai inscription.

P. BHATTACHARYA: 'Two Lost Plates of the Nidhanpur Copperplates of Bhaskaravarman.'

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'The Second Half of a Valabhi Grant of Sam. 210.' This is the second half of the grant, the first half of which appeared in Vol. XVIII of *Ep. Ind.*

R. R. HALDER: 'The Sohawal Copper-plate Inscription of Maharaja Sarvanatha—the year 191 issued from Uchchakalpa.

T. C. RATH: 'Vishamagiri Plates of Indravarmadeva.'

K. V. LAKSHMANA RAO: 'Two Copper-plate Inscriptions of Eastern Chalukya Princes Issued by Bādapa and Taḷa II Sons of Yuddhamalle II. Not Hitherto Known to Us.'

J. NOVEL: 'Panchadharala Pillar Inscription of the Kona King Choḍa III.'

J. NOVEL: 'Panchadharala Pillar Inscription of the Eastern Chalukya King Viśvēśvara.'

D. B. DISKALKAR: 'A Fragmentary Pratihara Inscription.'

L. D. BARNETT: 'Six Inscriptions from Kolur and Devageri.' These include the (1) Kolur inscription of the reign of

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Somēśvara I, Śaka 967. (2) Devagiri inscriptions of the reigns of Somēśvara II and III, Śaka 997 and 1056. (3) Kolur inscription of the fourth year of Vikramaditya VI. (4) Kolur inscription of the tenth year of Vikramaditya VI. (5) Devagiri inscription of the forty-eighth year of Vikramaditya VI.

Indian Antiquary

April, 1928—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH : 'Vedic Studies.'

B. C. LAW : 'Buddhist Women.'

M. SINGARAVELOO PILLAI : 'Nicolas Manuchy's Last Will and Testament.'

R. C. TEMPLE : 'Ignicoles : A Name for the Parsees.'

May, 1928—

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI : 'Devaraya II.'

June, 1928—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH : 'Vedic Studies.'

Journal of the Madras University

March, 1928—

A. J. SAUNDERS : 'The Saurashtra Community of Madura.'

S. HANUMANTA RAO : 'Life and Times of Madhavacharya.'

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI : 'A Note on the Kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra.'

The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

January–April, 1928—

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU : 'The Southern School of Telugu Literature.' Gives a bird's-eye view of the Telugu literature created in the Tamil country by Telugu people who emigrated to the Tamil districts in the days of the Nayak Kings.

S. SRIKANTA SASTRI : 'Sulakas and Mulakas.' Questions the identification propounded by H. Heras of the Sulakas with the Cholikas and traces the references to the word Mulaka in historical literature.

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S. E. V. VIRARAGHAVACHAR: 'The Date of Naighantuka Dhananjaya.' Concludes that Dhananjaya was later than Kaviraja (A.D. 650–725) and prior to Rajasekhara and that he probably flourished between A.D. 750–800.

G. SINHA: 'Kalinga.'

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU: 'Krishnaraya or the Story of Karnata Kingdom.' Examines the origin of the Karnata kingdom and its history especially during the reign of Krishnadevaraya.

N. K. VENKATESAN: 'Govinda Dikshita.'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'The Pamulavaka Copper-plate Grant of Ammaraja II.' The inscription relates to a grant made by Ammaraja II—Vijayaditya. The importance of the inscription consists in the fact that it shows that the grant was made in the Elamanchi-Kalingavishaya and that the Eastern Chalukyan Empire during Ammaraja's time extended up to Elamanchi Kalinga (Vizagapatam District).

G. JOUVEAU-DUBREUIL: 'A Note on the Inscription from Ganj.' Expresses the view that the Vyaghradeva of Ganj was a feudatory of Vakataka Prithivisena II who was reigning in A.D. 480 and that he cannot be identified with Vyaghra mentioned in the inscription of Samudragupta. According to the writer a difference of more than a century separates the two Vyaghras so far as the palaeography of the inscription is concerned.

L. N. DEB: 'Sailodbhava Dynasty of Kalinga.'

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

March 1928—

H. HERAS: 'The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda.'

K. P. JAYASWAL: 'Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire: Revival of Asvamedha.'

N. C. MEHTA: 'Jaina Record on Toramana.' This is a miscellaneous Champu work of 2,600 lines belonging to the eighth century. The author is Udyotana Suri and the work is called *Kuvalayamala*. Extracts from the work and a summary in English are given.

K. K. BASU: 'Account of the First Sayyad King of Delhi.'

J. N. SAMADDAR: 'Two Forgotten Mutiny Heroes.'

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K. P. JAYASWAL : 'A Deed of Acquittance in Sanskrit.' This is a good specimen of a deed of acquittance and is dated in the year 508 of the Lakshmana era (1627 A.C.).

A. BANERJI SASTRI : 'Weights in Ancient India : Patna Cylinders.'

K. P. JAYASWAL : 'Demetrios, Kharavela and the Garga-Samhita.' Shows from a quotation from *Garga-Samhita* that the Greek king of Patanjali and Kharavela was Demetrios and not Menander.

B. B. ROY : 'Harappa and the Vedic Hariyupia.' As opposed to the views of Sir John Marshall, S. K. Chatterji and R. D. Banerji, the writer holds that the relics recently discovered at Harappa belong to the Aryan civilization. In Vedic times there was a city named Hariyupia, where a battle was fought between Chayamana's son King Abhyavarti, and Varaśikha's sons, in which Indra fought on the side of Abhyavarti, and killed Varaśikha's sons, who are stationed on the East and West of Hariyupia (*R.V.* VI, 27, 5).

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

VOL. XIX, No. 1

July, 1928—

REV. H. HERAS : 'Goa Viragal of the Time of Harihara II of Vijayanagara.'

A. A. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR : 'The Hindu Arabic Numerals.' In this article the writer continues the subject of the development of the Numeral system in India and the Decimal notation, the abacus and the symbol for the zero.

L. L. SUNDARARAMA RAO : 'Mughal Land Revenue system.'

SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR : 'Rājādhiraja II.' Concludes from a study of Ins. No. 433 of 1924 of Rajādhiraja II which he reproduces that (1) Rajaraja died a natural death without a proper heir to the throne, and (2) that he ordered his minister-general to look after his kingdom as well as to select a person from the correct line. He questions in a detailed discussion the accuracy of the statements made in the Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy for 1924 on this inscription.

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Revue de L'Histoire des Colonies Française

March–April, 1928—

A. MARTINEAU: 'La Défense et la Critique de la Politique de Dupleix.'

Illustrated London News

May 19, 1928—

'The Storied-past of India.' Describes the discoveries at Old Prome and Pagan in Burma. M. Duroiselle here hit upon the untouched relic chamber of Old Prome, the ancient Śrīkshētra. Round the top of the stupa runs an inscription in a script closely related to Canara-Telugu script of South India. A MS. consisting of twenty gold leaves containing extracts in Pali from the Abhidhamma and Vinayapiṭakas in the early South Indian script of sixth century A.D. Among other objects discovered here were a gold image of Buddha, sixty-three smaller ones of gold and silver, and a number of inscribed gold and silver rings, ear-ornaments miniature boats, etc. These antiquities point to Southern Buddhism with its Pali canon being predominant here.

June 2, 1928—

'Relics of Sumer's first Capital after the Flood: Discoveries at Kish. 3500 B.C.' The antiquities of this site reach back to a period clearly 1,000 years earlier than the oldest Sumerian inscriptions that can be translated. The age to which the tombs belong date before 4000 B.C.

Modern Review

March, 1928—

R. D. BANERJI: 'Rajput Origins in Orissa.'

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MAJOR BASU: 'The Second Afghan War.'

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DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE: 'The School of Vedic Research in America.'

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R. D. BANERJI: 'Non-Buddhistic Cave-temples.'

Visvabharathi

April, 1928—

RAMES BASU: 'The Culture Products of Bengal: The Muslim Literature and Music during the Muslim Period.

Bharathi

June, 1928—

PRABHAKARA SASTRI: 'Old Telugu Inscriptions.'

Journal of Oriental Research

January, 1928—

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI: 'Indian Culture at Funan and Cambodia.'

M. RAGAVA AIYANGAR: 'The Date of Periāḻvār.'

Calcutta Review

March, 1928—

N. SINHA: 'Ranjit Singh and the British Government.'

May, 1928—

K. SARKAR: 'A pilgrimage to the excavation site of Paharpur (Illustrated).'

Indian Historical Quarterly

June, 1928—

H. C. CHAKLADAR: 'Valipaṭṭana Plates of Raṭṭaraja, three copper-plates of Saka Samvat 932 recording the grant of some land by Silara Mahāmaṇḍalika Raṭṭaraja.'

A. B. KEITH: 'Vasubandhu and Vādavidhi.'

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI: 'The Study of Ancient Indian Geography.'

N. DEY: 'Raḍha or Ancient Gangarāshṭra, identifies Ancient Gange with Saptagrama, the modern Satagaon, two miles north of the town of Hughli.'

S. R. DAS: 'Astronomical Instruments of the Ancient Hindus.' Gives a detailed account of the astronomical instruments of the Hindus from the earliest times and pleads for the revival of the more important of these instruments by a study of the Hindu astronomical works.

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GOVINDA PAI: 'Why are the Bāhubali Colossi called Gommata?'

S. DHAR: 'The Women of the Meghaduta.'

G. RAMDAS: 'Ravana's Lanka. The author holds that evidence establishes the identity of Lankadvīpa with Āmradvīpa and of these two with Amrakaṇṭaka.' Lanka was the name of the highland from which the two rivers the Narmada and the Mahanadi rise and it was the chief abode of Ravana the king of the Rakshasas at the time of Rama of the Ikshvaku family.

The Modern Review

August, 1928—

H. C. CHAKLADAR: 'A Great Site of Mahayana Buddhism in Orissa.' Magnificent monuments of Buddhist religion and art, ruins of stupas, shrines, and art-treasures and statues are according to the writer contained in the little known hills—Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack District of Orissa.' A sketch site plan is also given.

Zeitschrift für Indologie

BAND VI, HEFT I

E. LEUMANN: 'Die Göttin Aditi und die vedische Astronomie.' This is a notable contribution to the study of Vedic astronomy.

M. WINTERNITZ: 'Zwei neue Arthasastra-Manuskripte Nos. 916 and 647 discovered by Mr. Anujan Achan.' The form Kautalya is invariably used in both the MSS. and in the opinion of the writer this is a better form than Kautilya.

Indian Art and Letters

VOL. II, NO. 2

H. V. LANCHESTER: 'Traditional Architecture as developed in Southern India.' The type of architecture dealt with extends over an area coincident with that where Tamil is now spoken. The author considers that the most active period of progressive design was under the Pallava and Chola dynasties, between the sixth and fourteenth centuries.

G. COLDES: 'New Archæological discoveries in Siam.'

A. FOUCHES: 'The French in Archæological delegation in Afghanistan.'

S. KARPLES: 'An example of Indo-Khmer Sculpture.'

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6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
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9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
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11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
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14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
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HONY. PH.D., F.R. HIST. S., etc.
Professor of Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras,
Honorary Correspondent of the Archæological Survey of India

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Antiquity of the Purāṇic Story Traditions[1]

BY

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To find out the antiquity of the Purāṇic story traditions it is necessary to investigate and find out the occasion and meaning with which the word *Purāṇa* or *Itihāsa* is used in the Vedas. Of all the Vedas it is only in the *Atharva Veda* that we first come across with the word *Purāṇa* in two *Ṛks*. But the word indicating some ancient sacred lore and denoting a specific branch of the holy literature is made clear only in the 4th *Ṛk* of the 6th *paryāya* of the 15th *Kāṇḍa* of the *Atharva Veda*, where the *Ṛk* says: 'He (the Prajāpati) moved out, etc. After him moved out both the *Itihāsa* (the narrative) and the *Purāṇa* (the story of the eld) and the *Gāthās* (songs) and the *Nārāśaṁsis* (eulogies). Verily both of the *Itihāsa* and of the *Purāṇa* and of the *Gāthās* and of the *Nārāśaṁsis* doth he become the dear abode who knoweth thus.'

The above *Ṛk* shows that the *Purāṇa* as embodying old traditional stories existed beyond doubt in the time of the *Atharva Veda*, and the 24th *Ṛk* of the 7th *Sūkta* of the 11th Kāṇḍa of the *Atharva Veda*, which says that 'The Verses (*Ṛk*), the chants (*sāma*), the meters,

[1] This paper was read before the International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, August 1928, by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, on my behalf, to whom I take this opportunity of expressing my deepest reverence and profound gratitude.

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the ancient (*Purāṇa*) together with the formula (*Yajus*) : from the remnant were born, etc., etc.' ; clearly and certainly offers a very good hypothesis for working out an antiquity for the *Purāṇas* (i.e. stories) along with the origin of the Gods and *mantras*. It will be seen now that *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* stories were inseparably connected with the origin of the Vedic *mantras* and that some of the story traditions which are embodied in our modern *Purāṇas* are as old and sacred as Vedic *mantras* themselves.

We know that the four Vedas are ' collections ' called *Saṁhitās* of hymns and prayers made for different ritual purposes. The four Vedas were followed by another class of literature, called Post-*mantra* or Post-*Saṁhitā* treatises, or rather the *Brāhmaṇas*, i.e., the literature connected with the explanation of the Vedic *mantras*, in which the importance of the old Vedic hymns and formulas now came to find their application to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. The *Brāhmaṇas* aimed at explaining the mutual relation of the Sacred Text and the ceremonial, and in course of explaining the relation and application of the Vedic hymns to the different parts of the Brāhmaṇical ritual, they introduce many myths and legends and stories of old, showing the occasion on which a particular hymn was first revealed or composed, which were essentially required on the part of a Brāhmaṇa to know (as we shall see later on), while reciting the *mantras*, or on the occasion of performing a sacrifice. As such we encounter in the *Brāhmaṇas* many stories and legends which appear in the hymns concerned in a very brief way, but in an embellished form in our *Purāṇas*, thereby showing the existence of those Purāṇic stories in the time of the composition of the hymns of the Veda. I may refer to a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 13–18) to illustrate the manner in which the hymns are quoted in the *Brāhmaṇas*, relating to the story of Sunaśśepa. In this the author of the *Brāhmaṇa* quotes various hymns (24th, 25th, 26th, 27th) from the 1st *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg Veda*, which is said to have been uttered in praise of different deities, by Sunaśśepa, at the time when he was in danger of being immolated. This reference to Sunaśśepa's immolation certainly contains a legend, and we find it in several *Sūtras*[1] and also in

[1] *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xv. 17 and xvi. 11. 1-3 and also referred to in the *Śrauta Sūtras* of Kātyāyana, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana.

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the *Purāṇas*. In *Rāmāyana* he is called the son of Ṛṣi Richika, who sells him for a hundred cows to Ambarīsha, King of Ayodhyā, as a victim for human sacrifice. He, however, meets Viśvāmitra, and implores his succour and learns from him a prayer, which he recites and Indra is induced to come to set him free. It is apparent therefore that the story has been handed down from the Veda. In *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 7, 7 Sunaśśepa is called the son of Viśvāmitra 'given by the Gods, and thence named Devarāta'. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 16, 30-31) makes him the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, but again adds that he was the son of Viśvāmitra's sister, and also narrates his being purchased by Hariścandra as a victim for the sacrifice. The Vāyu makes him the son of Richika, and refers to his being purchased by Hariścandra for his sacrifice. It is thus clear that though Sunaśśepa is variously genealogized in the *Purāṇas*, yet the main fact about the legend has been preserved, namely that he stood in danger of being immolated. It follows, therefore, that this Purāṇic legend was current in Vedic times, associated as it is with the revelation of the *Ṛg Veda* hymns as said above. As this story of Sunaśśepa is closely and intimately connected with Hariścandra, as has been shown, it is quite reasonable to infer that the story of Hariścandra too was current in Vedic times, which is never an independent story but is closely associated with the Sunaśśepa legend as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 3. 1 ff) and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (xv. 17–25) in which the earliest representation of the story is contained, seem to declare. There it is said that on Satya Vrata's death Hariścandra became king with the help of Viśvāmitra, but Viśvāmitra was compelled to depart owing to the instigation of Vasiṣṭha. Meantime Hariścandra begot a son named Rohita whom he had vowed to sacrifice to Varuṇa, but Rohita saved himself by buying the Ṛṣi Ajîgarta's son Sunaśśepa as a victim in his own stead. Afterwards Viśvāmitra attended the sacrifice of Hariścandra in which Sunaśśepa was substituted for Rohita, but set Sunaśśepa free. This is the story given by the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Sūtra* and is also to be found with slight variations in the other *Purāṇas* such as *Brahma* (104), and *Bhāgvata* (ix. 7, 7–27); and also in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 3, 186–7) and *Rāmāyana* (i. 61. 5–62, 27). There cannot be any denying of the fact that the legend of Sunaśśepa as told in the *Aitareya Brāhmana* (vii. 13–18) in connection with the

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various hymns of the 1st *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg Veda* and the story of Hariścandra as is just now described are one and the same story. It is of course a fact that there are discrepancies in this Sunaśśepa-Hariścandra story between the Brāhmaṇic and Purāṇic versions regarding the father of Sunaśśepa and the name of the king of Ayodhya; in which of course the Brāhmaṇic version is to be accepted as it is the earliest; yet the *Purāṇas* as a whole have retained the main feature of a story in which Sunaśśepa stood in danger of being immolated, but was set free by Viśvāmitra—a story which has an antiquity along with the Vedic *mantras*.

It has been said that the *Brāhmaṇas* allude to the texts in the hymns, and their relation to the ceremonials. It will now be seen that it was an imperative requirement on the part of a Brāhmaṇa to know the importance of the Vedic hymns and formulas, and when they are to be applied to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. I may refer the readers to Śaunaka's *Bṛhaddevatā*, carefully and critically edited by Prof. Macdonell. The book is certainly not a mere catalogue of deities, but contains a number of legends with the object of explaining the circumstances under which the hymns they were connected with were composed.[1] I will cite some stanzas from the *Bṛhaddevatā* to show what circumstances they detail for the application of the Sacred Text to the ceremonial, which of course presupposes the existence of the *Purāṇic* stories.

Bṛhaddevatā, i. 21 says, 'In each case one should duly connect the formulas with the rites by ascertaining the deity; for that is the rite which is completely successful.'

Bṛhaddevatā, viii. 131 says, 'Of him who, knowing the deities of the formulas, at any time employs a rite, the deities taste the oblation, but not that of him who is ignorant of (those) deities.'

Bṛhaddevatā, viii. 134 says, 'In muttered prayer and in offering an oblation this is a necessity—the seer, the metre, and the divinity; and applying them wrongly one is here deprived of their fruit.'

So we see that, for the efficacy of the performance of a *Yajaña* a sacrificer was required to know the following *Vidyās*: namely (1) which formula or *mantra* is to be uttered in compliance with the ceremony.

[1] The opinion of Dr. Sieg that the stories of *Bṛhaddevatā* especially that of Devāpi was borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* has been refuted by Prof. Macdonell. See *H.O.S.*, vol. v, Introduction, p. xxix.

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(2) The name of the seer who is associated with the *mantra*, for composing it or for deriving any special object while reciting it. (3) The knowledge of the deities of a formula or *mantra*, etc. It is apparent therefore that the formulas or *mantras* as embodied in the *Saṁhitās* serve no practical and fruitful purpose if recited without the knowledge of the *Vidyās* just now enumerated; and this is specially referred to in *Bṛhaddevatā*, viii. 136 where it is said, 'He who without knowing the seer, the metre, and the divinity, and the application (*Yoga*) should teach or even mutter a formula will fare the worse.' The above enumerated three *Vidyās* were therefore essentially required for attaining the *phalaśruti*. Let us now see how the knowledge of the deities of a formula directly implies the existence of Purānic stories.

The hymn has for its deity the particular God to whom the person concerned seeking to obtain any particular object which he longs for addresses his praises. In this sense we find in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (viii. 1 f.) the story of Devāpi, narrated to illustrate the deities of *Ṛg Veda*, x. 98. 1–3 f., thereby showing the currency of Devāpi tradition in connection with the composition of the above hymns of the *Ṛg Veda*. The story narrated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (vii. 155 f.) is this : Devāpi and Śāntanu were two brothers, being the son of Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa of the race of Kuru. The elder one Devāpi, who was suffering from skin diseases, thinking himself unfit to ascend the throne, retired to the forest, though he was offered sovereignty by the subjects at the death of his father; and so Śāntanu, became king. Thereupon Parjanya did not rain, and as such Śāntanu with all his subjects went to Devāpi to dissuade him from his hermit life; but he refused. Being earnestly requested by them however, he performed the rites, and, with x. 98. 1–3, sacrificed to Bṛhaspati, and in four stanzas x. 98. 4–7 sang (in praise of) the Gods only with a view to getting rain; and with x. 98. 8–12 he invoked Agni; and with the hymn x. 99 addressed Indra. So we see that the deities of the hymns of *Ṛg Veda*, x. 98. 1–3 f., are those which have been enumerated, a knowledge of which was essentially required; but these being mingled with ancient lore (*Purāṇa*) for their origin, were automatically known to the ancient world. The modern *Purāṇas* are but collections of all such ancient story traditions, as we find the story of Devāpi narrated in most of the *Purāṇas*, though of course he is variously genealogized. In

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the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 20, 7 f.) it is said that Pratipa had three sons; Devāpi, Śāntanu and Vāhlika. The first adopted forest life in childhood, and the country was ruled over by the second, namely, Śāntanu. But as there was no shower in his kingdom for twelve years, Śāntanu in his anxiety called the Brāhmaṇas, who told him that the kingdom rightfully belonged to his elder brother Devāpi and to him he should resign. But a plan was however devised: a number of ascetics who taught the doctrines opposed to those of the Vedas were despatched to Devāpi who perverted the understanding of the simple-minded prince, and led him to adopt heretical notions, which had the effect of weakening his (Devāpi) claim to the throne (for he uttered words of disrespect to the authority of the eternal Veda). This paved the way for the legitimate succession of Śāntanu to the throne, who (Śāntanu) now was morally entitled to enjoy the earth (as Devāpi had become degraded); Indra in consequence poured down abundant rain. Here we see that the story has been fairly preserved though of course it has been amplified in a Brāhmaṇical tone; for Devāpi who was a Kṣatriya no longer appears in the hands of these Brāhmaṇical compilers as having capacity to sacrifice for bringing rain, but is represented as a heretic perhaps opposed to Brāhmaṇical pretensions. The story of his heresy is narrated much as in the Viṣṇu, in the *Bhāgavata* (ix. 22. 14–17) and *Vāyu Purāṇas*. On the same story *Matsya Purāṇa* (50. 39-41) states that he was also leprous and was set aside in favour of his younger brother. Either because of his disease or because of his heretic disposition, according to Hindu Law he could be deposed.[1]

So we see that the *Purāṇas* contain legends and stories (*Purāṇas* and *Itihāsas*) which are as old and sacred as the Vedic *mantras* themselves. In *Bṛahaddevatā* viii. 129 it is said that 'no formula is directly known to any one who is not a seer'. Prof. Macdonell annotates it as follows: 'That is the knowledge of the deities of a formula can only rest on sacred tradition.' The above story clearly explains how the knowledge of the deities of a formula was dependent on a knowledge of the sacred tradition, or in other words, a knowledge of sacred tradition (*Purāṇa*), almost in every case, preceded the knowledge of the deities of a formula, or *mantra* of the Vedas. It may, there-

[1] The story is also to be found in the *Harivaṁśa*, 32, 1822; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 13, 117; *Nirukta*, ii. 10; *Mahābhārata*, v. 148. 5054–66 and in other *Purāṇas* also.

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fore, be safely established that some of the Purāṇic story traditions have an hoary antiquity behind them, and that perhaps they were formed into a branch of Vedic literature as a different class of text with the name *Itihāsa Veda*[1] for furnishing explanation and allusions to the Vedic *mantras* and as such floating contemporaneously with the Vedic hymns.

Let us now take the first and second *Vidyās*, namely, the knowledge of the proper *mantra* and the seer associated with it ; and, as this point involves the knowledge of the allusion in the *mantras* (stories concerning the association of the seer with the *mantra*) ; it can easily be inferred how the Vedic *mantras* contain within themselves *Purāṇa* stories either expressed or tacit, and which were required for a sacrificer to know. In Prof. Macdonell's *Bṛhaddevatā* the *Purāṇa* history and the practical utility or *phalaśruti* relating to various *mantras* have been severally set out. I will cite some examples to show the relation of the *Purāṇas* to the *mantras*, how the story of Dîrghatamā born blind has been stated in a story form in the fourth chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* (*vv.* 11–15). It is there stated (*v.* 16) that some hymns or *mantras* (viz. *Ṛg Veda*, i. 140–56) were revealed to Dîrghatamā and he got back his vision. Here we see that the knowledge of the proper *mantra* and the seer associated with it is mingled up with a *Purāṇa*, i.e. sacred tradition or story, and it will no doubt be a great thing to prove that the allusion of the hymn or *mantra* concerned, i.e. the story of Dîrghatamā is to be found in many *Purāṇas*. The story merits being given here in extract. In *Bṛhaddevatā* the story runs as follows :—Ucathya and Bṛhaspati were the two sons of a seer ; the former's wife being Mamatā of the race of Bhṛgu. Bṛhaspati the younger approached her for sexual intercourse, when, at the time of impregnation, the embryo forbid his doing so. At which Bṛhaspati cursed him saying, 'Long darkness shall be your lot', and as such Ucathya's son was born with the name Dîrghatamā (long darkness). As he was distressed at this, the above hymns were revealed to him. The story is further carried in the *Bṛhaddevatā* in *verses* 21 to 25, where it is said in a most unconnected way that Dîrghatamā was thrown into a river and the currents drew him into the Anga country and that he begot Kakṣîvat on her. In *Vāyu Purāṇa* 99. 35 f. the story is to be

[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, iv, 3. 12–13 ; *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, vii. 1–4,

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found in full. There it is stated that Asija and Bṛhaṣpati,[1] were two brothers, the former's wife being Mamatā. The story proceeds in the same way as in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and the child is born with eternal darkness and so was called Dîrghatamā. Then it is stated that Dîrghatamā began to live in the hermitage of his brother, where he practised the practice of kine (*godharma*) from Bṛsabha, the son of Surabhi, the principles of which led him to approach the wife of his younger brother (Authathya), for sexual intercourse. She refused to yield and cried aloud, at which Śaradavān the seer came to the spot, and realizing the situation became extremely furious and threw away Dîrghatamā into the sea, who, while floating in the currents, was seen by King Bali and his wife. They took him to their palace with great respect. Dîrghatamā being pleased, asked Bali to pray for a boon. Bali requested the sage to procreate sons upon his wife. The story then proceeds in great detail, even beyond limits of decency. The wife of King Bali seeing Dîrghatamā blind and old sent her maid servant as a substitute and through her was born Kakṣhîb and Cakhûsa. The queen's attempt, however, was frustrated and five sons were born to her. This procreation has, however, been justified by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, by creating apparently a new story to the effect that Brahmā in the previous life of Dîrghatamā prohibited him from creating sons through his own wife and as such he has had to create sons in the womb of mortal women. Then we are told that Surabhi being pleased at the loyalty of Dîrghatamā to the practice of kine awarded him his vision. This is the story given by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, a version which is most probably the same as it was current in the Vedic times ; for the *Bṛhaddevatā* which contains the earliest representation of the story also refers to Dîrghatamā's procreation of a son ; the moral feature of the story is by no means revolting to Vedic morality. The above story is an example of how the Purāṇic stories can claim an antiquity along with the Veḍas. The story is also alluded to in the *Ṛg Veda*, i. 158. 3, 5 and Vedārtha on *Ṛg* (vi. 52 ; i. 116). It is also to be found in the other *Purānas*.[2] Again we are told in the sixth chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* (*vv.* 28, 33, 34), how the seer's (Vasiṣṭha) hundred sons had been slain by the followers of Sudāsa, It

[1] For their genealogical setting see Pargiter's *Historical Tradition*, pp. 159 f.

[2] *Brahmāṇḍa Puraṇa*, iii. 74, 25, f. ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 48. 23 f., 49. 17–26 ; *Harivaṃśa*, 31. 1684–90 ; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 13. 29–31 ; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 20, 36–8 ; x. 23, 5 ; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 18. 1 ; *Mahābhārata*, i. 104, 417 ; 9-92 ; xii. 343, 13177–84.

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has been stated that some hyms or *mantras* (viz. *Ṛg Veda*, vii. 104. 116 quoted in *Nîtimañjarî*) were revealed to the seer for the destruction of demons. It is clear therefore that the knowledge of the seer, who is associated with the *mantra* or rather the knowledge of the origin of the *mantra* which involves the *Purāṇa* story regarding Sudāsa and Vasiṣṭha was current in the time of the revelation of the above hymn of the *Ṛg Veda*. And the same story is to be found in many *Purāṇas*[1] with wide discrepancies and variations centering round the struggle between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and how it was reflected on that of Sudāsa[2] who was turned into a demon and killed Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons, etc. Unfortunately in the *Purāṇas*, this story has been greatly mutilated and distorted involving some struggle; but the kernel of the original tradition as we find it in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, namely, that Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons were killed by Sudāsa, has been sufficiently preserved. So we see that the stories as told in the *Bṛhaddevatā* are the ancient systematic collection of legends to be found also in the *Purāṇas*, bearing some definite connection with regard to the origin of the *mantras* either of composition or of revelation.

I shall now refer to some passages in the *Ṛg Veda*, to show that some of the hymns contain the fragments of some legends which are to be found in an enlarged form in our *Purāṇas*. Thus *Ṛg Veda*, x. 17. 1–2 f. says that Tvaṣṭar's daughter Śaraṇyū had twin sons Yama and Yami to Vivasvat. She foisted upon him another female of the same appearance (Sāvarṇām), and taking the form of a mare fled away. Vivasvat in ignorance begot on the substituted form (Sāvarṇi) Manu.[3] But Vivasvat becoming aware of this took the form of a horse and followed her. In this way the two Acvins were born. The same legend is also narrated in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (ii. 11. 1 f.). In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* the name Śaraṇyū has been changed into Sanjñā, she being

[1] *Viṣṇu*, iv. 4. 20-38; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ix. 9, 18-39; i. *Lag*. in 63. 83; i. 64, 2-47; *Vāyu*, 1. 175-177; 2. 10-1.; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, i. 2, 10-11; *Mahābhārata*, i. 176 and 177; 182, 6891-6912; *Rāmāyaṇa*, vii. 65.

[2] For the genealogical setting of Vasiṣṭha and Sudāsa see Pargiter's *Historical Tradition*, pp. 207-10.

[3] In *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi. 68 it is said that Manu, whom Sāvarṇā obtained as a son from Vivasvat uttered the five hymns (*Ṛg Veda* viii.) 27-31 addressed to all the Gods and Agni at the laudation. This statement is very important as it establishes the fact that the *Purāṇa* stories contained in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and which are to be found in the *Purāṇas* also obviously implies the existence of those stories in the Vedic times, e. g. the story of Sāvarṇā which is referred to in the *Bṛhaddevatā* and at the same time contained in the *Purāṇas* and in the Veda (*Ṛg*).

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the daughter of Viśvakarman and married to the Sun, her offspring being Yama and Yami; and unlike the Vedic tradition, Manu Vaivasvata is born to her. Manu Sāvarṇi is born to her substituted form, to whom Viṣṇu gives the name Chāyā. The same story is told of her secret adoption of forest life. But the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* gives a clue as to how the Sun came to know of Sanjñā's departure, being the result of an altercation between Yama (son of Sanjñā) and Chāyā, when she discloses the whole secret. The *Matsya Purāṇa* further adds a long story how Yama in the course of the altercation with Chāyā kicked her and so was cursed by her at which he performed austerities, etc., and was made the Yama, i.e. the judge of the dead. But the legend however, proceeds like the Vedic version; the Sun takes the form of a horse, pursues her and begot on her the two Acvins and a third son is also mentioned named Rēvanta.[1] The story is also to be found in other *Purāṇas* such as the *Vāyu* (84. 1 f.), *Agni* (273, 1–5), *Kūrma* (i. 20. 1–4), *Padma* (v. 8. 44, 74), *Varāha* (20. 8), and *Matsya* (11. 2–41), etc. Thus we see that the Vedic *mantras* or hymns contain legends or allusions to legends which fairly agree with those very legends found in the *Purāṇas*. Again regarding the story of Vṛṣākapi which is to be found in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, the late Mr. Pargiter has been able to show (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 803) that the story was current in the Vedic times as is evidenced from the reference contained in the *Ṛg Veda* (x. 86). Again *Ṛg Veda*. viii. 19. 36, 37 praise the royal seer Trāsadasyu, and further it is said (36) that, '*adāt* . . . . . *pañcāśataṃ Trāsdasyur Vadhūnāṃ*,' etc. Other statements that are contained in the same work seem to give a story that Trāsadasyu Paurukutsya gave Saubhari fifty maidens. The *Bṛahaddevatā* also contains the story in the sixth chapter (*vv.* 50–57), but there also it is not very clear except that Trāsadasyu gave Saubhari his fifty maidens. It seems, however, that a legend centering round Trāsadasyu and Saubhari was current in the Vedic times. In the *Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (xvi. 1) and *Āśvalāyana Sūtra* (x. 7) we find mention of an *Itihāsa* with the name Matsya Sāmmada, the story of which is to be found in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 2, 19 to 3, 3) where it is said that Saubhari a great sage learned in the Vedas was practising

[1] See *J.A.O.S.*, vol. xv, p. 172: Bloomfield discusses the story at full length and is of opinion that it is not a legend, but practically a riddle, which he explains.

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meditation in the waters, when he found this fish Sāmmada playing with his numerous progeny. At this he formed a keen desire to taste the pleasures of such a life and met Māndhātṛ, who gave his fifty daughters in marriage to him. The sage took the daughters with him and made them extremely comfortable, but, gradually perceiving the worthlessness of this worldly life, the sage retired to the forest, etc. It seems therefore that the story of Matsya Sāmmada and that of Saubhari are one and the same. The *Sūtra* mentions it with the name Sāmmada. The *Vedārtha* on *Ṛg Veda* (viii. 67) also says that he was a fish and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 4, 3, 12) also says that King Matsya Sāmmada and his people were water dwellers. It might be a fact that the Sāmmada connection in the story of Saubhari is a later addition for neither the *Ṛg Veda* nor the *Bṛhaddevatā* mention any Sāmmada in connection with Saubhari. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has preserved an *Itihāsa* which, though it has been mingled up with another story, though the name Māndhātṛ has been substituted for that of Trāsadasyu and though the story has also been slightly Brahmanized yet the story is probably the relic of the same story that was current in Vedic times. This ancient *Itihāsa* as it is called, is also to be found in the *Purāṇas* such as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (ix. 6. 38–55), *Padma Purāṇa* (vi. 232. 16. 33–82) and *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (i. 138. 23).

Moreover K. F. Geldner regards a number of *Ṛg Veda* hymns which postulate a prose narrative, as ballads which are taken from some well-known myth. And these ballads, like a great number of the *Ṛg Vedic mantras*, are to be understood only by one who knows the old myths, i.e., the old *Itihāsas* from which their theme is taken, which of course obviously implies the existence of those stories or *Itihāsas* at the time of the composition of those ballad *Sūktas*. Thus the 95th *sūkta* of the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛg Veda* collection does not explain to us, as to who Purûravas is, and why he is addressing persuasive words to a nymph, implying of course that there is a legend centering round them[1] which we can know from the *verses* 147 f. of the 7th chapter of the *Bṛhaddevatā* where it is stated that the nymph Urvaśî dwelt with the royal seer Purûravas having made a

[1] With the *Sūkta* an apt parallel may be found as is very rightly suggested by late Mṛ. Pargiter with Tennyson's 'Dream of Fair Women' where the poet does not explain, but only refers to the many stories and allusions of the fair ladies which of course were sufficiently well known to the poet and his time.

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compact with him ; but Indra being jealous asked the bolt at his side to destroy the alliance of the two, who acts accordingly by its craft. The king being distracted with grief began to wander throughout the whole earth in search of her, when one day by chance seeing Urvaśî in a lake surrounded by five beautiful maidens, he began to address, implore and persuade her ' to come back'. With great regret she declined, but consoled him with the prospect of a future union in heaven. The same story in the same strain is told in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 6. 20f) only with a slight enlargement due to the narration of the trick played by the Gandharvas and the unwarranted description of natural beauty and other matters to suit popular taste. There is a variation in one point where the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says that Urvaśî met Purūravas just after one year on that same spot and presented him with a child ; and these annual interviews were repeated until she had borne to him five sons. The story is also impliedly referred to in the *Ṛg Veda* (iv. 2. 18), in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 5. 1), in the Kāṭhaka of Black *Yajur Veda*, in the *Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* ; in the *Sarvānukramaṇî* of the *Ṛg Veda* and also in almost all the *Purāṇas*.[1] The famous Indian dramatist Kālidāsa has taken the story to write one of his dramas. This Purāṇic story therefore was current in the Vedic times and it is a noteworthy fact that Sāyana calls it a typical *Purāṇa* (*S.B.E.*, vol. xliv, p. 98).

Next regarding the story of Vasiṣṭha's birth it may be said that the Vedic hymns contain direct reference to the story which the *Bṛhaddevatā* narrates so far as it has any connection with the explanation of the Vedic hymn concerned. Vasiṣṭha, the author of the two *parjanya* hymns (vii. 101, 102) and also the seer of some hymns is called the son of Urvaśî in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (ii. 37. 44. 156; iii. 56), which suggests that there is a tale relating to Urvaśî and Vasiṣṭha. The story appears in *Bṛhaddevatā*, v. 149–55, which are quoted by Sāyana on *Ṛg Veda*, vii. 33. 11. Accordingly in the *Ṛg Veda* the story is to be found where it is said that Mitra and Varuṇa's seed on seeing Urvaśî fell into a jar and there Vasiṣṭha aud Agastya was born. In the *Ṛg Veda* (vii. 33. 13) Māna appears to be the name of Agastya which is supported and explained by the *Bṛhaddevatā* in *v.* 153 of chapter 5, and about Vasiṣṭha it is thus said in the *Ṛg Veda* (vii. 33. 11) '*Viśve devāḥ puṣkarē Tvādadanta*' which is explained by Yāska,

[1] *Vayu*, 91. 4–52 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, vol. iii, 66. 4–22 ; *Brahma*, 10. 4–8 ; *Harivaṃśa*, 26. 1366–70 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 24. 24. 34 ; *S.B.E.*, vol. xlvi, pp. 318, 323–4.

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Nirukta (v. 14) and also by the *Bṛhaddevatā* (v. 154, 155) where it is said that when the waters of the jar were taken out Vasiṣṭha was found standing on a lotus and all the Gods supported it. Thus we see that the *Bṛhaddevatā* by way of furnishing an explanation of an allusion in the Vedic hymns narrates a story regarding the birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha due to Urvaśî and Mitravaruṇa and which is also referred to in the *Nirukta* (v. 13); and *Sarvānukramaṇî* (i. 166). It is quite in keeping with the antiquity of most of the Purāṇic story traditions that the story of Vasiṣṭha's birth is to be found in most of the *Purāṇas*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* (61. 26–31, 36, 50; 201. 23–9) it is said that Viṣṇu while performing austerities incurred the fear of Indra who sent Kāma and Madhu to disturb his penance. But their attempt was frustrated when Viṣṇu produced from his thigh a far more beautiful nymph than themselves called Urvaśî, the aggressive beauty of whose figure excited the love and lust of Mitra and Varuṇa, who followed her, but only to be refused. Here the *Purāṇa* introduces a link to the famous story of Purûravas and Urvaśî, by saying that because Urvaśî yielded to Varuṇa and refused Mitra, Mitra cursed her to the effect that she will have to go to the mortal world and satisfy her lust with Purûravas. However the main story is continued: the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa falls into a jar and Vasiṣṭha and Agastya take their birth. Here our *Purāṇa* again introduces another ancient story to explain the birth of Vasiṣṭha from Mitra and Varuṇa, whence he is named Maitrāvaruṇî. It is said that King Nimi had a quarrel with Vasiṣṭha (of course in previous life) and they cursed each other to become bodiless. Both of them went to Brahmā who assigned the eyes of the creatures to Nimi, whence people wink; and further said that Vasiṣṭha would be born as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa. This is the story of the birth of Vasiṣṭha contained in our *Matsya Purāṇa*, which is as ancient as the Vedic *mantras*. The story is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.[1]

Again the well-known story of *Ṛg Veda*, x. 8 and x. 61. 8, namely, the killing of the demon Vṛtra and Namuci by Indra is also to be found narrated in our *Purāṇas*, though of course the story has been tampered with by the Brāhmaṇical compilers, as Indra in the *Purāṇas* incurs the sin of Brāhmaṇicide by killing Vṛtra. But the story is to be

[1] *Padma Purāṇa*, v. 22, 29–34, 37–40; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, iv. 5. 6; *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 158, 7372; *Rāmāyāṇa*, vii. 56. 12–23; 57. 1–9.

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found in almost the same way as in the Vedas. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (vi. 7) it is related how Tvāṣṭa's son Viśvarûpa was appointed as a priest of the Devas—how he was partially disposed towards the relatives of his mother's side and how Indra killed his three heads, at which Tvāṣṭa became furious and created a ferocious demon named Vṛtra who had a long and fearful fight with Indra in which Vṛtra was killed. The story is also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.[1] Evidently therefore we see that some of the *Purāṇic* stories were current in the Vedic times.

Again in the *Nītimañjurī* (97–102), and by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (97–101) is quoted the story of the birth of Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras, etc., as an introduction to *Ṛg Veda* vi which is also narrated in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (v. 97–101). The story, therefore, was closely associated with *Ṛg Veda* vi and as such is ancient as the hymns themselves. The story in the *Bṛahaddevatā* runs as follows :—Prajāpati desirous of offspring offered a sessional sacrifice in which came Vāc, at the sight of whom the semen of Prajāpti and Varuṇa was effused. Vāyu then scattered it in the fire and from the flame was born Bhṛgu ; and the seer Aṅgiras from the coals. The story is also to be found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (i. 3. 8–19). *The Vāyu Purāṇa* (65. 40) also contains this story with this difference that in place of Vāc several celestial ladies have been introduced and that the semen was scattered in fire not by Vāyu, but by Brahmā himself. In this way it can be proved that many of the stories that are contained in our present *Purāṇas* are as old as the Vedas having a currency in that age.

There are again other stories in the *Purāṇas*, which cannot claim any hoary antiquity like the stories shown above but are fairly ancient as they are often alluded to in the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Thus the story of the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 4. 3. 5 ; 5. 1. 5), and as is well-known, most of the *Purāṇas* narrate it associating it with the churning of the ocean, when Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise supported the churning stick. Again in the *Taittirîya Saṃhitā* (vii. 1. 5. 1f ; i. 1. 3. 5f.) and also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*

[1] *Mahābhārata*, v. 12, 411-13 ; xii. 283, 10153-200 ; *Rāmāyāṇa*, vii. 85. 19 ; 86. 2 ; *Brahma Purāṇa*, 122. 48-49 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 68. 34-6 ; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 6. 35-7 ; *Paḍma Purāṇa*, v. 37 and 38 ; vi. 263. 19-21 ; *Matsya Purāṇa*, 172-178 ; *Harivaṁśa*, 43-9.

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(xiv. 1, 2, 11) we have distinct references to the Boar's lifting the earth showing thereby the currency of the Boar incarnation tradition in the time of the Brāhmaṇas, though of course in the *Purāṇas* the story has been enlarged and amplified. The story of the Fish incarnation, i.e. the Indian legend of flood also appears in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 8. 1) which is perhaps the oldest version of the story, where it is said that Manu when washing his hands in a river a fish came into his hands which advised him to rear it if he wants to be rescued from the coming flood, and the fish also gives directions as to the way in which it should be reared. The story proceeds, the fish became bigger and bigger until it required the sea to live in. The flood came and Manu, as directed, built a ship in which he retired and the ship was dragged by the fish through the flood and thus Manu was saved. It need not be told here that this ancient legend is to be found in many of our *Purāṇas*, though of course it is absolutely a different question as to the form in which the story is to be found. There may be discrepancies and variations in the Purāṇic versions of this legend, but all these discrepancies and variations may easily be eliminated without distorting the more authentic tradition that is preserved in some form or other in our present *Purāṇas*. Again it strikes us that the Purāṇic story of the dwarf incarnation was current in some form or other in the Vedic times as is suggested by Colebrooke from the mention of Viṣṇu as Trivikrama in the *Ṛg Veda* (i. 22. 16-21). This tale of Viṣṇu's dwarf incarnation is also to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 2. 5. 1. f), where Viṣṇu is represented as a dwarf, as having under the form of a sacrifice conquered the whole earth. The story is also to be found in the *Rāmāyāṇa* (i. 31. 2 f), *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan*, *vv.* 484 f) and besides these, in almost all the *Purāṇas* where the story is amplified in a highly sectarian tone. The story of Janamējaya II who injured the Ṛṣi Gārgya in consequence of which he was cursed, but was relieved of the curse by Indrota who performed an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice on his behalf, is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 5, 4, 1), *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (xvi. 9. 7) and in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (iii. 3). It is also to be found in almost the same form, in the present *Purāṇas* such as in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (93. 21–6), *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (iii. 68. 20–6) and *Brahma Purāṇa* (12. 9–15), etc. Regarding the story of Yayāti which is narrated in almost all the *Purāṇas*, Dr. Winternitz has shown that it

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existed at the time of Patañjali; for Patañjali (*Pāṇini*, iv. 2. 60) teaches the formation of the word 'Yāyātika', i.e. one who knows the story of Yayāti. Many stories from *Jāminîya Brāhmaṇa* have also been known to us through the efforts of Professor Ortel, some of which have been preserved in our *Purāṇas*, while others have been lost; while, by a stratification of the Purāṇic cosmogony it can be shown that almost all the Purāṇic stories in connection with cosmogony were current in the Brāhmaṇic and some in the Vedic period.

There are again other evidences in support of the antiquity of the Purāṇic story traditions. Very often in our *Purāṇas* we find that legends and tales are alluded to with the expression '*Iti-Śruta*', which surely evinces their acquaintance with a prior and ancient narration. Moreover the *Ślokas* which the *Purāṇas* interpose regarding the story of some famous hero as being sung by the *Paurāṇikas* in ancient times, e.g. in the case of Hiraṇyakaśipu (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 67. 64) and Dattātrēya (*Vayu*, 70. 76) and Alarka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 92. 66), are manifestly quotations from older metrical versions which have been saved from the original bard poetry and incorporated in our *Purāṇas*, the antique currency of which we must not doubt but take for granted. Similarly very often in the *Purāṇas* we meet with old heroic songs and *Ślokas* which are quoted to illustrate the deeds and conduct of any particular hero with the expression '*atrāpy udāharantīmān Ślokaṃ Paurāṇikāpurāḥ*' which are said to have been recited by the *Paurāṇikajanas* or Vaṁśavidas, e.g. in the case of Triśaṅku (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 14; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 63. 113), Māndhātr (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 67–69; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, iii. 63, 69–70), Bhagîratha (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 169), Mulaka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 178), Ahuka (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96. 121), etc. These old heroic songs whose existence and antiquity we must take for granted are to be found in remnants and fragments in our *Purāṇas*, thus establishing the antiquity of many of the Paurāṇic stories connected with the *Ślokas*. Many of the song verses (*Gāthās*)[1] and very old *Anuvaṃśaślokas*[2] concerning the deeds of some persons which were narrated by the *Paurāṇikas* have also been preserved.

[1] E.g. regarding Rāma, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 191; Devavṛddha, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 96. 13; Yayāti, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 93. 94; Kārtavîrya, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 94. 19; Dhruva, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 62. 80.

[2] Regarding Śaśabindu, *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 95. 19.
Also to be found in the other *Purāṇas*.

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The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736-1761)

BY

C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A.

V

I. The Third Attack on Fort St. David and After

The Diarist describes in great detail the forces that proceeded from Pondicherry on March 11, 1747, under the command of MM. de la Tour and Paradis and their repulse of an English force near the boundary hedge of Fort St. David. The shots of the French cannon were more effective and their *Coffre* troops escaladed the Uppalavadi battery with ladders and drove back the enemy sepoys from that post. The French force subsequently attacked the English Garden-House at Manjakuppam whither the English had retired after their defeat and occupied it. Just when all the French troops, soldiers, *Coffres*[1] and Mahe sepoys, made ready to proceed to assault the Fort, a sentinel descried seven ships making for the anchorage and carrying the English flag. Thereupon the French officers held a council of war and decided that they should immediately retreat, since Pondicherry would be in a helpless condition should the English ships proceed thither. In their hasty retreat, chests of powder were thrown into water; cannon were spiked or otherwise similarly disposed of; bags of rice were ripped open and their contents flung into wells; and casks of brandy were staved in and their liquor was allowed to flow away. The troops however repulsed a body of pursuers and reached Pondicherry safely on the evening of the 13th. According to the Fort St. David *Consultations*, dated March 1 and 2 (old style), the English defended the line of the Pennar for a whole day; and the French had

[1] A term applied first by Arabs and then by Portuguese to the black Negro troops who were then largely employed (Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (1921), p. 141).

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to retire in haste. According to the Diarist, 'If the English fleet had arrived but two days later, the French who had advanced well-equipped and with great energy, would undoubtedly have captured Fort St. David and have hoisted their white flag on it.' [1]

After the English fleet arrived with the British squadron and saved Fort St. David from threatened capture, the seas were practically closed to French trade and remained so till the end of the war.[2] The squadron which was under the command of Commodore Griffin ought to have reached the Coromandel Coast in the previous year, but had wintered at Achin and reached Bengal only in December, where it was again delayed by some needed repairs. But the English ships were not sufficiently manned and any attack by them on Pondicherry was out of the question; and 'the utmost he could do was to blockade the French settlement and keep Dupleix inactive.'

Meanwhile Dupleix continued to ingratiate himself with the Muhammadan *killedars* of the neighbourhood, like Mudāmiah, the deputy of Nawab Abdul Nabi Khan of Cuddapah who had a *jaghir* in Chidambaram, Shaikh Ahmad of Porto Novo which was a large weaving centre for blue cloth which was exported largely to Bourbon, Achin and other places, and Muhammad Ali Khan, the brother of Chanda Sahib and the *faujdar* of Polur. He had also a new seal in Persian prepared for his use, the titles in which ran as follows: 'Acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor Muhammad Shah, the Victorious in Battle, He who is called Monsieur Dupleix, the Governor-General of Pondicherry, whose sway extends over Hindustan (i.e. the Governor of all the *French* in India), renowned for his

[1] He declared to Dupleix that Fort St. David should have been seized as soon as Madras was captured, as 'it was a snake at the head of our bed which must not be allowed to remain;' and that it would have been easier to have succeeded in the attempt while the French ships were still on the coast. He was confident that, with the coming of good times to Dupleix after April, the Fort would certainly fall.

[2] 'From time to time news came which made Dupleix hope to be able to renew the languishing commerce of the settlement; but the English squadrons were too tenacious and too pervasive for these hopes to be realized.' – *Dodwell.* The truth was that Pondicherry was depleted of its defence by the necessity of detaching a considerable force to garrison the captured city of Madras, while English ships hindered the importation of food-grains from the fertile northern coasts and 'formed a perpetual menace to both Madras and Pondicherry, should they find either stripped of its garrison' (*vide* Introduction to vol. iv of the *Diary*, p. vi, and *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 23).

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valour and success in arms.'[1] The Nawab was displeased with French attack on Fort St. David made without his special sanction and after, as he alleged, Dupleix had promised in the course of the previous negotiations not to attack it; and a letter had to be written to Husain Sahib at Arcot that it was the English that first molested some Frenchmen coming from Arcot and made prisoners of some of them and also attacked a French detachment coming from Karikal and plundered some of the French villages. It concluded, 'Can they (English) do as they please, while we must remain quiet without doing anything? . . . Will you give them the necessary orders, or shall we do as we think best?'[2] Muhammad Tavakkal wrote a letter asking that the French troops should be at once recalled from Fort St. David, if they had not already been; and that this was the reason why the *parwana* for the four villages already granted was being withheld by the Nawab. Muhammad Ali Khan, the son of the Nawab, was suspected of unfriendly feelings and designs; and an attempt was made to propitiate him by the gift of a gold-laced hat.

II. Affairs in Fort St. David and in Madras

Turning to the position of the English at Fort St. David, the Diarist recorded, under date March 27, 1747, that huge ramparts were being built round the Fort, and the Gadilam was to be turned in its course so as to flow south of the Fort straight into the sea, instead of bending away as it did to the south-east. A mint was opened at the Fort 'which was crowded with merchants and *dubashes* from Madras'; fresh earthworks were built at the bound-hedge and near the Fort.[3]

[1] The Diarist adds that the inscription was the same as the old one, with the addition, 'Muzaffar Jang Bahadur' meaning, 'the valorous and successful in arms' (vol. iv, p. ii).

[2] In this connection the Diarist was charged with having told Muhammad Tavakkal in the course of the preceding negotiations that Fort St. David would not be attacked. Dupleix did not believe it; and Ranga Pillai maintained that all that he expressed was that Dupleix would not listen to anything, and that he and the English must settle their disputes in their own way, and that the French could do nothing except under orders from Europe. He finally convinced Dupleix that such a promise on the part of the French should have been invented by Tavakkal himself in order to get out of a difficulty (pp. 14-16 of vol. iv of the *Diary*).

[3] Mr. Dodwell says that this entry as regards the fortifications is highly anticipative; as it was not resolved according to the Fort St. David Consultations of 1747 to make alterations in the defences until March 30 = April 10, and to turn the Tevanâmpatnam (Gadilam) river until April 25 to May 6. (The *Diary*, vol. iv, p. 41, foot-note 2.)

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There were more than 1,500 men on board the English ships who were employed in the works. Guns were mounted and soldiers posted at Cuddalore where the English women and children from Madras were being sheltered. Contrasting this with the sorry spectacle of Madras under French rule, the Diarist lamented that the town (Madras) was going to ruin under an incapable governor (Duval d' Espréménil) and under the evil influence of Madame Dupleix who had been poking her nose into the affairs of Madras merchants.[1] The English ships

[1] 'It surprises me that though such a town as Madras has newly fallen into our hands, yet no intelligent and suitable man has been appointed to guard and keep it in order. As the master of Pondicherry does not know how to govern properly and will hear no advice, the town is going to ruin. And not only are the town and its inhabitants being ruined, but the Governor, M. Dupleix, had brought disgrace on himself in more ways than one. Firstly whatever he does of himself, he does wrongly, for he always acts without taking advice. Secondly his wife wants to share in the government. . . . Thirdly the master of Madras is deaf. He can understand nothing unless it is given to him in writing. . . . He has never lived in the realm of intelligence . . . there is no proper *dubash* to manage affairs. . . . What wonder that the town is ruined when these people are gathered together? Any one of these evil men would ruin the country; but when three or four are joined together what may not happen? Any wise man can see; I cannot write at full length, so I have written briefly.' Again, 'He (Dupleix) makes no proper enquiries; nothing is done properly. Such conduct brings no profit either to the Company or to the Governor. The merchants lose their hard-earned money and the Governor his reputation. Seeing that he cannot govern properly the town in which he lives, how can he be expected to govern a distant and important town like Madras?' . . . Personal pique at being denied a hand in the Madras affairs may have some share in the vitriolic nature of these remarks, which however disclose the true defects of Dupleix's character and action. The property of a number of Madras merchants was taken away by the French officials who divided the goods among themselves. In reply to the protestations of Ranga Pillai, Dupleix would often repeat to him to write to the merchants promising to give them back their property, if they should come and live at Pondicherry. But the latter always wrote about their grievances and begged the Governor to do something for them. The Diarist suspected that Madame Dupleix was inducing the Madras merchants not to give true answers to him and his men.

Contrast this opinion of Dupleix with that expressed by the Diarist in vol. i, pp. 299–300 (see p. 4, *J.I.H.*, vol. vi., part iii).

The policy of Dupleix was evidently to transfer all the trade from Madras to Pondicherry, 'by the simple expedient of removing thither all the native merchants and their property'. The Armenians indeed pretended to acquiesce in the plan; they even behaved as if they persuaded other merchants to do the same. But this was 'little more than a cover under which to remove their property elsewhere' (Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 18). The Indian merchants were more obstinate. They were threatened by a proclamation dated March 2, 1747, that they should register all property in their possession, and that in default of compliance within three days, search would be made in every house, and all goods and articles found therein would be confiscated to the Company. Another order issued by the Council of Pondicherry soon after ordered all merchants and other persons at

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effectively blockaded Pondicherry, captured several French merchantmen coming from the northward and sold their goods at Fort St. David. The English blockade prevented grain-vessels from reaching Pondicherry where there prevailed scarcity while plenty reigned at Cuddalore. The merchants of Madras steadily refused French solicitations to settle at Pondicherry, saying that the English would never give up their city. They feared that the French might forcibly convert them to the Christian faith and would not allow them any civil liberty; and they would not listen either to the overtures of the Diarist or to the solicitations of Madame Dupleix; and they would give no answer so long as they should be solicited on both sides; and Dupleix believed that while the Dubash had failed to get the merchants to live at Pondicherry, his wife would be more successful in the task.

III. The Situation with the Country Powers

The death of Mr. John Hinde, the Governor of Fort St. David, which occurred on April 25 and his burial the next day at the Church at Tevanampatnam (probably in a tomb in the cemetery north-west of the Fort, of which no trace remains now) is recorded by the Diarist under heading Wednesday, April 26. Two days later he records an interesting account of the situation in the Carnatic, where Nasir Jang who had been put in charge of the districts south of the Krishna by Nizam-ul-Mulk, wrote to Anwar-ud-din Khan to march to him with

Madras to quit it for Pondicherry within eight days; and to transfer their goods within this period to the Fort from which they were to be shipped off to Pondicherry, where they were to be delivered to the owners; and that any person not complying with this order would have his property confiscated (*vide* Diarist's entries for March 6 and 7, 1747; pp. 403 and 405–6 of vol. iii; also letter from Pondicherry to the Company, dated, February 6, 1747). But even at the close of 1747, the Pondicherry Council could not record even a little success in the matter; and they reported as follows:—'All the methods we have employed—promises, threats and confiscation—to induce the native merchants to come and dwell here, have been fruitless. Most favourable conditions were annexed to their removal—the possession of all their property, and the most formal assurances of never being molested either in their trade or religion. . . . But no one has come, save a few wretches, neither rich nor respectable. This obstinacy is in fact very humiliating to us (quoted by Dodwell who says that this order was repeated a few days later with no more effect than that of the previous one, although in the interval half of the Black Town had been demolished.)—Letter to the French Company, November 30, 1747, from Pondicherry and Council Order, dated December 1, 1747. The latter decree of the Pondicherry Council said that all goods will be confiscated unless the owners should settle in Pondicherry within six months.

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his troops or, if he could not go, to send Muhammad Ali instead. Anwar-ud-din was reported to contemplate the recall of Mahfuz Khan from Nasir Jang, then marching against Tanjore in person to recover arrears of tribute, on his own visit to Nasir Jang. Muhammad Ali was at this time in Conjeevaram and was in frequent communication with Fort St. David. This situation caused Dupleix to write a letter of conciliation to Nasir Jang and also one to Imam Sahib (who had previously been an officer under Dost Ali and was now in the Nizam's service and acted 'more or less as the representative of French interests') in which an offer was made to exchange Madras for the regions of Villiyanallur and Valudavur,[1] with a request that letters should be written in Nasir Jang's name to the English, the Dutch, the French and the Danes commanding them to cease fighting and keep peace in the Mughal country on pain of their trade being stopped and they themselves being expelled. Rumour reached Pondicherry in the beginning of May that the English had asked the Nawab for 500 horse and 2,000 foot and the latter had promised to send them; but neither the Diarist nor the Governor believed that it could be true. Also it was bruited about that the English had decided to collect their ships and cannonade Pondicherry for some five or six nights.[2] The

[1] 'In February 1747, the Council Superior wrote to the *Compagnie* proposing three ways of dealing with Madras: (1) to keep the place in order to exchange it for Louisburg, when peace should be made with England; (2) to sell it back to the English Company; (3) to exchange it for territory near Pondicherry as in the text, *Cons. Sup' a' la Compagnie*, Feb. 6, 1747, P.R.F. 18. This letter in the text is interesting, for it shows that Dupleix did not wait for the Company's orders.' Mr. Dodwell's *Note* on p. 72 of vol. iv of the *Diary*.

[2] Commodore Griffin, even shortly after his first arrival, opened negotiations with the Nizam's government regarding Madras. A letter from Nasir Jang to the Commodore received on June 6 (i.e. June 17, new style) deplores the carelessness and want of diligence of the Madras Governor in surrendering the Fort when he could have stood a siege. It concludes with a vague undertaking which might mean anything or nothing. This ran as follows:—

'Now the victorious Ensigns of my most potent Army . . . are marching towards the Kingdom of Carnatica for settling affairs there. And as it is unalterably his Excellency's most just and lawful Sentiment to do justice to the whole Empire, by punishing the oppressors and protecting and aiding the oppressed, and is what I am also delighted in, I have now, and once before, wrote to my friend Anawardean Cawn Behauder . . . to cause that the lawful Proprietors are righted and dispossess the Usurpers; and by the Almighty's Grace the said Cawn Behauder will put the Orders into Execution, agreeable to his Duty which requires him to do so . . .' (*Fort St. David Consultations*, vol. xv, August 31, 1747; quoted by Love.) The letter to Nasir Jang was preceded by one from Mr. Hinde to the same personage, complaining of the conduct of the French and requesting that he should order

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movements of Nasir Jang who made as if to march to Arcot, together with the news that Nizam-ul-Mulk had made peace with the Marathas and Mir Ghulam Husain of Tinnevelly had made up with Mahfuz Khan, increased the fear of a hostile demonstration by the English fleet. There was also continued activity on the part of the English at Fort St. David who were busy destroying the houses in the village to the north and clearing the ground round the fortifications of all impediments. The chiefs in the neighbourhood of Madras were also hostile; and the *poligars* of Durgarazpattanam and Nellore ill-treated M. d'Espremēnil who left Madras for Bengal, suddenly and much to the surprise of the Council of Pondicherry. It was indeed true that Nawab Anwar-ud-din, when he heard of the complaint from the French about this, wrote to his son, Abdul Wahab Khan who was Faujdar of Nellore, that the French property taken by him should be immediately restored and to the English Governor at Fort St. David that Frenchmen should not be molested and their letters not interfered with. When two Frenchmen who were proceeding from Karikal to Pondicherry were seized by the English peons at Tiruvadi, the Nawab sent an order to the English Governor to release them and a copy thereof in Persian to Dupleix.[1]

The dreary negotiations and counter-negotiations with the Mughal powers continued, in the course of which the French tried to get the support of Mahfuz Khan and of Nawab Anwar-ud-din and to get their prisoners exchanged for those of the English. In the beginning of October, the English ships passed by from Fort St. David, cast anchor in the Pondicherry roads threateningly, then proceeded to Madras in whose roads they burnt a French ship, and later sailed to the north-east and went out of sight.[2] News came a few days later that the ships

the restoration of Madras. This is mentioned by the Diarist in his entry for June 11 (p. 93 of vol. iv). A deputation was to be sent to Nasir Jang with presents from Fort St. David, the embassy was ready to start when news arrived that the Nizam had marched from Hyderabad to Aurangabad; and this embassy was put off for the time being.

[1] The order text of which is given in the Diary (vol. iv, p. 108) is deemed by the Diarist to have 'cringed, rather than commanded'.

[2] 'To-day the Governor sent for me and said, "The English have burnt the *Neptune* in the Madras Roads. This is the result of Flacourt's being captain. No one else would have behaved so badly, for as soon as the English ships came in sight, he went ashore in a masula-boat. Such conduct cannot be borne with. The English have gone and done this mischief at Madras, because two French ships were there. Now I will no longer spare Fort St. David" . . .' (Entry for

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reached Bengal, though they actually reached Balasore only in December. News reached Fort St. David that two men-of-war and eight of the Company's ships which they had been escorting, had left England in the beginning of January and were then about fifteen days' sail distant. Griffin was anxious about the safety of the English shipping in the Bay and deferred his voyage to the Archipelago, determined to cruise about the Madras coast, to prevent more ships from falling into French hands.

The happenings at the courts of the Nawab and Nazir Jang[1] frequently roused the anxiety of Dupleix and the Diarist. When Anwar-ud-din heard that, owing to repeated English requests, Nasir Jang had made a resolve to go down into the Carnatic, he (the Nawab) wrote to Mahfuz Khan to bring about a frustration of the march saying that 'what between French arrogance, English cowardice and the famine (prevailing), the country was ruined and could not bear the expenses of his (Nasir Jang's) army'. The news of Nasir Jang departing from the Balaghat after finishing his negotiations with Mysore was very welcome to the old Nawab who had so moulded several at the Nizam's court, as to be speaking always of the bravery of the French and the cowardice of the English. Moreover the old Nizam who was engaged in operations round Daulatabad, had ordered Nasir Jang to return to the Deccan, in order to help him against a

October 7). It was rumoured in Pondicherry that M. Dordelin's ships had sailed from Mahe about the beginning of October, and Dupleix expected it for some days with great anxiety. On their way from Goa to Mahe, they succeeded in capturing an English ship and a sloop with thirteen lakhs of dollars (the *Anson* bound from England for Bombay, and the *Fakharo Markab*, a country-ship probably belonging to Bengal; and the prize was estimated by the Pondicherry Council at two million livres (£100,000). The object of Griffin's squadron was to cruise off the coast in order to save English ships from falling into enemy hands.

[1] Nasir Jang seems to have entered into, or at least begun negotiations for an agreement with the English that he would recover Madras for a sum (ten lakhs of pagodas according to the Diarist and three lakhs, according to the English records, *Country Correspondence* 1748, No. 5, p. 2) and 3,000 pagodas for each day the army marched and 2,000 pagodas for each day he halted; *vide* entry for October 25, 1747, and Mr. Dodwell's note on the subject of the amount, (p. 189. of vol. iv of the *Diary*). Later when this failed, the Fort St. David *vakils* with Nasir Jang made new proposals, by which the English were to have 1,000 horse under two *jamadars*, which Mahfuz Khan was persuaded by the French to frustrate. A letter to Pondicherry from Nasir Kuli Khan, the *diwan* of Mahfuz Khan, dated December 1747, says that Mahfuz Khan had contrived to stop the projected expedition.

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projected Maratha invasion, headed by Sadasiva Rao the Bhao, son of Chimanaji Appa.

Later we learn from the Diarist that Mutyalu Nayakan who went to Nasir Jang's camp on behalf of the English spent a large amount of money in presents without getting anything in return and that both Nawab Anwar-ud-din and his Dewan Samapati Rao declared jestingly that the English had lost their good fortune and their wits together. The only outcome of the situation was that Morari Rao Ghorpade and his Maratha horse began plundering the country round Venkatagiri Fort, Vellore, Ambur and Vaniyambadi; and the people at Arcot and Lalapettai were alarmed for fear of the Maratha horse, 'having no place of refuge on the coast to fly to, owing to the troubles between the French and the English.'

On March 10, the Diarist made an entry that Mutyalu Nayakan, the English *vakil*, had arrived at Arcot from Nasir Jang's camp with presents from him. Anwar-ud-din was commanded by a *parwana* to order all the *poligars* to assist the English as against the French, while another order directed Dupleix to abstain from further hostilities against the English; and Mutyalu Nayakan was accompanied by a band of Mughal and Maratha horsemen and three hundred peons. So after all the English had secured some measure of diplomatic success. All that Dupleix could do was only to fulminate against the enormous sloth of the Arcot Darbar where it was difficult to get admission and it took fifteen days to have a letter answered. The French could only resort to the dirty expedient of intriguing for the seizure of Mutyalu Nayakan on his way from Arcot to Cuddalore; but the latter appears to have learnt something of the plans against him. For this purpose an adventurer in the French service, Abd-ul-Rahman was detailed off with a hundred horse and ammunition to waylay Mutyalu and to instigate the Poligar of Vettavalam to help in this task. It was even thought to be a desirable achievement to take captive Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, and Mr. Griffin along with him, if possible. Mutyalu Nayakan was too clever to get caught and reached Fort St. David safely. The Diarist now began to say that Mr. Floyer was highly displeased with his *vakil* for not having got any substantial help from Nasir Jang and for having spent a lakh of pagodas uselessly.

All that the French now cared about was that, if the Marathas invaded the Carnatic, as they threatened to do, the people at Arcot

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would be busy defending themselves, and then they could settle everything about Fort St. David in spite of Nasir Jang's *parwana* to the Nawab to assist the English ; and so both Governor and Dubash counted on the possibility of the English not getting any help from Arcot when they should launch their intended gigantic attack against the English.

IV. Another Barren Attack on Fort St. David

The English began in December to actively strengthen their batteries ; and for fear of being unable to hold their outworks, they demolished the Deadman's Battery on the west of the Fort, since the latter was within easy range of the fire of its guns. They collected stores and provisions in the Manjakuppam Garden-House and were on their guard ; they summoned a council of war on January 5, 1748, to decide how Dupleix's projected attack which was well known, should be met. Nearly two thousand soldiers and Mahe sepoys were collected by the French and posted at Ariyānkuppam, ready to attack Fort St. David. The town of Cuddalore was deserted by most of the merchants and other inhabitants and was almost completely denuded of its womenfolk. Ranga Pillai notes a curious incident regarding the brother of the *dubash* of ex-Governor Morse ; that he was caught in the act of carrying on secret correspondence with Madame Dupleix and even implicating Morse himself.[1] Dupleix himself did not believe that Morse was guilty of any such treasonable correspondence.

The French troops moved out of Ariyankuppam on January 13, while a letter was written to Nawab Anwar-ud-din informing him of the starting of the French expedition and justifying their conduct in view of the alleged violence of the English. Dupleix himself accompanied the expedition, which, while within nine miles of its objective, descried the approach to the coast of six ships and a sloop showing English colours. These, which constituted Griffin's squadron

[1] The preliminary examination of Mr. Morse alluded to by the Diarist cannot be traced in the English records. It was likely that inquiries were made of him ; but 'Ranga Pillai's version is incredible'. Lakshmanan, the person implicated, was finally brought to trial by court-martial in June ; and his letters, so far as they were secured by the English, 'do not appear to have contained any very valuable secrets, but there was no doubt of his correspondence and he was condemned to be hung.' Mr. Dodwell's *note* on the Diarist's entry (*vide* note 1 on p. 312 of vol. iv).

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arrived at Fort St. David on January 17.[1] Dupleix[2] at once ordered his troops and baggage to retreat. Ranga Pillai has entered in his Diary the camp news that Appu Mudali who accompanied the troops wrote to the Diarist from day to day during the march and retreat (January 14–17); and we are told that all the troops were full of zeal, and the former expeditions were not one-eighth as well managed as this, and this was 'entirely due to M. Dupleix who cared nothing about what he ate or when he slept, ate the same food as his men and took no thought for his personal comfort'. Thus ended another attempt of Dupleix to capture Fort St. David which was protected not only by the ships of Griffin's squadron but also by three fresh ships from England and three Company's ships from England *via* Bengal.[3] News came that a large expedition was also

[1] Pondicherry was left practically undefended, as all the garrison had gone into camp, and the Fort was guarded only by the Councillors' writers and old men who had been armed with muskets.

[2] The Diarist, with his usual fickleness and animus against Madame Dupleix condemns his master's rashness in having set out on the expedition without considering all the possibilities and only relying on Madame's reports as to what happened—'He marched against Fort St. David inconsiderately and inconsiderately returned. Every one is continuously making jests at his expense and indeed it is plain that none can earn respect who follows a woman's counsel' (*entry* for January 17). The Diarist adds that two days before Dupleix started he had received information that the English squadron had been asked to return to Fort St. David with about 500 soldiers on board; but Dupleix would not believe this news and held that the Fort would not be receiving reinforcements and would have to shift as best as it might. Besides Dupleix said that 'Mr. Morse had been consulted in secret and that he had advised the Fort to be surrendered as Madras had been, since there was no other means of safety, in consequence of which the English were already removing their goods.' The Diarist adds that Dupleix did not pause to consider whether Mr. Morse was likely to have said such a thing or not.

[3] The garrison of Fort St. David was reinforced by the arrival of 100 Europeans, 200 Topasses (soldiers of Eurasian descent) and 100 sepoys from Bombay, besides 400 sepoys from Tellicherry; and in the course of the year 150 soldiers had been landed from the Company's ships from England. In January 1748, Major Stringer Lawrence arrived with a commission to command the whole of the Company's forces in India (Mill, *History of British India* (1858), vol. iii, p. 55). Dupleix had to acknowledge the superiority of English ships and sailors in his letter to Montaron, January 30, 1748. News reached Pondicherry and the ear of Diarist that fresh ships besides those that had already reached Fort St. David were coming from England with reinforcements—this is deemed to be more likely a confused rumour of the coming of Boscawen's squadron, the news of which had already reached Fort St. David (February 2, 1748, entry). Nine ships of the Royal Navy (one of 74, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one of 20 guns, a sloop of 14, a bomb-ketch with her tender) commanded by Admiral Boscawen and eleven ships of the English Company carrying stores and troops to the number of

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preparing; and at the same time Stringer Lawrence, a retired Captain of the King's Service took command as Major of the garrison of Fort St. David. 'His arrival and the discipline which he at once proceeded to enforce, mark the time from which the Company's troops became an efficient military force.'

V. The Sequel of It

From this time there were frequent skirmishes and collisions. In one encounter between French boats and an English one, eleven Englishmen were killed; another resulted in the English setting fire to some French ships. Of course the usual complaint reached Anwar-ud-din regarding the burning of the boats. As if troubles were not enough, there arose a new complication. Shahji Raja of Tanjore, the son of Sarabhoji Raja according to the Diarist, sent an envoy to Pondicherry, by name Kóyāji Kāttigai promising that he was prepared to make an alliance with the French. Dupleix was very doubtful if any substantial gain could come out of any engagement with this person and ordered the messenger to be sent away. This Shahji[1] was an

1,400 men, set sail from England towards the end of 1747 with instruction to capture the Island of Mauritius on their way. The expedition was deterred from this after an examination of this coast of the Island and on account of the loss of time that the enterprise would occasion. The expedition arrived off Fort St. David on August 20, when 'the squadron, joined to that under Griffin, formed the largest European force that any one power had yet possessed in India.'

[1] Tukoji Raja died about the year 1735. He had five sons: (1) Bava Sahib; (2) Saiyaji; (3) Anna Sahib; (4) Nana Sahib; and (5) Pratap Singh. Of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. Nos. 3 and 4 died before their father; and Bava Sahib who succeeded, died about a year after. Bava Sahib's widow, Sujana Bai, was now raised to the throne by the ministers. But soon a pretender under the name of Savai Shahji, generally known as *Kattu Raja* (Forest King) came forward and, with the aid of the Muhammadan commander of the Tanjore Fort, succeeded in usurping the throne. He was soon deposed in favour of Saiyaji, the second son of Tukoji; and the latter had in his turn to give place to Pratap Singh. The pretender Savai Shahji was in reality the offspring of a slave woman named Rupi, to Sarabhoji, the second son of Ekoji, counterfeited as the son of one of his queens. A previous counterfeit prince had already been disposed of. This second counterfeit was set up by one Koyanji Ghangte (Kóyāji Kāttigai?) who alleged that he was the Savai Shahji and was the lawful heir to the throne. He was afterwards called *Kāttu Raja*, because when he was proclaimed as Raja, he came from the Udaiyārpālaiyam jungle whither he had been taken by Ghangte for the purpose of securing the aid of its *poligar* for him. This pretender later secured the aid of the English at Fort St. David and of the Dutch at Negapatam. This prince was deposed by Saiyaji, the legitimate son of Tukoji. The *Tanjore District Manual* alleges that there were two rulers between Bava Sahib's wife and Pratap Singh, viz., Savai Shahji, the son of Sarabhoji, and the other Saiyaji, the son of Tukoji. The latter has been

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obscure pretender to the Tanjore throne which, after the death of

consistently ignored in the pedigrees kept up by Pratap Singh who was after all an illegitimate son. And hence there was a likelihood of the identification of the two as one.

Mill distinctly speaks, on the authority of an authentic manuscript of Tanjore, of the pretended son of Sarabhoji and of Sahujee (evidently Saiyaji) the youngest of the sons of Tukoji and attributes all the revolutions to the Muhammadan commandant, Sayid, whose execution was the first act of Pratap Singh's reign. (Book iv, chap. ii, p. 62 of vol. iii). Wilson in his note on Mill who declared that Orme was misinformed—as he considered both Shahji and Pratap Singh to have been sons of Sarabhoji—says that Saiyaji, as Duff calls him, was a legitimate son of Tukoji. Mr. Dodwell in his note (on pp. 350-1 of vol. iv of the *Diary*) says that the attempt of the *Tanjore Manual* was to reconcile the versions of Orme and Duff; and that it was not supported by the *Memoir* which was written by Elias Guillot, the Dutch Governor of Negapatam, in 1739, which was strongly in favour of the identification of the two persons Shahji and Saiyaji; and the Dutch were exceedingly well-informed on all Tanjore affairs. He says: 'I take it that the Shahji who reigned from 1737 to 1739 claimed to be a son of Sarabhoji; whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondicherry was the actual prince who reigned. . . . I think it probable that the man who now was approaching Dupleix and who, at the close of the year 1748, was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shahji who had reigned over Tanjore.' The native tradition embodied in the *Tanjore District Manual* distinctly says that the first pretended son of Sarabhoji was got rid of by the order of the latter himself when he came to know of the deception. The second counterfeit was set up many years afterwards by one Koyanji Ghangte (Kóyāji Kattigai of the Diarist) who was the brother of the pretender's alleged mother. This is corroborated by other information also. Moreover the Abbé Guyon—the historian of French India, says that Pratap Singh stifled his rival Saiyaji in a bath of milk; and if that should have been true, the pretender Savai Shahji should have been a different person and not the same as had been killed by Pratap Singh in 1740.

The name given to the pretender in the Fort St. David records is Sahajee Maha Raja. The Marathi inscription in the Big Temple at Tanjore calls him Savai Shahji and *Kāttu Raja*. According to the Marathi inscription, he obtained help even in 1738 when he deposed Sujana Bai, from the English at Fort St. David and the Dutch at Negapatam under specious promises. Another writer, Mr. K. R. Subrahmanian (in his *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, 1928, pp. 44-6) is inclined to support the view that there was no Saiyaji at all and that the same person, Shahji, superseded Sujana Bai for a while at first and afterwards permanently. The Dutch Memoir of 1739, Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary for 1748 and the English account of the claims of Shahji in 1749—all say that he was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh. But the first of these sources only proves that the Dutch, having supported Shahji, pretend that he was the legal heir. The French *Dubash* only wrote what he was told of the claims of Shahji as the son of Sarabhoji; and the English records of 1749 could not prove the legitimacy of their candidate. None of these sources mentions Saiyaji; and a French record of 1749 accuses the English of having attempted to pull down the reigning prince Pratap Singh and place a phantom in his stead. So the writer concludes that there was only one person, Shahji, the *Kāttu Raja*; and there is no reason to suppose that Tukoji had a legitimate son, Saiyaji, who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession.

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Tukoji (1728–35) who was the last son of Ekoji, suffered a number of rapid revolutions before the Government became settled on the accession of Pratap Singh in 1740. Dupleix's dismissal of Kāttigai was probably due to his fear of provoking the enmity of the Tanjore ruler at a time when the English fleet was expected on the coast. It was also consistent with the recommendation of Le Riche of Karikal made in the previous year that the times were not suitable for such an enterprise. He ordered the Diarist to write letters to Pratap Singh of Tanjore, and Manoji Appa, his chief minister, saying, 'We thought Shahji was dead, and are astonished that you have written to M. Paradis, the chief of Karikal, to say that the old Raja Sarabhoji's son, Shahji, the late tyrannous Raja, has been kept in Pondicherry; it surprises us as much as if a dead man had come to life again. We could get no advantage from helping him; and so why should we concern ourselves with so unlucky a man? . . .'[1] Copies of these letters were sent to Paradis. All the while paddy and stores were being steadily accumulated, and the neighbouring *poligars* were cautiously sounded. Dupleix, whether consciously or otherwise, told the Diarist that the Dutch had joined the French and declared war against the English and that was why the English with all their shipping were afraid to attack Pondicherry. In reality Louis XIV declared war on Holland and 'in a few months Dutch troops were to appear beside the English before Pondicherry'.

Thus the events drifted on to the last episode of this first Anglo-French struggle.

[1] Diarist's entry for February 27.

(*To be continued.*)

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Some Side-lights on the Character and Court-life of Shah Jahan

BY

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THE very name of the Emperor Shah Jahan conjures up a vision of the Taj, the Peacock-throne, and a lonely tower of the Agra Fort where he died a prisoner of his own son. His life-history is a long tale of romance and tragedy in which love, adventure and pathos abound. It is said that the glamour of the Tajmahal hides many an ugly trait of his character and many unhappy features of his reign—which are revealed in the accounts of the contemporary foreign travellers. We propose to keep clear of controversy, and limit our survey to a few aspects of his character and rule in the light of original Persian authorities, occasionally supplemented by Hindi literary traditions. We shall depict Shah Jahan as he loved to see himself portrayed in his Court-history, *Padshah-nama* which the great minister Sadullah Khan used to read out to the Emperor, and make necessary corrections at his suggestion.

In character the contrast between Akbar and Shah Jahan is more striking than resemblance—the latter was essentially a reactionary with a missionary zeal to exalt Islam by repressing other religions. After his accession to the throne Shah Jahan abolished many un-Islamic innovations of Akbar (e.g. prostration before the throne), restored Hijri Era in the State Calendar, and revived the influence of the orthodox party who hailed him as the real *Mahdi* (Guide), after the dark regime of the anti-Christ, i.e. his grand-father Akbar. During his reign the empire lost to a great extent its national character and became pre-eminently an Islamic state, governed according to the institutes of Muhammad (*Shariyat-i-Muhammadi*). But the character of Shah Jahan partook of a double nature—an actual combination of Muslim orthodoxy and a profane tradition of age of Akbar. He was Dara and Aurangzib in one; the latter representing the 'other side of the medal'.

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Shah Jahan believed in the merit of even forcible conversion as the Tradition says, 'God marvels at men that are dragged to Paradise with chains.' He spared the rebels on their conversion to Islam, and those who refused his clemency were treated with genuine Turkish brutality. Rank, office and rewards were bestowed on Hindu renegades; even *Jihad*[1] was approved when it was not likely to cause a general commotion among the Hindus. In Kashmir he changed the Hindu names of places into Islamic and destoyed some Hindu shrines. He prohibited the construction of new temples on the Crown lands of the Empire, and within a few years of his accession 76 Hindu temples in the processes of building were destroyed within the jurisdiction of Benares alone. Some of the Feringi prisoners of Hughly were pardoned on their conversion to Islam while others were allowed to perish in the prison; all their images were broken except two which were thrown into the Jamna. Shah Jahan destroyed a happy picture of Hindu-Muslim unity which even the most optimistic patriot of to-day can hardly imagine. 'In the month of Rabi-us-sani, A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimbar Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the *Mussalmans* of this place, owing to their primitive ignorance, *gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus* [*ba-Kufār dokhtar me-dehend*] and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Mussalmans were to be buried and Muslim girls were to be burnt according to Hindu custom, after death. The Emperor who is the Shelter of the Faith—ordered that the Hindus who had married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jogu, a Zamindar of these parts—from whom these despicable customs had originated—through the grace of God, and *out of fear, and at the desire of His Majesty* (*bim o ummed-i-Hazrat Sahib-qiran Sani*), with all his kinsmen

[1] Reference: A local officer who had undertaken a '*Jihad*' to convert a remnant of Hindu population of *Darubeki*, 40 miles south of Jalalabad is praised (Waris MS. 107b). Auchal and Incha were given the name Sahibabad and Islamabad respectively (*Pad*, ii, pp. 49, 51); the Waqia-navis (News-writer), reports the destruction of temples in Benares, (*ibid.*, i, pp. 451–2); Christian images thrown into the Jamuna (*ibid.*, i, p. 535); Rajah Bakhtawar Kachchawa who had accepted Islam gets Rs. 2,000 in reward (*ibid.*, i, p. 540); at the recommendation of Aurangzib, Premji, the son of the Hindu Rajah of Baglana, named Sadat-mand after conversion, receives a mansab of 1,500 zat, 1,000 sawars (*ibid.*, iii, p. 142).

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accepted Islam, and was honoured with the title of Rajah Daulat-mand.' [1]

Shah Jahan discontinued religious debate, and all coquetting with heathen philosophy; nor did he take any personal interest in the Hindu festivals of *Dewali* and *Rakhi-binding*. He instituted the *Shab-i-barat* as a national festival which was celebrated with much pomp wherever the Emperor happened to stay. In the year 1639 when Shah Jahan was at Lahore, Ali Mardan Khan once solicited permission to arrange a display of illumination in the Persian style in the night of *Shab-i-barat*. On the night of 11th Shaban A.H. 1049 the spacious court-yard of the Public Audience Hall of Lahore was wonderfully illuminated under the skilful management of Ali Mardan who, as it were, made every inch of ground emit light. The Emperor sat on the throne and ordered fire-works to be burnt in the court-yard of the Hall, and also outside, on the plain below the *Jharoak-i-darshan* for the enjoyment of the people at large. 'On this night Rs. 10,000 was distributed in alms to the poor; and Mullah Fazil, and Mullah Abdul Hakim Sialkoti received two hundred ashrafis each, as gifts out of the gold of Weighing (*az zar-i-wazn*).' [2] 'The *Milad* on the anniversary of the Prophet was an occasion of great solemnity at Court, and on this day only the Emperor of Hindustan, the Shadow of the Almighty (*Zill-i-Sobhani*), debased himself by descending from the throne, and taking his seat on carpet spread upon the ground. On the night of 12th Rabi-ul-awwal, A.H. 1043, the Emperor ordered a majlis to be held in the Palace (of Agra). A group of scholars, pious men, and Quran-reciters read the Quran, and narrated the virtues and noble actions of the Prophet; rose-water was profusely scattered and perfumes distributed; and trays of food, sweet-meat and haluwa were given to the people. As a token of reverence to this night of solemnity, His Majesty took his seat on a carpet spread on the ground, and made gifts of *Farji* (tout-cloth ?), and wrappers (shawl) to the Faqirs . . . . Rs. 20,000 in all was distributed in charity to the poor on this occasion.' [3]

Shah Jahan used to send lavish presents, and gifts of money every year to Mecca and Medina; once a candle-stick (*Qandil*), studded with

[1] *Pad.*, ii, 57.
[2] Shab-i-barat celebrated at Lahor, *Pad.*, iii, pp. 167–8.
[3] *Pad.*, i, pp. 539–40.

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jewels was presented to the Prophet's tomb; among the jewels, there was one uncut diamond which alone weighed 180 *ratis*.[1]

In spite of orthodoxy, Shah Jahan could not completely free himself from some of the popular superstitions of the age. Foremost among these was his regard for astrology. In fixing the auspicious moments of marriage, etc., calculation was made according to Greek and Hindu systems independently, and the Emperor was not satisfied till they reached unanimity. We are told that the *lagna* of Dara's marriage was thus fixed by the astrologers of Greece and Hindustan (*ke mukhtar-i-anjum shanāsian-i-Yuñān u-Hindustān* bud).[2] Astrologers once predicted that the Emperor was likely to fall ill, and that this could be averted by a special Weighing (*wazn*)! Accordingly the Emperor was weighed against gold on the eighth Rabi-us-sani, 1043.[3] Shah Jahan continued the custom of weighing himself twice every year against gold and silver on his Lunar and Solar birth-days—a Hindu religious practice—*Tulā-purush* adopted by Akbar. As this was an incongruity, and a violation of *Shariyat* (religious ordinance of Islam), Abdul Hamid offers an explanation for its retention, and says that it was calculated to take off evil and benefit the poor, and particularly the Ulema class among whom the gifts were distributed. On his Solar Birth-day the Emperor was weighed twelve times against the following articles successively; gold, silver, silk, perfumes, copper, *ruh-i-tutiya* (quick-silver?), drugs, *ghee*, rice-milk, seven kinds of grain and salt; and on Lunar Birth-day eight times against the following; gold, silver, tin, cloth, lead, fruits, and vegetables. The third great festivity of the year was the Nauroz which, in spite of its un-Islamic character, had become sanctified by usage. The Court-life of Shah Jahan was indeed an unbroken round of pomp and festivity which served to alleviate the gloom of reaction. Outwardly his regime was a continuation of the Age of Akbar, though beneath the surface, the strong under-current of reaction was sapping the foundation of the Empire.

A child of the Orient, Shah Jahan could not but have in him an element of mysticism which was inherited by Dara. His hereditary devotion to Shaikh Muin-ud-din Chishti can be inferred from the fact that in the Court-history a biographical sketch of that saint is

[1] February 1648; Waris MS. 10 b. [2] *Pad.* i, p. 458. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 543.

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introduced as an auspicious preface to the narrative of his reign. He often received and returned the visits of eminent Sufi teachers of his age. We are told that on December 18, 1634 the Emperor paid a visit to the famous saint Mian Mir in his abode in the neighbourhood of Lahor, and spent sometime in discoursing on the mysteries of Truth and Gnosis.[1] 'On one occasion when singers and jugglers were entertaining the royal assembly, Shaik Nazir who had been invited to Court on account of his fame in working miracles—suddenly fell into ecstacy and called for a glass of water. The shaikh drank a little and passed it on to others; everyone who tasted of it declared it to be pure honey . . . Prince Dara Shukoh and Qazi Muhammad Islam submitted to His Majesty that in Agra the Shaikh had in their presence once transformed a handkerchief into a pigeon (kabutar); further they added that once the Shaikh gave into their hands a blade of grass but out of the fold came out a worm into which the blade of grass had transformed itself.'[2]

The reign of Shah Jahan was a period of transition from the enlightened Nationalism of Akbar to the gloomy orthodox reaction of the days of Aurangzib. However his Court remained a happy meeting ground of Hindu and Muslim cultures, and literary merit and genius were liberally rewarded without any discrimination of creed. Though it is in vain that one looks for any Hindu names in Abdul Hamid's notice of poets and learned men of the age, he has preserved for us in scattered passages of *Padshah-nama*, an interesting picture of Shah Jahan's patronage to Hindu poets, musicians, and intellectual prodigies. 'On September 14, 1629, Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan brought to the Court two Tirhut (in North Bihar) Brahmans. Ten newly composed Hindi (*Sanskrit*) stanzas recited before them only once by ten different poets in succession—could be exactly repeated by each of these two Brahmans in the same order; besides they could compose extempore ten stanzas more on those very topics and in the self-same metres. . . . . His Majesty bestowed khilats on them with Rs. 1,000 in reward to each.[3] At his Court Jagannath Pandit, the famous author of *Ras Gangadhar*, wrote a poem in praise of Asaf Khan (Asaf-lahari), and a *Kavya* 'Jagadābharaṇam', the hero of which is Prince Dara Shukoh. This Jagannath is referred to in the *Padshah-nama*, as

[1] *Pad*, ii, p. 65. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 337. [3] *Ibid.*, i, pp. 268-9.

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Jagannath Kalāwant (Musician). The following passage of Abdul Hamid shows that Jagannath also composed a panegyric in Sanskrit on the Emperor Shah Jahan—which may some day come to light : 'On the 22nd Rabi-us-sani, A.H. 1044. . . Jagannath Kalāwant presented at Bhimbar twelve literary pieces (*taṣnifāt*) which in Hindustani they call Dharand (?). These songs (poems ?) were composed in the name of His Majesty who became so pleased that Jagannath was weighed against silver and the whole amount Rs. 4,500 was given to him in reward.[1] This poet-musician was originally given the title of *Kavi-rāy* which was afterwards changed into *Mahā-kavi-rāy*. In the above passage Abdul Hamid apparently uses the word Hindustani in the sense of Sanskrit; because Jagannath who was a Tailanga Brahman (as we learn from a Sanskrit source), composed songs only in the Karnāṭaka language. Elsewhere he says, 'in this delightful age Jagannath Mahā-kavi-rāy heads the list of authors.[2] But his charming songs are written *in Karnāṭak language*, and the people of these tracts owing to their ignorance of this language, cannot understand the meaning and have to be content only with melody and tune of these songs.' This places the identity of Jagannath Pandit beyond challenge and also incidentally proves that the above-mentioned twelve pieces of composition were neither songs nor were they written in Hindustani (i.e. Urdu or Hindi as we understand it) but in Sanskrit. Another great Sanskrit scholar, Kavīndrachārya Sarasvati also enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan and Prince Dara. A list of his collection of Sanskrit works has been published in the Baroda Oriental Series and we learn from this source that Kavīndra enjoyed the friendship of the enlightened Crown Prince. According to the authors of the History of Hindi Literature (*Misra-bandhu-binod* in Hindi), he was a Brahman of Benares, and besides some Sanskrit works of merit, he wrote a Hindi poem of 160 stanzas, entitled *Kavīndra-kalpalata* in which he praises the Emperor and his sons, and describes the splendour of the New Delhi, Shahjanabad, and the happiness of its inhabitants.[3] Kavīndra is also the author of a

[1] *Pad*, ii, p. 56.

[2] *Sar-daftar-i-musānnifān dar in zamān* . . . Jagannath Mahā-Kavi-rāy *ast*. . . *Lekin az an ru-i-ke in nughmat* . . . *ba-zabān-i-Karnāṭak shuyu dasht*, etc. *Pad*, iii, p. 5.

[3] *M. B.*, ii, p. 453.

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philosophical work *Yoga-vāsishṭa-sar*[1] and he was a familiar figure at Court as early as 1652. 'Kavīndar interviewed His Majesty (at Lahor), and received Rs. 1,500 in reward on the 2nd Zilqada, A.H. 1062.'[2]

Shah Jahan was himself a thorough master of the Hindi vernacular, and appreciated Hindi poetry like his illustrious grandfather. Some poets seemed to have been in the enjoyment of hereditary patronage of the Royal House. One of these was Harināth (or Harnāth), son of Akbar's court-poet Narhari Mahāpātra; on January 29, 1640, he received in reward from Shah Jahan, one horse, one elephant and one lakh of *Dams* (40 *d*—1 Rupee).[3] According to a Hindi tradition, while Harināth was returning from the darbar with these gifts, a Brahman beggar read an extempore couplet in his praise, and asked for reward. The poet gave him a lakh of Dams.[4] Khafi Khan says that once the Emperor gave a female elephant and Rs. 2,000 in cash to a Hindi poet who recited a poem in praise of him (*Kabit ba-nam-i-Padshah guftah guzarad*).[5] However the most serviceable among the Hindu literary satellites of the Court was the poet-diplomat Sundar Kavirāy who is several times mentioned in *Padshah-nama* in connection with his missions to Hindu rebels, Jujhar Singh Bundela and Rajah Jagat Singh of Jammu.[6] He was a Brahman of Gwalior, and is the author of an erotic poem *Sundar-shringar* in which we are told that he resided at the Court of Shah Jahan, and that he at first enjoyed the title of Kavi-rāy which was afterwards exalted into Mahā-kavi-rāy.[7] Śiromaṇi, Miśra and Vedanga Rāy, Hindi authors of *Urbashi* and *Parsiprakas* respectively, are also said to have enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan.[8] Among the Court musicians, Lal Khan was most popular for his unrivalled superiority in singing *Dhrupad*. He was the son-in-law of Bilas, son of Tānsen of Akbar's Court. Lal Khan's sons Khush-hal and Visram were equally proficient in this art; the former used to compose songs in the name of the Emperor (*ba-nam-i-nami khediw-iqbal taṣnifāt me-bandad*).[9] Lal Khan was given the title of *Guṇa-samudra*, and an elephant in reward on October 8, 1642.[10] Another Musician Darang Khan was weighed against silver and the

[1] *M.B.*, ii, p. 454.
[2] Waris Ms., p. 191.
[3] *Pad*, iii, p. 177.
[4] *M.B.*, ii, p. 470.
[5] *Muntakhab*, ii, p. 707.
[6] *Pad*, ii, 94; iii, p. 238.
[7] *M.B.*, ii, pp. 454–5.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Pad*, iii, p. 5.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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whole amount Rs. 4,500 given to him in reward on March 14, 1636.[1] What strikes us most is the Emperor's patronage to an Armenian, Zulqarnin Feringi. He had written a book in the name of the Emperor and this having met with approval, he was given a robe of honour and Rs. 5,000 in cash. This man seems to have been an expert in Greek astrology and the 'book' referred to is perhaps a horoscope, though the text does not warrant such interpretation (*taṣnifi ke ba-nam-i-nami sakhtāh bud*).[2] This Armenian secured a mansab of 500 zat, 300 sawars.[3]

The reign of Shah Jahan suffers by comparison with that of Akbar in every way, except in its achievements in architecture and painting. In administration it produced no first-rate genius except Sadulluah Khan, and in arms only commanders of mediocre ability like Nusrat Jang and Zafar Jang. Rajah Raghunath and other capable Hindu Diwans were kept down to their subordinate position, because the Shaikhs and Sayyids did not like the rise of a second Todar Mal. The author of *Amal-i-Salih* says, 'When the servant of His Majesty represented that it ought to be a custom to appoint a sufficient number of pious Muslims in the Revenue Department, and that so far as possible the Hindus should not be allowed to have a preponderance in offices, so that Sayyids, Shaikhs and men of virtue and piety might not be turned back by them—Rai Manidas was transferred out of this consideration from the *Tan* section of the Treasury and Mullah Abdul Latif Lashkar Khani who was wise in affairs and pure in faith was appointed in his place.[4] Similarly no Hindu general rose to the rank of 7,000 zat during his long reign of thirty years. In the field of letters Abdul Hamid and Kambo were poor successors of Abul Fazl and Nizamuddin; while as poets Haji Muhammad Qudsi and Saida Gilani were but sorry figures by the side of Faizi and Urfi Shirazi. According to expert art-critics, painters of Shah Jahan's court such as Manohar, Nadir Samarqandi, and others were even superior in skill to their masters of the Age of Akbar. The Album of Dara Shukoh occupies the same position and has the same interest in the history of the Indo-Persian Painting as the incomparable Taj in the history of Indo-Muslim Architecture. The taper of the Mughal glory indeed burnt brightest before final extinction.

[1] *Pad.*, ii, p. 142. [2] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 138. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 748.
[4] Kambu's *Amal-i-Salih*, pp. 513, 518; *Padshah-nama* says that Abdul Latif Gujrati was appointed on the demise of Rai Mani Das on 2nd Rabi-ul-awal, 1042.

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The East India Company, Its Origin and Growth prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy—(*Continued*)

BY

HARIHAR DAS

ON April 12, 1686, King James had granted the Company a new charter which confirmed the rights and privileges conferred by the previous charters. It contained a new provision in the right to establish a mint at Madras. With a view to defining more clearly the civil and military administration entrusted to the President of the newly formed head-station at Bombay, Sir John Child, the first to fill this post, was appointed 'Captain-General and Admiral of all their forces by sea and land in the northern parts of India from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Persia.' The militant character given to this office was the first public notification that the Directors of the Company's affairs in London had other views in their minds than those of sale and barter. For a brief space it seemed as if the King were resolved to give them the support of his Government. In July 1686 he sanctioned the issue of a Royal Proclamation requiring all the Company's servants and other English subjects who had taken service with any of the Indian Powers to return to the settlements, a step which had only one meaning as heralding a state of war. He also approved of the despatch of a strong squadron carrying a body of troops equipped by the Company under the command of Captain Nicholson, an officer of the Royal Navy. He also gave commissions to several other naval officers to assist the Company as commanders of their vessels, requiring of all of them an engagement to 'take care that the tenths of all prizes taken and condemned should be paid to the Crown.'[1] The declared object of this expedition was to retaliate for injuries and loss of privileges in Bengal. The instructions of the Court to their local representatives were to commence hostilities with the Mughal and the Nawab of Dacca, and in the first place to capture the port of Chittagong. They were also to conclude a treaty with the king of Arracan.

[1] See p. 325 of *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 14th Report, part 17.

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At the same time similar instructions were sent to the west coast where the Company's agents at Surat and Bombay were ordered 'to make and always keep a strict confederacy with Sambujee Rajah who is a warlike prince and to make such terms with him as shall now and for many years to come preserve his interest.' This policy which was not devoid of astuteness received the definite support of the King in Council. It does not seem to have occurred to any of the promoters of this expedition that it might fail in its object. No attempt at negotiation with the officers of the Mughal was to be made before striking the first blow. The attack on Chittagong was to precede the dispatch of letters of remonstrance for past injuries to the Mughal and to the Governor of Dacca.

The hopes reposed in this resort to force were destined to disappointment for the attack on Chittagong failed. This caused naturally enough, the Directors at home much dissatisfaction but nonetheless they resolved to persevere in their hostile measures against the Mughal declaring that they would not conclude a peace until all their legitimate demands were satisfied. A temporary arrangement was come to with the Nawab of Dacca, but its terms were soon broken and the strife was resumed.

Meanwhile the centre of interest had shifted from the Bay of Bengal to the west coast. Sir John Child had been waiting for good news from the Bay before committing himself to definite action. Owing to the critical relations with the governor of Surat he, accompanied by his Council, left Surat on April 25, 1687 for Bombay where he arrived a week later. Whether wisely or not, he then resorted to aggressive measures sending out such ships as were available to intercept and capture all the Mughal ships returning from the Persian Gulf. Thereupon the Surat Governor professed willingness to negotiate on the subject of English grievances; but in the meantime Child had opened communications with the Maratha chief Sambhuji, in order to obtain his aid against the Mughal. During these negotiations news reached Child that a treaty had been concluded with the Mughal authorities in Bengal. This was early in the year 1689, and in face of this situation, he had to drop the Maratha project and seek an accommodation with the Surat Governor. He presented a list of grievances, but at the same time he moved with all the naval force at his disposal to Swally Bay in the hope of rendering that official more submissive. This step had the contrary effect for

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Muktar Khan retorted by seizing those representatives of the Company who had remained at Surat as well as their Indian brokers, casting them all into prison. The immediate object of Sir John Child's step was thus thwarted, and the situation was rendered more acute than it had been.

Child had gone too far to retreat without making a further effort to induce or compel the Governor to adopt conciliatory measures. He accordingly fitted out all the vessels at his disposal and sent them to sea with orders to seize all ships flying the Mughal flag. In this manner over forty ships, large and small, were taken and carried into Bombay as prizes. It was stated that these vessels, with others previously captured, represented with their cargoes over a million sterling. To the requests to restore the ships, Child gave defiant answers, but unfortunately for him he had miscalculated his relative strength with that of the Emperor. At that juncture Aurangzib found his hands free to deal with the English traders by the final overthrow of the kingdoms of Bijapore and Golconda in the Deccan. He was in no mood for half-measures, and he ordered his Governors to expel the English from his dominions after they had seized or destroyed their property. This order could not be disobeyed, and the Mughal Admiral, Sidhi Yacout Khan, occupied the island of Bombay. At the same time the factory at Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast was also seized by the local Governor. These humiliations were greatly aggravated by financial losses. Sir John Child had borrowed by order of the Company a sum of not less than £400,000, and he was not in a position to repay any part of it. The expense of the war was stated to be above £400,000 while the indirect loss to the Crown and Company's joint-stock from the interruption of trade was computed at not less than one million sterling.[1] Humiliated in the field of arms and in diplomacy, seriously embarrassed in its financial position all round, the fortunes of the Old Company were at their lowest point when the Crown was transferred from James II to William III.

Having failed in his ambitious policy, Sir John Child had to adopt the more modest course suitable to the times. It was necessary to placate and not to irritate any further the Great Mughal. As he could not dictate terms, he resorted to the humble rôle of a petitioner, and

[1] See C. O. $\frac{77}{16}$ Public Record Office.

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craved for favour. In December 1689 he sent two factors, George Weldon and Abraham Navarro, the latter a Jew, to the court of Aurangzib, and he associated with them a Surat merchant named Miah Nezamie who was supposed to be acquainted with the etiquette to be observed in approaching the Emperor and his high officials. On arrival they were refused an audience, but by bribing some of the ministers they were admitted to the presence, only however to encounter a very chilly reception. The Emperor required time to consider what was the proper course. He was not opposed to the foreign trade, and he was also very desirous of securing safety for his ships and subjects on the high seas.

For these reasons he decided to give his ministers leave to negotiate an arrangement with the envoys. They had to encounter other opposition than that of the Mughals. A Dutch agent, one Mr. Baroon, made strong efforts to prejudice the Emperor against the English whom he pictured in a bad light, but Aurangzib seems to have judged the Dutch at their true value as a race of time-servers. The Emperor granted the terms of peace on his own conditions which the envoys were glad enough to accept. Among them were the payment by the Company of a fine of Rs. 150,000, the restoration of all ships and goods taken by the English, and the summary dismissal of Sir John Child who was not to be allowed to remain in India. Sir John had died on February 4, 1690, before the envoys returned from Aurangzib's camp. The Council having agreed to the terms of the peace, the Mughal Admiral evacuated Bombay and in the same year the Company's settlements in Bengal were restored. It was then that Job Charnock took up his permanent settlement at Chuttanuttee, the site of the present City of Calcutta.

The whole of the trouble connected with this disastrous war with the Mughal appears to have been due to certain over-ruling members of the Directors' Court at home, Sir Josiah Child in particular, who 'usurped such a despotic power and sovereign authority over all their affairs here as he has taught his emissaries to assume and practice abroad.' The political situation in England was not fully realized at first by the Company's servants at Bombay, who apparently thought that the quarrel between James and his Parliament was a mere passing phase. The seriousness, however, became gradually clear and uncertainty regarding the issue of the Revolution grew greater as the Company's

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numerous enemies circulated false reports concerning events in England.

The accession of William and Mary brought new anxieties to the Company who naturally supposed the King would favour the Dutch East India Company. They did not dream that a rival company more formidable to their interests than the Dutch, was to arise in England. On May 7, 1689, England declared war against France, and a treaty between King William and the States-General was concluded with the object of restricting the resources of the enemy. For financial reasons William now favoured the London Company. This enabled them for the time being to deal more effectually with the interlopers to whom little mercy was shown. They, in return, attempted to influence public opinion in England against the Company and to injure their exclusive interests.

The support given to the Company by both Charles II and James II had induced them to aim at sovereign power in India and on that footing deal with the Moguls and the Marathas. This fact becomes clear in a new declaration by the Court of Directors transmitted by them to India for the guidance of the Bombay Council. It is in the following terms :—' The increase of our revenue is the subject of our care, as much as our trade ; 'tis that must make us a nation in India ; without that we are but a great number of interlopers, united by His Majesty's royal charter, fit only to trade where nobody of power thinks it their interest to prevent us ; and upon this account it is that the wise Dutch, in all their general advices that we have seen, write ten paragraphs concerning their Government, their civil and military policy, warfare, and the increase of their revenue, for one paragraph they write concerning trade. And the last, viz., revenue, is the soul and life of all the rest. Without that they could not subsist, notwithstanding they have the Spice Islands, Japan and most of the Pepper Trade entirely to themselves.' The policy thus set forth was, however, frustrated by events consequent upon the Revolution and William's accession. The oppression practised, and the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Company had produced wide dissatisfaction years before the Revolution. In the *Memoirs of Papillon* we read as follows :—' In 1680, when interlopers becoming numerous and many desired that the trade should be thrown open, Papillon published a pamphlet strenuously maintaining that it could be pursued far better by an extensive joint

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stock company and his arguments were sound in support of his pamphlet.'[1] James Mill also declared that the 'project of opening a subscription for a new Joint, and establishing a rival East India Company was disclosed as early as the year 1682-3. The scheme was so much in favour with the sentiments of the nation, that it was taken into consideration by the King-in-Council.' The interlopers, now become a powerful and compact body, wished to see Sir Josiah Child's autocracy overthrown, that thereby they might obtain a part of the trade monopolized by the Company.

Through the efforts of the interlopers a Committee of the House of Commons on January 16, 1690, expressed the opinion that a new Company should be established by Parliament. The following year the House itself addressed the King asking him to dissolve the Company and incorporated a new one. His Majesty thereupon referred the matter to a Committee of the Privy Council.

The years 1692 and 1693 were marked by the struggle between what we may now begin to call the Old Company and those promoting a new corporation. By a vote in the House of Commons it was resolved to dissolve the existing Company and an address was presented to the King praying him 'to dissolve the present East India Company, according to the powers reserved in their charter, and to establish another Company for the better preserving the trade to this kingdom, in such manner as his Majesty shall see fit.' The Old Company offered strenuous opposition and insisted that their constitution could not be legally amended. So the matter was delayed till the next Parliamentary session. Macaulay gives a vivid account of the struggle. He records how Child and his fellow Directors became seriously alarmed. They had inadvertently omitted, to pay at the proper time a tax lately imposed on their stock. This omission, by the strict letter of the law, actually forfeited their charter, and public feeling ran so strongly against them that the Government would have been widely supported had they taken advantage of it. Child, as the leading spirit in the Company's councils, was now extremely unpopular and fearing lest the interests under his care would suffer through him kept discreetly out of the public notice, and his place was ostensibly

[1] See p. 80 of *Memoirs of Thomas Papillon*, by A. F. W. Papillon, Reading, 1887.

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taken by a 'near kinsman, Sir Thomas Cook, one of the greatest merchants of London, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of Colchester.'[1]

During the session of 1693–4 the promoters of the New Company petitioned Parliament to take advantage of the opportunity offered by the unpaid tax. So successfully, however, did the Old Company plead their case that in spite of all opposition they obtained a new charter. Enquiry afterwards showed that they expended at this time a sum of £170,000 presumably in 'bribing courtiers and members of Parliament.'[2] In spite of all their charters the position on the Old Company was never more precarious than now. In 1695 Parliament held an enquiry into a charge of corruption brought against Sir Thomas Cook and several others for 'divers indirect practices.' It was discovered that over £100,000 had been spent in secret service. Among the recipients were certain high public officials and the Duke of Leeds, better known as the Earl of Danby. It was indeed asserted at one time that King William himself had received £10,000, although it was claimed that the money was used for the public service. The Old Company asserted that their opponents might equally have been accused of corruption. Such practices had apparently increased since the Revolution. Lord Halifax, writing from London to Lord Hyde on September 27, 1681, mentions the Company's intention of giving a 'yearly present to the King of £10,000.'[3] They 'expended great sums of the Company's money, which stands charg'd in their Books under the title of Secret services; besides the several 10,000 Guineas which they did present to the two late kings.'[4] In spite, however, of extensive bribery it was felt that the King could not be advised to renew the Company's powers without making some concessions to their opponents. So the Directors reluctantly acquiesced in some very important modifications.

Returning now to the Company's affairs in India, we learn that Sir John Goldesborough was sent out as 'Commissary General and Supervisor'. He arrived at Madras on November 23, 1691–2. Soon

[1] See vol. v, p. 2377 of *Macaulay's History of England*, edited by Prof. C. H. Firth (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London).
[2] See The *Somers Collection of Tracts*, vol. xv, B.M.
[3] See vol. i, p. 63 of *Hyde Correspondence*, B.M.
[4] See *Johnson Papers*, pp. 22, 185, B.M.

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after Sir John Gayer was appointed to succeed President Harris as Governor of Bombay where he arrived on May 17, 1694. Both were sent to strengthen the Company's position by asserting their rights against local abuses and the action of interlopers. They were to put into practice the Directors' axiom that the 'Ballancing of Power is the Truest Art of Government', that is to say, consistent and persistent shifting from one side to the other as the interest of the moment prompted, which has been a marked feature ever since in English policy, not only in Asia but in Europe.

At this period the Company was called upon to cope with a new and unexpected problem which not merely imposed a severe strain on its resources, but entailed bitter and long drawn-out controversies and disputes with the officers of the Mughal Emperor. While recognizing the embarrassing position in which the Company was placed through no fault or complicity of its own, it is indisputable that the latter had a legitimate grievance and that the anger of the Emperor was quite intelligible and altogether natural. The growth of piracy in these latter years, the attendant outrages in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea of which Indian subjects of all ranks were the victims, imparted a new aspect to the efforts to promote trade between Europe and India, and darkened the prospect of success at the very moment when it seemed as if the difficulties attending such an undertaking were overcome.

The early years of the seventeenth century had witnessed a great development in naval activity. All the principal European nations had followed the examples of Portugal and Spain in endeavouring to establish trade centres and naval stations along the coasts of Southern and Eastern Asia. There was keen competition between them, and hostile collisions were not infrequent. But piracy was not in evidence. The ships of the country powers were not molested and had free passage so far at least as any of the Europeans were involved. All were agreed that for success in their demands for favours from the Emperor or other potentates, a good reputation was the first essential. This condition of things underwent no change till the seventeenth century was drawing near its end. The change might not have occurred at all but for the appearance of the interlopers.

All the Europeans were monopolists, that is to say, they traded through the agency of specially chartered companies which denied the right of participation to those of their nationals who were outside

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their privileged association. This monopoly could not be long respected, and the reports of the wealth of the East substantiated by the large profits of each voyage to the Company's shareholders incited many adventurous individuals to commission ships for the Eastern trade on their own account. These men also were traders and nothing else. They refrained from violence. Their object was to propitiate the good will of the peoples whom they sought in trade. The Company treated these encroachers on their privileges as open enemies, and resorted to all the means in their power to extirpate them; but as they were not concerned in their quarrels the country powers looked on with indifference at this conflict of authority between two classes whom they regarded as identical.

After the union between the Dutch and the English was brought about by the accession of William III to the throne on the fall of the Stuart dynasty, and more especially after the battle of La Hogue which began the decline of France as a naval power, there was a marked falling off in the openings left for naval men, and moreover this decrease in employment was accentuated by the financial exhaustion felt by all the powers as the consequence of the long wars. In such a situation it was not surprising that some of the bolder or more reckless spirits nurtured in warlike scenes should have turned to those lawless adventures which are generally classified under the heading of piracy. Just as the affair of the interlopers was showing diminution these new agents of mischief appeared upon the scene, and for a time made the Indian Ocean the principal centre of their efforts. These men were not traders, they were the despoilers of those who carried on trade; and as they assailed the weakest, it was the Indian and Arab ships trading or carrying pilgrims to the ports of the Red Sea that were their chief victims. An entirely new position was thus created to which the Mughal authorities could not be in- complication different, and their natural indignation produced a serious threatening to put an end to all trade intercourse with any Europeans whatever.

Biddulph tells us that the greatest sufferers from piracy were the English, because the majority of the pirates were of English blood and pirate captains of other nationalities often flew the English flag. Thus the Mughal officials, unable to distinguish rogues from honest traders, held the Company's servants responsible for all piratical

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misdeeds. The following extract dated January 2, 1698, written by the Viceroy of Goa to the King of Portugal, amply confirms Biddulph :—' The men on board the corsair's ships being chiefly composed of Englishmen. In fact, it is believed that all Englishmen are corsairs, who sell in Bombay all they can steal at sea. If our frigates meet them at sea they produce the Company's papers, and we can do nothing with them: but when they come across our merchantmen they rob them, and the Company then excuse themselves by saying the ships are pirates.' [1]

In September 1695, a famous pirate named Henry Every [2] captured two vessels. One, the *Fateh Muhammad*, the property of Abdool Guffoor and the other, the *Gang-i-Sawai* belonging to the Mughal. The latter was returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca and had on board a number of Mohammedan ladies including a royal princess. They were brutally treated. ' Several of the women threw themselves into the sea or slew themselves with daggers, the last piece of silver was sought out and carried on board the *Fancy*, the last jewel torn from the passengers and crew, and then the *Gang Sawai* was left to find its way to Surat as it best could.' The ship was reported to have had treasure aboard to the value of fifty-two lakhs of rupees and the pirate crews are said to have received prize money amounting to about £1,000.[3]

The news of this outrage caused great excitement at Surat where it was regarded as an insult to the Mohammedan faith. The popular anger became uncontrollable.[4] The Mughal Governor, Itimad Khan, was compelled to place guards on the Company's factory and warehouse. President Annesley, his Council and other Englishmen were confined till the end of June, 1696. Soon after news of another piracy by Every arrived and the position of the English became

[1] See p. 373 of *The Portuguese in India*, by F. C. Danvers.

[2] His real name was Bridgman and he was the son of a trading captain of Plymouth. He had served in the navy and in that capacity made several voyages to the West Indies. Every was an educated man and during his piratical career in the Indian seas he only attacked Indian ships. After amassing a large fortune he returned to England, and died in extreme poverty in Devonshire. *See* pp. 17–31 of Biddulph's *The Pirates of Malabar*.

[3] *See* Notes on Piracy in the Indian Ocean in the *Indian Antiquary*, by S. C. Hill.

[4] See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. v.

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worse. Annesley and Sir John Gayer from Bombay complained to the Governor, the Emperor and his ministers, protesting the Company's innocence and demanding the release of its servants. Sir John even offered armed ships to convoy pilgrims to Jedda and Mocha on condition that the Mughal would grant exclusive trading privileges to the Company. The appeal had some effect as an answer came from the Imperial camp asking the English, French and Dutch to scour the seas and destroy the pirates, but continuing the embargo on all trade till the innocence or guilt of the London Company should be produced.[1]

At last piracies became so frequent that Sir John Gayer wrote home to the Directors pointing out how greatly they were injuring the Company's trade and reputation. In 1697 the pirates took a Turkish ship, the *Great Mahomet*, belonging to Hussain Hamedon containing treasure estimated at Rs. 18,50,000. The crews shared £800 per man. The following year a Captain Kidd took an Armenian vessel, the *Quedah Merchant*, with enormous booty. For this he and six others were tried and hanged in 1701.[2] Matters became so bad that the Governor of Surat placed guards on the English, Dutch and French factories until they should agree to indemnify the Indian merchants for their losses. Sir John Gayer protested in vain. The Governor, acting on the Mughal's order, presented the Company's factory with an ultimatum requiring compensation for losses sustained from pirates, an undertaking to clear the seas of them and the provision of sufficient convoys for the pilgrim ships. The Company was just as anxious as the Emperor himself to destroy the marauders; did not, however, possess the means of doing so.

This fact, perhaps, has not been appreciated by the commentators of the early voyages of the East India Company. Their ships had means of self-defence in guns and gunners, but they were not really equipped for warlike purposes. Their range of action was strictly limited. They had no halting stations on the route to India. There were available to them no depôts for arms, ammunition or stores. Moreover they carried cargoes and were to receive others at either Surat or Bombay. Their mission was to reach their destination as

[1] See Forrest, *Selections of State Papers*.
[2] Lord Birkenhead, *The Famous Trials in History*.

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speedily as possible and not to dally on the way. They were not ordered to chase pirates but to avoid them.

On the other hand the pirates were not embarrassed by any consideration of cargoes. They were equipped for war, and when they plundered their prizes they did not burden themselves with any heavy plunder. Their attention was given to treasure, jewels, luxuries and such stores in the shape of food or ammunition, as they might have need of. They sailed light in anticipation of fight or flight. But over and above those advantages they possessed another in the acquisition of stations and depôts along the coast of Madagascar and at Johanna. Here they were quite secure against the efforts of the Company's vessels, so secure indeed that the latter never dreamt of molesting them in their strong and secret lairs obtained by formal conventions with the local chiefs. It required a regular naval force to root them out. The Company did not possess it. The four frigates sent by the English Government to accompany Sir William Norris were the first squadron fit to cope with these sea marauders and to strike home against them in their hiding places and depôts where they not merely accumulated their plunder but acquired in continually increasing quantities the supplies for fresh depredations. The Mughal Emperor in his wrath might not acquit the servants of the Company of blame, but in reality they were helpless. It was an affair quite outside their power and responsibility and referable to the British navy alone. They could, therefore, only temporize to gain time. The Emperor was imperative; the English must either give the guarantees demanded or be expelled. An armed Mughal force was sent to blockade and, if necessary, attack the Surat Factory. All the persons connected with the Factory's operations in the city were arrested, publicly whipped and imprisoned. The Dutch promptly surrendered to the Governor's demands and, in spite of Gayer's opposition, so did the English, but only when their factory was surrounded and the lives of the occupants threatened. Finally, English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy and signed bonds jointly agreeing to make good all future losses. This was the darkest moment in the Company's fortunes at Surat, their trade being almost wiped out as an indirect consequence of piratical activities. The Portuguese were not included in the responsibility for guarding the seas as their sea-borne commercé had by this time become almost extinguished. The

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authorities at home contributed little to the suppression of piracy which, we have it on Mr. Hill's authority, continued till the year 1721.

Commenting on this period Professor Sarkar suggests that 'all these troubles could have been avoided and an amicable settlement made with the Delhi Government, if the European nations that traded in India could have come to some agreement with the Emperor as to their remuneration for policing the Indian Ocean and organized some concerted action against the pirates. But the escort hire offered by the Emperor was too niggardly ; the Dutch plotted against the English at the court of the Surat Governor ; the English themselves were a house divided against itself. . . .'

At this period the British Government having been led under the guidance of the new King, William of Orange, to become a party to the Grand Alliance against France found itself in great difficulties to procure the means for the prosecution of hostilities on the Continent from which England had rigidly abstained for the better part of two centuries. Under these circumstances it was not surprising that the affairs of the East India Company were thrust into the background as much as possible, and that their views and interests were far from attracting public attention. This position of things provided their rivals among private merchants and interlopers with the opportunity that they had long been seeking, to undermine and, if possible, to supersede the privileged status which the Company had enjoyed from the commencement of the seventeenth century now drawing towards its close. A warning of what was coming was afforded when in 1696–7 the Company failed to obtain Parliamentary sanction for their charter, and for the rights they had long held under it. Not merely did they meet with refusal in the House of Commons, but the attendant circumstances compelled them to recognize that a hostile association with powerful influences behind it was set upon supplanting them, and usurping their place. Promoters of the proposed New Company started active propaganda against the monopolies enjoyed by the Old Company and the latter retaliated with a number of pamphlets. Each side did its best to obtain the concessions desired. One clever pamphleteer on the Old Company's side thus quaintly argued :—' the pulling down this Company to set up a new one, may be as unsuccessful, as it would be to grubb up a flourishing well-grown orchard, in the strength and prime time of its bearing fruit, to plant a new orchard in

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the same place, in hopes to have more and better cyder: whereas a new plantation yields little fruit and the worst cyder.'[1]

The war of polemics between the contesting rivals continued without flagging, but in the year 1698 the private merchants took a definite step by renewing their application to Parliament. The Government took advantage of the opportunity to reveal its own views by announcing that it had pressing need of a loan of £2,000,000 and that it would regard favourably the claims of those who provided that sum. The London Company immediately offered a loan of £700,000 at 4 *per cent*, a low rate of interest certainly, but an amount insufficient for the needs of the Government. Notwithstanding the official attitude the House of Commons showed a disposition to confirm the offer by granting the Company the exclusive trading rights which it claimed as the condition of its loan. Faced with the prospect of failure the new Association gathering up all its resources offered to raise the sum of two millions as required by the Government, but on the other hand it fixed the interest at the higher rate of 8 *per cent*, claiming at the same time the concession of exclusive rights with regard to the Indian trade. This offer satisfied the needs of the Government, and those who made it were therefore assured of official support. A bill was consequently introduced in Parliament in their favour, and on the London Company presenting a petition against it, they were informed that if they would provide the necessary sum on the same terms as their opponents, their privileges would be confirmed and continued. It is not clear why the Old Company declined this offer, but circumstances being what they were, they should have realized that their refusal entailed their inevitable defeat. The House of Commons thereupon passed the Bill, and the House of Lords after full deliberation did likewise, the bill thus becoming law with the King's assent on July 5, 1698.

Although the Old Company would not strain its resources by undertaking the large loan stipulated for the King's Government it made a strenuous fight in the House of Lords for the preservation of what it deemed its juridical rights and position. It was represented by two of the most eminent counsel of the day, Sir Thomas Powis and

[1] *Some Consideration Offered Touching the East India Affairs*, pamphlet, Bodleian.

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Sir Bartholomew Shower, who expatiated on what the Company had accomplished in increasing the wealth of the nation by developing the trade with India under its original charter several times confirmed and renewed. To this the opposing counsel responded that its rights were held under a terminal condition of three years' notice, that it was *ultra vires* for the King to grant without the sanction of Parliament exclusive rights, and that such rights being based on past and present expenditure of money would, were they granted, have no moral sanction.

By this Act a Corporation was created to which the King might grant a charter with the sanction of the Legislature. The subscribers to the loan which provided the foundation of the new arrangement were to form a corporate body under the style of the General Society. The next step was the appointment by His Majesty of Commissioners to receive subscriptions, and books were opened to that effect at Mercers' Hall in Cheapside on Thursday, July 14, 1698, at 9 a.m. The list was closed on Saturday, July 16, when the whole amount had been subscribed. Twenty-four persons were appointed Trustees for the General Society and the same number chosen as Directors of the New Company.[1] The constitution was similar to that of the Old Company. There were many distinguished subscribers to the loan and among them the Commissioners of the Treasury who, in order to encourage the public, placed a sum of £10,000 in the name of the King. Sir William Wilson Hunter in his book gives the impression that the King himself contributed this, but the transaction was, in actual fact, between the Treasury and the Company.[2] The Old Company, with astute foresight, invested through John Dubois £315,000, thus becoming the largest shareholder and most influential partner in the General Society. This stroke secured half the trade of India for the Old Company.

On September 5, a royal charter was sealed in favour of 'The English Company trading to the East Indies.' It contained important clauses. The New or English Company was empowered to trade to the extent of their capital, to augment their capital stock and erect Courts of Judicature in India as the Old Company had done. One

[1] See *London Gazette*, July 11, 18, 25; August 8, 1698.

[2] See p. 136 of *John Company* by Sir William Foster and compare it with p. 318, vol. ii, of *A History of British India*, by Sir W. W. Hunter.

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highly important provision contained in the charter was that a duty of 5 *per cent* on all Indian imports should be ear-marked for the maintenance of ambassadors appointed by the King on the nomination of the Company. Parliament had now established its right to control the terms governing the Indian trade and from this time forward important changes in the Company's constitution required legislative sanction. The New Company was granted a Coat of Arms with the motto *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*—'a clever intimation that the Company's privileges rested alike on a royal charter and an Act of Parliament.'[1]

Within a few days after the charter was granted, the Company proposed to send an ambassador to the Court of the Great Mughal and subsequently nominated Sir William Norris, Bart., M.P. The Old Company, having watched these proceedings with grave anxiety, sent information of them to their President and Council at Fort St. George. They pointed out that Norris' mission would, in their opinion, injure English trade in India and expressed the hope that with the help of their own agents they might frustrate the designs of the New Company. At the same time they intimated a desire to send out Dr. Charles Davenant, M.P., 'a person of eminent parts and experience.'[2] Similar information was sent also to the other agents in India; but ultimately the proposal was dropped.

The New Company, before their Ambassador's departure, appointed Presidents for the three chief seats of trade in India. They were—for Bengal, Sir Edward Littleton; for Masulipatam, Mr. John Pitt; and for Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite. These were invested with Consular rank that they might have a better standing than the Presidents of the Old Company. Early in January, 1698, Sir Edward Littleton received his commission and instructions. He was to enquire as to the trade privileges enjoyed by the English throughout the Mughal's dominions, the *phirmaunds* on which these were based and to find out if they ought to be increased. The Court of Directors

[1] See p. 27 of *Relics of the East India Company*.

[2] Dr. Davenant was the son of Sir William Davenant the poet. He became a Commissioner of Excise during the reign of James II; and his book on the *Balance of Trade* contained many libels on the Ministry. He was a member of the House of Commons, but never made his mark as a speaker. See vol. ii, p. 398 of *Hyde Correspondence*, edited by Singer, B.M. See also pp. 139, 154-5 of *Letter Book* 10, India Office.

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desired information and advice on these points and to be furnished, if possible, with copies of the *phirmaunds*. He was further instructed also to send copies to Sir William Norris, with notes of any infringements to which they might have been subjected. The same instructions, with slight variations, were given to Consul Pitt. Those to Sir Nicholas Waite expressly enjoined him to give the Ambassador all possible assistance. The Directors hoped that a sum of £20,000 would cover the expenses of the embassy, but laid emphasis on their preference for its expeditious conclusion even at considerably greater cost.[1]

Littleton arrived with the *Antelope*[2] at Ballasore Roads on July 4, 1699. About three weeks later he announced himself as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation in Bengal to Mr. John Beard, President of the Old Company and his Council. At the same time he reported the appointment of an Ambassador. Then ensued a lengthy correspondence between the two rival Presidents as to the respective positions of the two Companies. Beard declined to acknowledge Littleton's authority.[3] Nevertheless the latter soon had his Council constituted and his factory organized.

Consul John Pitt on the *Degrave* anchored in Madras Roads on July 28, having been preceded on the 3rd by the *London* with his principal factors aboard. He at once announced his character and standing, in terms similar to those used by Littleton, to his namesake, President Thomas Pitt, at Fort St. George. The latter bluntly declined to acknowledge his authority, sent him a 'scurrilous letter' and would neither order a salute nor lower his flag at the Consul's orders. Consul Pitt then sailed for Masulipatam where he arrived in August and lost no time in constituting a Council and organizing a factory. Later on he sent to President Thomas Pitt a communication in which he demanded that his commission should be publicly read at Fort St. George. To this the Old Company's President responded on August 23, with a defiant Order in Council, that none were to obey orders from Consul Pitt or the English Company.

[1] See O. C. 55, part i ; also *Letter Book*, xi, p. 48.

[2] This ship and three others formed the first equipment, for the English Company carried altogether in stock and goods to the value of £225,700. See *Bruce's Annals*.

[3] See Rawl. A. 302, Bodleian.

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Sir Nicholas Waite did not arrive at Bombay till January 11, 1699–1700. Like his colleagues in Bengal and Masulipatam he announced himself as the King's Minister and Consul-General to Sir John Gayer, representative of the Old Company. He got the same reception as the other two and finding he could make no impression on Gayer and his Council sailed for Surat where he arrived on January 19. There he notified his Commission to the President and Council of the London Company, ordered them to strike St. George's flag and to hoist his own. They refused to comply and were supported by the Mughal Governor, Dianat Khan,[1] who informed Waite that no commission from the King of England had authority at Surat unless it was duly admitted by order of the Mughal. Regarding all this as an affront to his official dignity, Waite, after a long correspondence with the President of the Old Company, resolved to use force. Accordingly on January 27, he landed two ship-captains and forty men at Swally with orders to haul down the Old Company's flag. This action was taken as an insult to his master by the Mughal Governor, and resented as such by him.[2] At Surat Waite also, like the others, constituted a Council, choosing men who appeared best qualified in his judgment.

News of the New Company's formation had reached Surat some time ahead of its officials. The *Shrewsbury Galley*, an interloping ship, had arrived on April 7, 1699, and brought a letter to one Thomas Lucas containing full information of recent events in England.[3] The news that an Ambassador was coming out to India created a sensation at Surat and was warmly welcomed by the interlopers there. On the Mughal Governor hearing of all this he summoned President Colt of the Old Company together with certain of his colleagues and several well-known Indian merchants to meet him. Mr. Lucas produced the Act of Parliament and the President declared he would acknowledge it. He pointed out to the Governor, however, that even under the terms of the Act the Old Company might still trade freely for three years yet and would uphold their rights. He further assured the Governor that under any circumstances the Old Company would pay their debts. Thereupon the Governor, having obtained from the members present

[1] Succeeded Amanat Khan in January 1699–1700.
[2] See Bruce's *Annals*.
[3] See O.C. 55, part i, India Office.

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an undertaking not to leave the town without his knowledge, allowed them to withdraw from his presence.[1]

Returning now to events in England, we find a stern struggle in progress, between the rival Companies respecting their rights and privileges. The Old Company faced the situation boldly knowing that their charter would be valid still for three years; further, as corporate subscribers to the General Society, they had a right to continue trading even after the expiry of their charter. Possessing already forts and factories in India, they determined to prosecute their trade there with even greater zeal, and instructed their agents accordingly. Professor Scott says, 'The Old Company owing to its longer establishment in India had the advantage of a larger share in the trade than the Act allowed, but it was subject to obstacles thrown in its way by the House of Commons in the interest of the New Company.'[2] At the very outset Sir John Gayer was instructed to secure from the Mughal immediately a *phirmaund* in order to forestall the Ambassador in his efforts on behalf of the New Company. The agents at Fort St. George and in Bengal were also instructed to consolidate their position there.

Meanwhile the New Company had suggested a compromise. Being in financial straits and their stock having depreciated, they made overtures towards coalition with the Old Company.[3] The latter, at a General Court of Adventurers on January 13, 1698–9, expressed their willingness to agree and remitted consideration of the matter to the Grand Committee consisting of fifty-two members. At a further meeting on February 7, it was resolved that seven members of the Old Company should be empowered to treat with seven of the New Company. The fourteen met in the Skinner's Hall on March 22. Before this, however, an Act continuing the Old Company as a corporation was passed on February 24, 1699. Following on this the King, while assuring them of his favour and protection, recommended union between the Companies to their serious consideration. Protracted negotiations regarding the settlement of stock between the Companies went on almost to the end of the year. At last, on December 22, 1699, at a meeting in Skinner's Hall, something like a

[1] See O. C. 54.
[2] See *Joint-Stock Companies*, by W. R. Scott, C. U. Press.
[3] Peter Amber.

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deadlock occurred and the parties separated without reaching agreement.[1] Persistent efforts to damage the credit of the New Company culminated in 1701 when agents of the Old Company engineered a run on the Bank of England which had lent money to the former. By this means it was hoped to cripple or curtail the New Company's activities in India.[2]

There were some who imagined that the foundation of the New Company was a political move engineered by the Dutch with a view to destroy English trade and influence in India. This suggestion will not bear critical examination for although William III was a thorough-going Dutchman and took little thought of promoting English interests except in so far as they tended to further his own ambitious policy on the Continent, he was fully conscious of the fact that the one sure way of endangering his own position would be by taking any steps calculated to revive the scarcely healed naval and colonial strife between the two states which were so recently united in his own person. The naval co-operation of England was essential to the maintenance of his hold on the Channel, and his thoughts were concentrated on the recovery of his losses on land confirmed in great part by the treaty of peace recently signed at Ryswyck.

At the time when Sir William Norris arrived as Ambassador in India and during the immediately succeeding period the English factories were in a precarious condition owing to uncertainty in the situation of the two Companies both in India and at home. As already noted, Company's servants were held responsible for piracies and so suffered much at the hands of the Mughal Governors who continued demanding large sums to indemnify the Emperor's subjects for their losses. To these troubles there was added the great probability of civil war owing to Aurangzib's advanced age. There was also the latter's almost ceaseless warfare with the Marathas. Disorder and lawlessness seemed to prevail everywhere. The Mughal Empire was held together only by the continued existence of the aged Emperor. Professor Sarkar justly remarked: 'He, surrounded by sycophants and nobles of his own creation, who had neither the courage to correct his errors, nor the honesty to give disinterested advice, was drawing near the end of his days.'

[1] See Ms. Rawl. A. 302.

[2] See *Joint-Stock Companies*, by Scott.

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The state of affairs between the two Companies, their conflicting claims and clashing interests, has been explained in the preceding pages. Something also has been said about the position in India where the alien Mughal dynasty had reached its zenith and was approaching its decline which was destined to proceed rapidly. This exordium seemed necessary to explain the circumstances under which Sir William Norris was to make the attempt to discharge his dual mission as King William's Ambassador and as the representative of the New Company which, without the knowledge and beyond the ken of the ruling powers in India, claimed to have acquired the sole and exclusive right of trading within their dominion so far as the English nation was concerned.

HARIHAR DAS.

[*Note.*—The above article is a more detailed and complete study of this subject than the one which appeared in the May-June (1925) number of the *Calcutta Review*.—H. D.]

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The Kalabhras in South India

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SOUTH Indian inscriptions, not to speak of South Indian literature mention a people called Kaḷabhras. They seem to have been a powerful tribe who held sway over the whole of South India for several years together. Some of the kings who belonged to this dynasty appear to have been powerful soldiers who were able to defeat the ancient Tamil kings and bring them to utter subjection. The identity of these Kaḷabhras is yet an unsolved problem. The question has engaged the attention of scholars like the late Gopinatha Row, A. Rangaswami Sarasvati and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Mr. Gopinatha Row[1] in a footnote on p. 49 to his edition the *Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola* remarks: 'Śuvaraṇ Māṟan *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan II, is that Muttaraiyar who came to receive Nandivarman Pallavamalla according to a mutilated inscription found in the Vaikuṇṭanāthapperumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram.' Śuvaraṇ Māṟaṇ is styled *Kaḷvara-Kaḷvan*, the *Kaḷvan* of *Kaḷavans*. The word *Kaḷavara* might probably have been rendered into Sanskrit *Kaḷabhra*. Thus in the opinion of Mr. Gopinatha Row, the *Kaḷabhras* might be identified with the *Mutturaiyars*. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is also of the opinion that the Kaḷabhras were *Kaḷvar* of the region immediately north of Toṇḍiamandalam belonging to the same family as that of the Muttaraiyar.[2] But examining the epigraphical references in the light of literature, there is no satisfactory evidence to identify the Kaḷabhras with the Mutturaiyars. On the other hand there is strong testimony to indicate that these Kaḷabhras are different from them. From the inscriptions at Sendalai[3] and other places, Muttaraiyars appear to have been the viceroys of the

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xv, April 1919.
[2] *History of the Pallavas*, Intro., pp. xxii and xxiii.
[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xiii, pp. 136 ff.

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Pallavas and their powerful adherents in the south. According to the Vaikuṇṭanāthaperumāḷ temple inscription at Conjeevaram, a Muttaraiyan came to receive Nandivarman Pallavamalla at his installation. This means these Muttaraiyars were on friendly terms with the Pallavas. In another inscription of the same Pallava monarch—Koṟṟamangalam plates[1] occurs the following informing lines:—

Here the Kaḷabhras figure among those royal chieftains who were on inimical terms with the Pallavamalla. The absence of mention of the Muttaraiyars and the mention of the Kaḷabhras in this Koṟṟamangalam plates proves that the Kaḷabhras are a quite different people from the Muttaraiars, the ally-chieftains of the Pallava monarch.

Again these kings are called Kaḷabhras in the Velvikudi plates. They are so described even in the Tamil portions of that historic document and that in verse. If 'Kalabhra' is a Sanskrit mutilation of the word 'Kaḷvar' and these kings are really Muttaraiyars or Kaḷvars, they would have been called in their pure form as Kaḷvars in the Tamil inscriptions and not in the corrupted Sanskrit form. But, on the other hand, even in composing the verses the poet seems to have been careful to preserve the name 'Kalabhra.' Neither could it be suggested that they fought shy of the word 'Kaḷvar' as a term of reproach for in those ancient days that name seems to have been considered as an honour by that community. So one chieftain called 'Pulli' is styled 'Kaḷvar Kōmān' in the Sangham works and another Perumbiḍugu Mutturayan boasts himself as 'Kaḷvara-kaḷvan or 'the Kaḷvan of Kalvans' in the Śendalai Pillar inscriptions. So the Kaḷabhras could not be the Muttarayars or Kaḷvars as has been conjectured by some scholars.

The Kaḷappāḷar were a well-known dynasty of people who figured prominently and for a very long time in the history of South India and they seem to belong to the Veḷḷaḷa community. There are a

[1] Vide *Sen Tamil*, vol. xxii, pp. 196 ff.

यस्य वल्लभकलभ्रकेरलाः
पाण्ड्यचोलतुलुगोङ्गणादयः ।
द्वारदेशसमयाभिकाङ्क्षिणः
सेवितुन्निरवकाशमासते ॥

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number of references to them both in literary and epigraphical records. From the Tiruppugalūr inscription, we hear of a Kaḷappāḷarāja by name Neṟkuṇṟam Kiḻār. This chieftain is Neṟkuṇṟavāṇar referred to in the Tiruppugalūr-andādi,[1] and a contemporary of Oṭṭakkūttar.[2] Again the name of the father of Maikaṇḍadēvar, the chief of the Śaiva Santhāṅa-achārya is Achyuta Kaḷappāḷar. In my opinion he must have belonged to the Kaḷappāḷa family. Still again belong to this family Vaḍamalai, one of the Tamil ministers of Krishnadeva Raya, and his brother Haridāsa, the author of *Iruśamaya-viḷakkam*. These are some members of the Kaḷappāḷar family of a later date. Among the early chieftains of this family, Kūṟṟuva-Nāyanār, one of the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, celebrated by Saint Sundaramūrti in *Tiruttoṇḍattokai*[3] seems to have been a prominent figure. Nambiāṇḍār Nambi refers to this Nāyanar with the epithet 'களப்பாளனிய கூற்றுவனே'. That Kūṟṟuvanāyanār was a great warrior who brought the powerful Tamil kings to subjection and held aloft his victorious banner is seen from references made by Śēkkiḻār.[4] Another point of greater interest is that in spite of the fact of his having conquered all the land he held out a request to Tiḷḷaivāḻ-aṇdaṇar (Brahmans of Chidambaram) to have him duly crowned. They refused to crown him, as he was a member of the Veḷḷāḷa caste who were debarred from being crowned according to the then existing customs of the land. Thereafter Kūṟṟuva Nāyanar appealed to the God Śiva enshrined in Tillai (Chidambaram), and the Lord was pleased to grant

1 "ஆர்கொண்ட வேற்கூற்றன் களந்தைக் கோன்'. (தேவாரம்.)

2 'களப்பாள னெற்குன்ற வாணனந்தாதிக் கலித்துறையே.'

3 'ஒதந் தழுவிய ஞாலமெல்லா மொருகோலின் வைத்தான்
கோதை கெடுவேற் களப்பாளனிய கூற்றுவனே".
(*Tirutthoṇḍar Tiruvandādi*)

4 'அருளின் வலியா லரசொதுங்க வவனியெல்லா மடிப்படுப்பார்
பொருளின் முடிவு காண்பரிய வகையாற் பொலிவித் திகல்சிறக்க
மருளுங் களிறு பாய்புரவி மணித்தேர் படைஞர் முதன்மாற்றூர்
வெருளுங் கருவி நான்குநிறை வீரச் செருக்கின் மேலானூர்'.
'வென்றி வினையின் மீக்கூர வேந்தர் மூனைகள் பலமுருக்கிச்
சென்று தம்பைத் துறைமுடித்துச் செருவில் வாகைத் திறங்கெழுமி
மன்றன் மாஃ மிலேந்தவர்தம் வளநாடெல்லாங் கவர்ந்துமுடி
ஒன்று மொழிய வரசர்திரு வெல்லாமுடைய ராயினூர்'.
(பெரியபுராணம். கூற்றுவ.)

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him his sandals (திருவடிகேலே). With this, it is said, that he continued to rule the land.

Again a still more remarkable chief of this line was Achyuta. He also conquered the Chōla, Chēra and Pāṇḍya kings of the south and reigned over the whole of the Tamil land. There is an interesting reference to his prowess and valour found in the *Tamil Nāvalar Charitai*.[1] Here the three Tamil kings who had been subjugated by Achyuta Kaḷappāḷan give vent to the greatness of the conquering king. While the Chēra and the Chōla monarchs hailed his own splendid prowess in battle, the proud Pāndya king spoke incidentally of his greatness humbled by the might of the Kaḷappāḷa. Hence he was punished by another iron chain, which was only released on the Pāṇḍya singing the glories of Achyuta. There is again another reference to his meritorious deeds found mentioned in a long *Kali* verse.[2] What is more valuable is that stanza is attributed to an ancient poet Viḷakkattanār ;

1 ‘ அச்சுதகளப்பாளன் தவாயிட்டபோது மூவேந்தர்கள் பாடியவை.’
தினைவினைத்தார் முற்றந் தினையுணங்குஞ் செந்நெல்
தனைவினைத்தார் முற்றமது தானும்—கனைசிர்
முரசுணங்கச் சங்குணங்கு மூரித்தேர்த் தானை
அரசுணங்கு மச்சுதன்முற் றத்து.’—இது சேரன் பாடியது.
‘ அரசர் குலதிலக னச்சுதன்முற் றத்தில்
அரச ரவதரித்த வந்நாள்—முரசதிரக்
கொட்டிவிடு மோசையினுங் கோவேந்தர் காற்றினையை
வெட்டிவிடு மோசை மிகும்’.—இது சோழன் பாடியது.
‘ குறையுளா ரெங்கிரார் கூர்வே லிராம
னிறையறு திங்க ளிருந்தான்—முறைமையால்
ஆலிக்குந் தானை யலங்குதா ரச்சுதமுன்
வாலிக் கினையான் வரை’.—இது பாண்டியன் பாடியது.
‘ இது பாடியபின் ஒரு விலங்கு கூடப் போட்டபின் பாண்டியன் பாடியது.
“குடகர் குணகடலென் றூர்த்தார் குடகர்க்
கிடகர் வடகடலென் றூர்த்தார்—வடகடலர்
தென்கட லென்றூர்த்தார் தில்லையச்சு தானந்தன்
முன்கடனின் றூர்க்கு மூரசு”. (தமிழ்நாவலர் சரிதை.)

2 ‘ அடுதிற லொருவனிற் பரவுத லெங்கோன்
தொடுகழற் கொடும்பூட் பகட்டெழின் மார்பிற்
கயலொடு கலந்த சிலையுடைக் கொடுவரிப்
புயலுறழ் தடக்கைப் போர்வே லச்சுதன்
தொன்றுமுதிர் கடலுலக முழுதுடன்
ஒன்றுபு நிகரி யுருட்டுவோ னெனவே.’

(*Yāpparunkalakkārikai*, p. 103.)

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and more interesting is the fact that Amitasāgarar, the author of the *Kārikai* has included these lines in his work. He belongs roughly to the eleventh century A.D.[1] From the lines of Viḷakkattanār it is evident that Achyuta had subjugated the three South Indian kings. Achyuta was also known as Nandi from the literary evidence available.[2]

These references unmistakably show that both Achyuta and Kūṛṛuva-Nāyanār were two celebrated kings of the Kaḷappāḷa line. It is indeed difficult to fix their dates. From the commencement of the seventh century A.D. the kings who ruled South India were the Pandyas and the Pallavas. They were very powerful and no one dared to disturb them. Hence it is reasonable to assume that these Kaḷappāḷars must have held sway some time before the seventh century A.D. To this extent again the Vēḷvikuḍi grants bear witness. In this all important grant there occurs

"அளவரிய ஆதிராசரை யகலநீக்கி யகலிடத்தைக்
களப்ரனெனுங் கலியரைசன் கைக்கொண்டு".

It means that the Kaḷabhra defeated the three ancient kings of the land (ஆதிராசரை) and took possession of the whole (country). Here it must be noted that the Kaḷabhra is called *Kaliyaraśan*. It has been ingeniously suggested that this may refer to the *Kalikula* mentioned in the Kopparam inscription of Puḷukesin II.[3] The term *Kaliyaraśan* simply means 'a cruel king'. This interpretation is found in the ancient works *Jīvaka-chintāmaṇi*[4] and *Chūḷāmaṇi*. Most important of all is the use of the term in that very sense in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant itself in speaking about Neḍuñjaḍaiyan: 'கலியரைசன் வலிதளரப் பொலிவிஞ்டு வீற்றிருந்து'. The Kaḷabhra king of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant must refer either to Achyuta or Kūṛṛuva Nāyanār. For the term *Kūṛṛuvan* simply connotes the same idea as the expression

[1] *Vide* my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. ii.

[2] "பொருகுடை வளாக மொருகுடை நிழற்றி
இருபிறப் பாளர்க் கீந்து மனமகிழ்ந்து
அருள்புரி பெரும்புக ழச்சுத கோவே
நந்தி மாமலைச் சிலம்ப
நந்திநிற் பரவுதல் காவலர்க் கரிதே.
Yapparunikala Virutti.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xviii, p. 306.

[4] "கட்டியங் காரனென் னுங் கலியரை சழிந்தது". (சீவக. 2323.)
"இருங்கலி யுலகமெல்லா மிருள்கொள வெருவிநோக்கிப்
பொருங் கலியரைசர் தானைபோக்கிட மற்றதன்றே". (சூளா. அரசியல். 302.)

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Kaliyaraśan. It is indeed unfortunate we have not been able again to determine definitely whether Achyuta or Kūṛṛuva Nāyanār are identical, or, if different, who is the earlier.

In the connection Mr. Rangaswami Saraswati mentions a reference by Buddhadatta to a Kaḷamba king Achyuta Vikraṃa ruling over the Chola country from Kavērippaṭṭinam.[1] This Buddhadatta was the contemporary of the great Buddhagosha who lived in the fifth century A.D., Mr. Saraswati properly observes that the dynasty called the 'Kadambas' could not be the Kadambas because the latter ruled at that time only the north-west of the Deccan with their capital at Vaijayanti or Baṇavāsi and not the Chola country, and that the term must be derived from the word 'Kaḷabhra' since they were the ruling powers in the Tamil country. But Mr. Saraswati calls the dynasty as 'Kaḷamba' and the king as Achyuta Vikrama only. In the original Pāḷi texts for the word 'Kaḷamba' a different reading is also given as 'Kaḷabbha' which more approximates to the word 'Kaḷabhra' and for the word 'Vikrama' there is also another reading as Vikrānta (the powerful).[2] The Sanskrit word 'Kaḷabhra' changes to 'Kaḷabbha' in Pāḷi. And the Pāḷi term 'Kaḷabbha' becomes 'Kaḷappar' and 'Kaḷappāḷar' in Tamil as அந்தணர் = அந்தணாளர், அருவர் = அருவாளர், வேள் = வேளாளர், கம்மர் = கம்மாளர். So Achyuta-Kaḷappāḷan mentioned in the *Tamil Nāvalar Charitai* and *Yāpparuṃgalam* is none other than the 'Kaḷabbha Achyuta, the Powerful' referred to by Buddhadatta. Probably he was the first king who subjugated the three Tamil kings after the Sangham Age and so marked the beginning of a new epoch in the later part of the fifth century A.D.

Examining this with the dates as given in the Vēḷvikuḍi and other grants we are able to come to some satisfactory conclusion. From the Vēḷvikuḍi plates and Ānamalai inscriptions it is evident that King Pāṇḍiyan Neḍuñcaḍaiyan must have come to the throne some time before A.D. 770. The Vēḷvikuḍi grant is simply the regranting of the village of Vēḷvikuḍi to Naṛchingan, a member of the Brahman family of Naṛkoṛṛan, to whom the self-same *grāma* was given as a gift by the Pāṇḍya King Palśālai Mudukuḍumipperuvaḷudi. It is said that after the original gift, the Kaḷabhras took possession of the land, and

[1] *Journal of the Mythic Society*, vol. xv, April, 1919.
[2] I am indebted for this reference to Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Reader in History of the Madras University.

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dispossessed, among others, this donee of his gift of the village. But when these Kaḷabhras had been driven away and the Pāṇḍya kings once again resumed their rule, the village was regranted. A list of the Pāṇḍya kings in succession is given and this throws much welcome light on the otherwise dark period of our history. The Pāṇḍya king who expelled the Kaḷabhras and retook the kingdom was Kaḍuṁkōn, and from Kaḍuṁkōn to Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, there are six generations. Therefore the Kaḷabhra power must have terminated roughly about A.D. 600. It is just possible that the Kaḷabhra's sovereignty could have extended for more than two centuries, i.e. the later part of the fifth, sixth and the commencement of the seventh centuries.

NOTE

In this learned article Pandit Raghavaiyangar seeks, with his usual learning, to establish two theses: (1) that the Kaḷabhras were Veḷḷāḷa Kaḷappāḷar and not the Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar-Muttarayar, and (2) that Achyuta Kaḷappāḷar of literature is the Achyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta of Buddhadatta, and the Kaḷabhra king who subverted the Śangam political order of Tamil India.

In regard to (1) the learned Pundit's contention that the Muttaraiyar were Pallava viceroys friendly to Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the Kaḷabhras are counted enemies on the authority of the Koṟṟanguḍi plates. The passage quoted in note 2, on p. 2 states the facts that the Kaḷabhras along with other monarchs were awaiting the royal convenience for audience. This, friends might do as well as foes, as long as they recognized the superior position of Nandivarman. This can hardly be regarded decisive enough to prove the thesis. Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar at first may develop, in process of time, into Veḷs and Veḷḷāḷas ultimately.

In regard to (2) Achyuta Kaḷappāḷar may prove to be Achyuta Vikrama or Vikrānta. He was ruler of Puhār and the Chola country, according to Buddhadatta, and ruler over the Kaḷabhras. He could hardly be regarded as the subvator of the Śangam political order and resumer of the Brahmadēya of Vēḷvikuḍi. The passage quoted from the Yāpparungala Virutti in note 2 on p. 5 shews him as one liberal in making gifts to Brahmans and could hardly be equated with one described as *Kaliyaraśan* in Tamil. The learned Pundit takes him to have had the name Nandi as an alternative on the authority of the line of this quotation. The *line previous* describes him as King Achyuta, the lord of the hill, Nandi. This geographical position of Achyuta may turn out fatal to the learned Pundit's identification—*Editor.*

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INTRODUCTION

THIS *Ājnāpatra* was first published in the Marathi Monthly *Vividha-dyānavistāra* in 1875 and 1876. The original manuscript from which it was printed seems to have been lost. It was reprinted in the same Magazine in 1890 and 1891. It has been printed in a book form in 1923 and again in 1926. There are a few places in it which are quite unintelligible. They cannot be made intelligible without getting the original manuscript. It was issued on November 21, 1716, by Sambhaji of Kolhapur (1712–1760). Rāmachandrapant Amātya is responsible for the contents. The importance of the work is due to Rāmachandrapant's knowledge of Maratha state policy and the political events during the most important period of Maratha history from 1672 to 1717. He took part in the establishment of *Svarājya* under Sivāji, in its protection under Rājāram and Tārābai, and in the civil war between Tārābai and Shahu. His observations and personal experience of Maratha state policy are recorded in this *Ājnāpatra* or *Rājanīti*. It mainly relates to the methods and principles of Sivāji the Great. They were approved of as the best, and laid down as the standard to be followed. This *Ājnāpatra* consists of nine chapters relating to various aspects of state policy. It seems to have been written when Rājāram was alive (1700), but issued later in 1716 under Sambhaji's order.

ITS CONTENTS

1. Troubles of the Kingdom during the War of Independence.
2. Troubles of the Kingdom during the War of Independence—(*continued*).
3. The General Principles of State Policy and Organization.
4. Administrative and Ministerial Policy and Organization.
5. Commercial Policy.
6. Policy towards *Waṭandars*.
7. Policy regarding Hereditary *Vrittis and Inams*.
8. Policy about Forts and their Construction and Organization.
9. Naval Policy.

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These headings to the various chapters are not in the original, but I have added them for an easy understanding of the contents of the various chapters.

Rāmachandra Nilkaṇṭha Amātya was born about 1650. His early life was spent with his father who was the Amātya of Sivāji till 1672. After his father's death the work was done by Rāmachandrapant. Thus he knew Sivāji's policy and methods quite intimately. During Rājāram's reign (1689-1700) he was one of the leading ministers of the state. He protected Mahārāṣṭra, fought against the Moguls while Rājāra was at Jinji in the south. He was given the title of *Hukumat Panha* or one who carried out the king's orders by Rājāram. After Rājāram's death he took a leading part in maintaining the vigour and courage of the people by exhorting them in such words 'now it is your duty to protect the kingdom. The whole reputation rests with you.' It was he who contributed to the success of the Marathas during Tārābai's regency. He was very honest, active, brave, industrious and well versed in political affairs.

According to G. S. Sardesai he was in favour of Shahu's return and rule over Mahārāṣṭra. But Tārābai threatened him and later persuaded him to join her side. Then he worked for her against Shahu. But Tārābai did not trust him completely. She once imprisoned him owing to suspicion, but again released him and conducted the administration through him. Later Tārābai and her son Sivāji were imprisoned, and Rājasbai and her son Sambhaji came to power in A.D. 1712 at Kolhapur and Rāmachandrapant helped them. He died in or about A.D. 1717. His *Rājaniti* is one of the greatest literary legacies relating to the War of Maratha Independence and the principles of state policy which the great Sivāji laid down. It is for the first time translated here into English.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR,
Hindu University, Benaress.

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The Ajnapatra or Royal Edict

Relating to the Principles of Maratha State Policy

CHAPTER I

THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Royal Order

Hail Śrī, in the year forty-two of the Coronation Era, the *Samvatsar*[1] being Manmath by name, dated the fourth of the white half of Mārgaṣīrsa, Thursday, His Majesty Śrīraja Śambhu[2] Chhatrapatī, an ornament to the race of Kṣattriyas, ordered his minister Ramachandra Pandit Amātya, well-versed in all the affairs of the state, treasure of confidence, honoured by the king and adorned with the glory of the state, as follows :—

The Condition of the Kingdom at the Time of Sambhaji's Accession

When His Majesty[3] ascended the throne the desires of all were satisfied. The whole condition of the kingdom was thoroughly considered. Therein he found that, owing to the great calamity into which it had fallen, all the servants of the state, high and low, were distressed. Some did not know what to do about their maintenance and had become discouraged; some who had by their hereditary and loyal service acquired name and fame in the kingdom, had lost their courage, had abandoned completely their hereditary privileges and power, and had become dependent on others; some had taken to unjust ways of life, thinking that iniquitous (disloyal) methods were the only means of securing their subsistence; and the faith that this[4] was their only kingdom, and that kingdom had only one aim had completely disappeared.

[1] November 21, 1716.
[2] Sambhaji, the second son of Rajaram ruled at Kolhapur from A.D. 1712–1760. He was born in A.D. 1697.
[3] Sambhaji.
[4] Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāṣṭra.

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Sambhaji's Policy

When such was the state of affairs, His Majesty pondered well over all this in his mind, and realizing that this kingdom[1] was exclusively a divine gift, and that it should increase and prosper was the great desire of God, and that, accordingly, He had willed that His Majesty should acquire the fame of augmenting the welfare of the kingdom, and remembering God with a firm and full faith, used, by the power of His Grace, his keen judgment in dealing with this disorganized state of affairs, conciliated those pious and hereditary state servants who were intelligent and well experienced, by adopting measures which would attract and hold them, and by gradually training their understanding made all of them devoted to and industrious in their work according to their abilities. Thus all the people got protection from the laws and regulations laid down by His Majesty, felt secure against small troubles as well as against great dangers such as those of foreign invasions, felt freed from anxiety about their wealth and fame acquired hereditarily, and, without bearing any other desire or design in mind, devoted themselves wholeheartedly to the cause of their sovereign.

The Failure of Aurangzeb's Invasion

This kingdom was invaded by a powerful foe in the person of Aurangzeb.[2] He used all his valour and all his resources in wealth and other things for the destruction and conquest of this kingdom. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless by the favour of God. The result was that he got tired in his efforts, turned back and died. But having had to fight with Aurangzeb who held sovereignty over fifty-four states, who had incomparable resources in army, territory and treasury, nay, who was well known on this earth as the Emperor of Delhi resembling another Lord of the world, and to defeat whom called for the utmost efforts, and not canvassed with little trouble, the people in the whole kingdom in consequence suffered heavily on account of the severe fighting between the contending parties.

The Effects of Aurangzeb's Invasion

Many kinds of articles of merchandize could not be imported from various distant countries and islands. And many soldiers also,

[1] Svarājya, i.e. Mahārāstra. [2] from A.D. 1682 to 1707.

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who believed firmly that 'the servants whose lives are lost in the cause of their master attain that state which even the sages and yogis do not reach,' went to heaven whilst fighting in the cause of their master in accordance with the duties of Kṣatra.[1] Some having lost their armies got confounded in their valour and went over to the enemy. Some, seeing their master given up to vices like the enemy, usurped, with an idea of holding them independently, parts of territories and forts which had been made over to their possession by the king in his blindness caused by the darkness of his wicked understanding. In various places persons, rising like the crescent moon owing to the weakness of government, began to quarrel against one another. During these adverse times minor chiefs such as Shyāmalas[2] got their opportunity and became firmly rooted. The remaining parts of the country became desolate, and forts got exhausted of military provisions. Only the idea of the state remained.

Sivāji the Great Created the Kingdom. His Work

If one were to ponder over this situation, each one of the events was the cause of a sure calamity. God however favoured this kingdom and its ruler. Moreover His great desire was that this kingdom should increase and prosper like the new crescent moon day by day. Accordingly in this respectable and noble family His Majesty[3] has been born. With what great daring and with what great valour the late, revered and honoured, great king,[4] the founder of a new era,[5] created this kingdom! And we having been born in his family, such should be the disorganized condition of the kingdom! This state of things was greatly undesirable. Hence with this purpose in view we thought over all the efforts made by the late, revered and honoured, great king,[6] in the following way: when the late, revered and esteemed great king[7] the founder of a new era,[8] the protector of the royal umbrella was living under the rule of the Yavanas,[9] he

[1] The warrior class.
[2] Siddis of Janjira on the west coast of India in the Konkan. They were Abyssinians expert in naval warfare.
[3] Sambhaji of Kolhapur mentioned above.
[4] Sivāji (1630–1680).
[5] Rājaśaka or the Coronation era starting from A.D. 1674, i.e. Sivāji's Coronation.
[6] Sivāji (1630–1680).
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] Muslim rulers of the Decçan, the Adilshahs of Bijapur.

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received from them the small tracts (खास्ता) of Poona and other parts[1] as an independent jagir, and from the age of fifteen[2] endeavoured (for his object) with (the resources of) the same small territory. Believing firmly the saying, 'The allotted span of life protects the vital parts; the allotted span of life gives food. This is the opinion of Gāṇḍīvin (Arjuna) whence is feebleness? Whence is fear?', and similarly the saying, 'the goddess of wealth goes to an industrious and lionlike brave man,' and not caring for his bodily health he performed personally superhuman deeds which were not done until then and which in future would not be even conceived in mind by any one.

Sivāji's Policy and Achievement

Possessing the power of judging the character and ability of men he appointed quite new servants, and increasing their burden of work according to their abilities showed how to make them fit for works of great importance. Even though each one was irreconcilable with the other, he, by the influence of his own power, by showing kindness to all, by not allowing one to insult the other and inducing them all to work together, made them do their master's work. In the South, Adilshahi,[3] Kutubshahi,[4] and Nizamshahi[5] were the brave, great and, in every way prosperous, states; similarly there were the Moguls[6] who possessed provinces, every one of which could support one lakh of soldiers. Besides these, there were Shyamalas,[7] Firangis,[8] Ingraj,[9] Valandej,[10] chiefs of Rāmnagar,[11] Palegars,[12] the chiefs of Sonde, Bednore, Mysore and Trichinopoly and other places:

[1] Supa, Shirwal, etc. This jagir was formerly held under Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar.
[2] A.D. 1645.
[3] Adilshahi of Bijapur (1489-1686).
[4] Kutubshahi of Golkonda (1512-1687).
[5] Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar (1489-1637).
[6] Emperors of Delhi.
[7] Siddis of Janjira.
[8] Portuguese of Goa.
[9] English of Surat and later Bombay.
[10] Dutch.
[11] Koli Rajas of the smaller state of Ramnagar in North Konkan.
[12] New rebel chiefs who levied contributions and made loot, keeping themselves secure in their woods and fastnesses.

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similarly there were rebels in various parts, namely, Chandraraos,[1] Shirkes,[2] Savants,[3] Dalvis,[4] Nimbalkars[5] above the Ghats, Ghatges,[6] and other deshmukhs[7] and Kāṭaks[8] (काटक?). Though they were all brave, ready to fight, and fully equipped, he, by the force of his own intellect and ability and without being afraid of any one subdued some by marching against them and fighting fierce battles with them. Upon some he made sudden attacks. Amongst some he fomented mutual quarrels. Between some he caused breaches of friendship. By entering the tents of some he fought with them. By personal venture he defeated some in single combats. With some he made alliances. Of his own accord he went to visit some. Some he forced to come and visit him. He imperilled (the lives of) some by creating mutual disunion. Others he conquered one after another by making other kinds of efforts without their knowledge and by erecting forcibly fortified places in their country. He defeated those who were possessed of sea-forts by erecting even new sea-forts. He entered inaccessible places from the sea. In this manner he subdued every enemy in the way in which he should be conquered, and created and acquired a Kingdom free from thorns (enemies) and extending from Salheri-Ahiwant[9] to Chanji[10] and the banks of the Kaveri; and he also acquired hundreds of hill-forts as well as sea-forts, several great places, forty thousand state cavalry and sixty to seventy thousand silledars,[11] two lakhs of foot soldiers, innumerable treasures, similarly the best jewellery and all kinds of articles. He regenerated the Marathas of the ninety-six noble families.[12] Having ascended the throne he

[1] Mores of Javali whom Sivāji destroyed in A.D. 1655.
[2] Shirkes, formerly of Javali, later of Sringarpur in Konkan in the south.
[3] Savants of Savantawadi were in charge of Southern Konkan.
[4] Dalvis of Konkan.
[5] Nimbalkars of Phaltan near Baramati.
[6] Ghatges were old nobles on the west country.
[7] Officers of the chief sub-divisions of a territory.
[8] Having regard to what follows this must be regarded as the Kāḍava, the Dravida country dependent on Kānchi. *Ed.*
[9] Forts in the North Konkan.
[10] The fortress of Jinji near Madras.
[11] Horse-soldiers who provide their own horses and equipment, as against Bargirs who are supplied these by the state.
[12] The traditionally recognized number of the old noble families of the Marathas —the warrior caste.

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held the royal umbrella and called himself *Chhatrapati*.[1] He rescued the *Dharma*, established Gods and Brāhmanas in their due places and maintained the six-fold duties of sacrifice, officiating at sacrifice and others (study and teaching, giving and receiving gifts) according to the division of the (four) *varṇas* (castes). He destroyed the existence of thieves and other criminals in the Kingdom. He created a new type of administration for his territories, forts and armies, and conducted the government without hindrance and brought it under one system of co-ordination and control. He created wholly a new order of things. He forced Aurangzeb to immerse in a sea of agony and sorrow and acquired for himself a world-wide well-acknowledged fame. That is this kingdom.

CHAPTER II

THE TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—(*continued*)

The Condition of the Kingdom During Rājāram's Time

After the death of the revered and noble great king[2] the founder of a new era, his son[3] the late revered and noble great king made uncommon efforts and performed feats of daring. When Aurangzeb invaded the country, he killed in battle several of his chief soldiers, made some of them bereft of pride and turned them back in retreat; made some submit and released the princes (शहाजादे ?) and others. After that, on account of the force of his merits, the chief enemy[4] acted very obstinately, did not care to consider what was a proper or improper cause, and making strenuous efforts personally, got humiliated at various places and thus ended his career.[5] But owing to the warfare the kingdom had fallen into a bad state. All the country and forts had been captured. The name alone of the kingdom had remained and that also was not confined to any limits. The people of the kingdom, the mainstay of the life of the state, having fallen into such adverse times, had suffered heavily under the pressure of several small troubles. It was the very kingdom, the administration of which was such that it had become an example and support in the policy of the

[1] The protector with the royal umbrella—an emblem of sovereignty.
[2] Sivāji.
[3] Rājāram.
[4] Aurangzeb.
[5] A.D. 1707.

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Government of their own countries to other rulers and all feudatory Governors, and also such that all should learn the policy, the purpose and the laws of state from it. In these spheres of authority which should not be controlled even in the slightest degree by others than the sovereign power, there had developed more and more control other than that of the (central) political authority. Nay, on account of this, even the control of the political authority over them had disappeared. Some parts had become unprotected.

Rājāram's Work and Policy

Therefore thinking that if the state were first well-organized, other objects would become easily successful, he conciliated the chief ministers, sardars (nobles) and other servants, high and low, of the kingdom by bestowing upon them great honour in a proper way. Having found several new servants able and experienced in work he raised them to high positions. Attracting the hearts of all, and not allowing them to hate one another, he encouraged them to work for the state properly and in due rank. He kept within the limits of law those who were unrestrained and hostile by punishing them justly, thereby making them friendly and well-disposed. He reduced those to dust who were excessively self-willed and mischievous and who if neglected would become of an iniquitous (disloyal) disposition of mind. By assuring protection to all the people he freed them from troubles. The country was made peaceful and tranquil.

Hujurāt

The chief body of royal troops (हुजुरात) which was the main support in the protection of the armed forces of the country and of the forts, had become totally disorganized, and its name alone remained. It was reorganized and well-equipped by the appointment of very brave, trustworthy and obedient persons as horse-soldiers (लष्कर), foot soldiers (हशम), matchlock firers (बंदुकी), archers (तिरंदास) and others, and also by providing military necessaries and equipments.

Forts

Having started the building anew of all unfinished forts and ramparts, and provisioning them with corn, ammunition, arrows,

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grenades, guns and other necessaries he fully equipped all the territories and forts.

Cavalry and Infantry

He settled properly the discipline of the cavalry (पागा) and infantry (हशम) of the kingdom which had fallen into disorder and strengthened the cavalry by enlisting strong Arabi, Ilākhi (Irāki), Tāji (Arabi[1]) and Kachchhi horses, good accoutrements and men famed for efficiency in shooting. He gathered together the infantry by collecting Māvales,[2] Adāvas,[3] Itekarts,[4] Pattaits,[5] Bankaits,[6] and also, Bandukis,[7] Tursandajs,[8] Kānaḍes,[9] Torsāli,[10] and Jāngaḍe,[11] Bandukis, and Tirandajs.[12]

Artillery

He made fit and ready the moving artillery (तोफखाना) by collecting Rāmchāngyas,[13] Durāvyas,[14] Philnāls,[15] Sutarnāls[16] and also guns (भांडे) placed on big carts and artillery men (करोळ). The kingdom was made prosperous and kept well protected.

Siddis

Further with a view to bring under his control this Kingdom by his valour he thought of subduing first the adjoining enemy who was like a disease in the stomach. The Shyāmalas (Siddis) were truly the cause of harm to the state. They were the means of fulfilling the

[1] This must be Tājka (Central Asian.) *Ed.*
[2] Footsoldiers from Maval territory.
[3] Those armed with inferior and irregular weapons ; light armed men.
[4] Those footsoldiers who used a Barchi or spear ; spearmen.
[5] Those footsoldiers who use Patta, and which is a long and straight rapier ; swordsmen.
[6] Guards of the king's tents ; camp-guards.
[7] Matchlock-firers.
[8] तुरसंदाज or musketeers.
[9] Footsoldiers from Karnāṭaka.
[10] तोरमाळो.
[11] ? जांगडे.
[12] Archers.
[13] Small cannons.
[14] Long-range guns.
[15] Guns carried on elephants.
[16] Guns carried on camels.

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evil designs of the lord of the Yavanas.[1] On account of the Shyāmalas the successes of the chief enemy were at first great, nay during the adverse times the Shyāmalas conquered several territories and forts. Even the chief place Raigad[1] which was the seat of the throne was captured by them. Having caused troubles to Brāhmanas and all other people they forcibly converted them. To neglect an enemy of such a type, to put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day, would be very improper; and then the enemy would become unconquerable to His Majesty and would be provoked to attack being backed by the Tāmras.[2] At first the late revered great king,[3] the ornament of the state, checked the Shyāmalas. On that occasion the Shyāmalas were supported by the Tāmras[4] and therefore the Shyāmalas remained as a power. Otherwise what was there to make the Shyāmalas exist in spite of his efforts. A place or country when invaded by others continues to exist with outside help. Therefore at first that help should be cut off. Then efforts should be made against (to attack) it directly. This is the (proper) policy. For this purpose the jagir territory of the Shyāmalas, namely, Nandurbar[5] and other places, was completely destroyed. And having created enmity between them and the Tāmras (Moguls) he[6] cut off their only possible help and then attacked them. With a naval force by sea and an army by land, the Shyāmalas were invaded on all sides, and without allowing any respite their places were captured, and by conquering with a determination Rajapuri and other old habitations, Shyāmalas were completely effaced.[7]

Other Foes and Rebels

Immediately after this the Sāvants[8] and others who had become a standing danger to the kingdom were destroyed. The remaining waṭandars and others who had become powerful by building independent fortified places became frightened, abandoned their places and came and submitted themselves; and he kept them under control as before by his strong rule. Having punished Mysorean and other

[1] Raigad was captured in A.D. 1690 by the Moguls with the help of Siddis.
[2] Moguls.
[3] Sivāji.
[4] Moguls.
[5] Rājāram's forces attacked it in A.D. 1698.
[6] Sivāji or Rājāram.
[7] In 1661, 1670, 1674; if during Rājāram's time it would be in A.D. 1698-99?
[8] In 1662; if in Rājāram's time it would be in 1698-99.

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palegars he held them down under a system of annual tribute. Thus the kingdom became free from thorns.

Rajaram's Aim and Struggle

After achieving so much success by favour of God he divulged his inmost object of conquering the country occupied by the Yāvanas of destroying the Yāvana confederacy and of beating down the Yāvana predominance which had taken root in the East, West and South by sending large armies. The lost kingdom from (the forts of) Salheri (and) Ahivant up to Chanji (and) Kaveri banks was fully reoccupied. His Majesty personally invaded the great old places of Bijapur, Bhāgānagar (Bhāgnagar or Haidarabad) and others, defeated the generals and the armies of the Yāvanas and brought under his control those places along with the territories and forts. Immediately after this he marched against Aurangabad and Burhanpur which were the headquarters of the army of the Lord of the Yāvanas. A vast army entered the field against him.[1] Fierce battles took place, Yāvanas abandoning the hope of lifte showed in desperation enormous courage. However God's great desire was that their destruction should take place and His Majesty's glory of success should increase in strength. Accordingly the whole of the Yāvana's army being destroyed like locusts by the fire of His Majesty's valour was (completely) defeated. Many soldiers died, many retreated, and others were captured. All the goods and wealth attached to horses, elephants and others fell into his hands. All the places in that part such as Aurangabad, Burhanpur and others were captured and were then decorated by planting His Majesty's flags of victory. (Thus) His Majesty's kingdom stretching from Narmada to Rameshwar became free from thorns.[2]

His Further Resolve

This object just as it was conceived in the mind of His Majesty was carried out on account of God's extreme kindness and your[3] efforts. His Majesty who was well versed in the affairs of the

[1] The chronology of these events and their occurrence are not established and are doubtful. The period referred to must be the years A.D. 1698–1700.

[2] The account seems to refer to Rājāram's campaigns and successes in Khandesh, Berar, Baglana and Gangathadi against the Moguls in A.D. 1698–1700.

[3] Rāmachandrapant Amatya.

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Hindu kingdom and who was the creator of the growth and prosperity of the state became successful with the personal efforts of you people. You servants of the state accomplished your tasks. But if one were to remain contented only with the work done, or with the praise-worthiness of the actions performed, further work would suffer. The chief enemy being afraid of our power has got perturbed. (If we remain silent) he, after recovering his strength, would collect his army and strengthen his territories and forts, and by subduing all the feudatories of these provinces by force (or) by policy would gather together the armies of all countries, give full protection to his own country and march on to the banks of the Narmada. Therefore it would become necessary for us to fight. The whole of Hindustan would remain undisturbed, and the new country conquered by His Majesty would become a theatre of war. This is not a policy of foresight.

His Aim in invading Northern India

The enemy has got frightened through of us dread which has fallen on him. All the feudatories have adopted a wavering attitude. Under these circumstances His Majesty[1] firmly determined that, not allowing respite to the enemy, he should go and defeat him with his army, and therefore made to gather together the Rajputs of all provinces. On an auspicious occasion he crossed the Narmada.[2] While, by favour of God, within a short time he will defeat the chief enemy, subdue all the territories and forts about Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dacca, Bengal, Tattha and maritime and other places, and go to Benares and establish the idol of Kaśi Viśveśvara. Till then the revered Queen Mother,[3] the one celebrated and holy amongst all the holies will have to stay in the southern provinces for the protection of the south. With her has been kept the young prince[4] of long life, dearer than life itself, and an ornament to the kingdom. You have been kept to serve both of them.

[1] Rājāram. He could not carry out his objects. He died in March, A.D. 1700.
[2] This may refer to the year A.D. 1699 or 1700.
[3] Rājasbai, the wife of Rājāram.
[4] Sambhaji, Rājasbai's son, born in A.D. 1697, established the State of Kolhapur.

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The Need of enunciating Principles of State Policy

So His Majesty[1] does not recognize any God, in body, speech and thought, other than the feet of his revered mother. This kingdom,[2] this acquisition of fame, and the future success, are all due to her favour and blessings. There is no other desire in the mind of His Majesty than to obey her wishes and to please her mind. You[3] must have already known this incomparable devotion of His Majesty.[4] Accordingly you should consider well in mind all this purpose, and obeying her wishes should act in such a way that the revered Queen Mother[5] should remain pleased with His Majesty[6] day by day. You are an able and experienced servant. When the late revered and esteemed Majesty[7] had gone to Karnāṭaka,[8] you increased the prosperity of the kingdom, the administration of which was entrusted to you; you understand political affairs, policy and laws well. However in order that princes of long life, ornaments to the kingdom, should be well-versed in political affairs and that other governors and criminal officers in various parts of the country should protect the state by conducting themselves according to principles of good government, His Majesty[9] has therefore prepared a treatise on the principles of state policy in the form of this Royal Edict[10] in accordance with the *Śāstras*. Remembering it fully in mind you should see that princes of long life are educated according to its principles. Similarly, the kingdom should be protected by making all the people perform their duties in consonance with it and according to the functions allotted to them.

CHAPTER III

THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY AND ORGANIZATION

The Origin of Kingship

The whole world is created by God. God is the ruler of all. He first created kings in this world. Amongst the people every

[1] Sambhaji.
[2] Svarajya or only the Kolhapur State?
[3] Rāmachandrapant Amatya.
[4] Sambhaji.
[5] Rājasbai.
[6] Sambhaji.
[7] Rājāram.
[8] To Jinji. Rāmachandra was in charge of the Maratha kingdom and fought for it against Aurangzeb.
[9] Sambhaji.
[10] Sambhaji was nineteen years of age when he issued the Royal Edict (1716). He began to rule at Kolhapur in A.D. 1712.

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individual is one but the temperaments of many differ. Therefore if they have no protector who would make for them one common law they would quarrel and fight with one another and be destroyed. This should not happen. All the people should be free from trouble and should follow the path of *Dharma*. Out of compassion for the people God in his full favour has granted us this kingdom.

Private Functions of the King

Realizing in mind fully the fear that, if this command of God is disobeyed God's anger will fall on him, a ruler without ascending the throne but keeping himself vigilant and restrained should be ready all the time to look after the welfare of the people. Similarly, believing firmly that his gains and losses are in the hands of God and that they cannot be altered by any one, and supplicating God for protection all the time, not becoming dependent on others internally and not disregarding the service of his servants, he should act with unswerving justice by attracting the minds of servants to himself according to rank and by adopting proper methods. He should follow that *Dharma* which is traditionally the best and which his ancestors had followed, and should do that by which fame is acquired. He should have great fear of bad reputation in all undertakings. Kings who lived in the past succeeded in this world and acquired the next with the help of *Dharma*. Believing with a firm confidence that the practice of *Dharma*, the worship of God, the acquisition of the favour of saintly persons, the attainment of the welfare of all, and the prosperity of the dynasty of the kingdom should be uninterrupted and regulated, he should settle grants according to their special religious merit on temples of Gods, places of pilgrimage, holy centres of religion, hermitages of saints and places of *samādhi*,[1] so that the daily ablution of water, worship, offerings, annual pilgrimages (and) great festivals may be well performed; and he should continue them uninterruptedly by making frequent kindly inquiries. Showing great devotion to Brahmanas, *Vaidikas*,[2] those versed in *Sāstras*, those free from desire and worldly ties, those subsisting on alms but without begging, those living in forests, those practising austerity and holy men, and pro-

[1] Places where the remains of holy men lie enshrined. *Ed.*
[2] Followers of the path of the Veda—the ritual practices and other prescribed acts of daily life. *Ed.*

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viding for their maintenance being carried to wherever they are, and satisfying them in all ways, he should acquire blessings for the increase of his welfare. He should not put faith, however, in those persons who assume disguises, fakirs, yogis, jagams and others who practise merely sorcery and wander about, and without trusting them, he should through his servants send them away after giving them a few alms. Heretic opinions which are against *Dharma* should in no way be allowed to prevail. If anywhere any heresy were to rise then he should by (making) personal inquiry punish it duly so that no one would follow that wicked path. He should also destroy it, not associating himself with those practising austerities and those of irritable temperament, and inquiring about them from a distance he should see that they live contented and give blessings. Holding universal compassion towards the blind, the crippled, the diseased, the helpless and those without any means of subsistence, he should arrange for their means of livelihood so long as they live.

Personal Protection and Private Servants

Except in case of mortal fight kings should always be very careful at least about their personal protection. After careful inquiry those persons who are very trustworthy, hereditarily in service, honest and not greedy should be appointed in kitchens, places of water and fruits, dressing-rooms and other important royal household departments (महाल), as also in other public royal establishments (कारखाने). By taking work from those according to the functions allotted to them and by treating all with equal regard by virtue of his authority, he should keep them contented and look after them so that none of them would feel any want about their maintenance. Everything should be done which would keep them ready and pleased in his service. If any doubt is felt at some time or other about their conduct, an immediate inquiry should be made in accordance with justice. Whatever makes them engage in work undoubtedly with an open mind should be done. If a doubt against a servant cannot be removed he should be positively dismissed (from that work) and given other work. If he deserves punishment then he should be punished. This matter should not be neglected. Similarly those servants who are to be kept near himself should be judged as to whether they are very trustworthy and intelligent, act after knowing their master's

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purpose, understand the signs of his internal thoughts, and are brave, of agreeable appearance, with auspicious marks and are not zealless, cruel, self-willed and of wicked disposition; and then they should be employed. They should be treated cordially and with kind regard, and whatever makes them live loyally and devotedly without caring for any other master but himself, should be done. They should be paid well so that they should not find it necessary to look to others for their maintenance. They should be made to observe a certain amount of discipline so that they do not get accustomed to going to other's houses without permission, to speaking out secrets, and similarly to committing any wrong against others out of any sudden impulse whilst they are near their master, to insulting high officials and to carrying tales about any one. From amongst them every one should be promoted and encouraged according to the measure or importance of his work.

Personal Routine and Discipline

He should fix his times for meals and water-drinking and should not change them. Intoxicating drugs should never be taken, and those people who remain near him should not be allowed to taste them. When he is without arms he should not keep looking down all the time. He should acquire knowledge and skill in all kinds of arms and should always increase it by practice. Exercise in elephant and horse-riding should never be neglected. All the methods of making new arrows, bows, matchlocks and other arms, of filling rockets, of casting cannon, of laying mines and mounting batteries, and similarly, all the arts of making strong saddles, harness, armour, and other equipment should be well known. In this way after appreciating the merit of every one according to the efforts made by him, he should be duly rewarded. Otherwise if he be given less, the fault of want of appreciation would fall to his credit; and if he be given more, carelessness would be attributed to him; but when he knows the real nature of work, both these faults would not occur. For this purpose the above is written. Skill in all arts and crafts should be necessarily acquired. But those industries which require exertion should not be personally worked at. For, while one is engaged in these occupations, or if any bodily disease is caused by them, state affairs would get neglected.

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Entertainments

The chief function of the king is the effective supervision of state affairs. There should be no break in this. Except on the occasion of great festivals, no dancing and music of professionals, army-musicians (धाडी)[1] and others (निजग्रहो ?) should be performed regularly in the royal court. During great festivals dancing, music and other entertainments should not be held at the place where the king sits but amongst the people who are assembled outside. The king should not himself hear or see it. For as long as his mind does not get attached to them, it is well. Once it gets attached to any of these, it cannot be withdrawn from the object of attachment even if desired. Then the bad habit holds him and the affairs of the state get neglected. Nay, owing to its influence some more evils also occur. For this reason this tendency should not be allowed to grow.

Court Poets

Poets spread fame. Their verses and good sayings last eternally because of their poetic merit. For this purpose after seeing that, they are deserving, versed in Śāstras, honest and possessing no vice, they should be gathered (at the court) according to his means, and after maintaining them properly and very respectfully it should be seen that they live contented and devoted to their work. But (hearing) only self-praise is a very great fault. For this purpose, one should not get wholly absorbed in their company by neglecting state affairs.

Bards

Similarly bards were maintained by former kings in royal courts and during royal tour. For this purpose a few persons gifted as bards should be gathered after personally finding their worth. But these people should not be invited at the time of conducting state affairs. For if there were present persons (other than the ministers) who have no concern with the administration, the work of administration would suffer because ministers who have to speak openly about state affairs and act secretly would feel constrained in their consultations. For this purpose other people should not be allowed to take part in deliberations of state.

[1] A class of Muhammadan singers who may be retainers of kings or great men and precede on march and chant praise.

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Jesting

Kings should not at all indulge in the habit of making jokes. Friends are after all servants. If jesting be done with them, there would remain no limit to it. Consequently it would sometimes happen that he passes the limits of propriety and causes the lowering of his own dignity. Sometimes it would result in their death by provoking his anger. Therefore there should be no tendency towards jesting and he should not feel false delight in his mind about his own sagacity (in this matter).

Consultation

He should examine in his own mind, the merits and demerits of the work which is to be done. Those who are intelligent in the work to be done should be asked their opinion about it. Whatever leads to the success of the work undertaken should be done by accepting the best possible advice given. If he insists on his own plan, his servants would not at all speak out the merits and defects of the work proposed. Hence the intelligence and initiative of servants does not get full scope for development, but rather they get atrophied and the work gets spoilt. Similarly if he regards the glory which he has achieved as satisfactory, then he does not feel inclined for further exertion. As a result the enemy would find the occasion for an invasion and the kingdom would suffer. This should not be allowed to happen. While protecting what is already acquired, new achievements should always be attempted; and this should continuously remain the aim of the king.

Financial Policy

After considering the income and expenditure, whatever helps the growth of treasury in the kingdom should be done. Finance is the life of the state. In times of need if there is money all the perils are averted. Therefore with this aim in view the state treasury should be filled. It should be well looked after. Servants should be paid well and without any reluctance. If any special work is done by them or if they are burdened with a family they should be given something (in addition) by way of gifts. But any more salary than what is attached to an office should not be paid for any special work done in the same office. The reason is that if any one's salary is increased, other servants of the same rank ask for an additional salary, and if not paid

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they get discontented. If any one's salary is increased owing to his influence, the salaries of all others who are of the same rank will have to be increased because they are all similar to one another. Then the whole organization will break down. This would not be a proper thing. Therefore there should not at all be any alteration in the remuneration attached to any work. If able men do any meritorious work they should be promoted to a higher rank and thus encouraged. This makes men hopeful. If rewards are given for any special work, others cannot put obstacles in the way. Secondly, when a reward is given to one servant, other servants have no grounds to ask for rewards as they have for getting discontented when any one's salary is increased. And holding the hope that the master gives rewards according to work done, other servants without caring for their lives strive personally (very hard) for their master's work. For this reason salary should be paid according to rules, and rewards should be given according to special work done. But where salary is fixed, no change should at all be made.

Military Policy

Royal Troops

Royal troops are (हुजरात) the means of showing one's own bravery and valour and are the prime support in the protection of the army, territory and forts. Those kings and generals who are already dead and those who are living at present first created a body of royal troops, and by achieving gradual success with its strength collected large forces and acquired territory and treasury, and with its fame kept all of them obedient and in order. Those who do not possess a strong body of royal troops are dependent on others. They cannot take up any work by themselves. For that reason they have to become dependent on servants, and whatever they say has to be quietly borne. If not, the servants and sardars would not sincerely perform the work undertaken and therefore the work is ruined. Under these circumstances how can the kingdom grow? Therefore he who is himself industrious and brave and who entertains the idea of always gaining new acquisitions should first create a body of royal troops. He should keep a five-fold force of cavalry,[1] foot-soldiers[2] and

[1] लष्कर.

[2] हशम.

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light armed men,[1] musketeers,[2] archers,[3] and artillery men.[4] Those persons should be employed in the body of royal troops who are very brave, powerful, select, thoroughly obedient, and the very mention of whose name will extort admiration in the army and the country, and who on occasion will inspire terror. Those who are capricious, arrogant, unrestrained, childish, vicious, defaming, vilifying and have acted treacherously towards their previous master should not at all be kept in the body of royal troops. For on the strength and assurance of the royal army one can remain free from anxiety about all matters. At times life has to be hazarded. Other soldiers have to be kept, within bounds. If this method of organization is kept up all these things are easily attainable, otherwise not. If there is any inefficiency, punishment has to be inflicted, consequently other fellow-soldiers may get pained, and, if they rise in arms, men engaged in other useful work will have to be sent against them; and they will get wounded, nay, they may even rise against the king. Therefore men of such bad character should not at all be engaged in the body of royal troops. It is not that men of good character are easily available at any time. Therefore while touring round in the country, in the army and in the small and big forts, the king should have an eye for proper men, and associating with him, in addition to his ministers, the best men wherever available, showing kindness to them and finding their worth, he should employ them in his body of royal troops. This group of men should be trusted day and night with the work of guards at the gates of the royal residence and court, and thus should their presence and work be noted and examined from day to day. If any one of them were to remain absent even once, then he should be warned. After that if he again commits the same mistake, he should be scolded and asked to become careful. In spite of all this if he does not keep watch and ward according to the terms of his appointment, then he should be positively removed. If he commits any wrong deserving of punishment, he should be immediately punished. There should be no weakness shown out of any consideration. If discipline is at all absent in the king's own troops, then how can it be expected to prevail outside. Therefore there should not at all be any indiscipline in his own troops. Whatever

[1]आडाव. [2]बदुकी. [3]तिरंदाजी. [4]करोल.

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salary is fixed for them must be given without fail. The payment of their salaries should not be entrusted to others, but should be done under his own supervision through a devoted sabnis (सबनीस)[1] who is not influenced by any consideration. By showing kindness and by appreciative treatment these men should be completely brought under his own loving influence. Of all the other forces and departments, the body of royal troops should be kept contented and efficient. And if they are seduced from allegiance by any one, it should be seen to that they do not get any protection elsewhere. If they are at all seduced, they should be made to realize that punishment would be strictly meted out to them. It should, however, be provided that they do not join in any defection. A king should keep himself strong by equipping himself well with swords (तरवार), daggers (कठारा), scimitars (जमदाडा), straight rapiers (पट्टे), spears (भाले), daggers (बांक), poniards (बिचवे), spears with a string (सैल्या), bombs (टाकण्या), bows and arrows (तिरकमाना), matchlocks (बंदुकी) and other weapons, coats of mail (बखतरे), head-armour (घुंग्या), helmets (टोप), cloth-covers (दुपट्टे)?, body-armours (चलखते), armours for horses and elephants (पाखरा), helmets (ताज), grenades (हुके), ammunition (दारुगोळी), rockets (बाण) and other provisions. If he is always possessed of the above-mentioned troops of men and munitions and is personally industrious, then what deficiency in equipment is possible ? When the nobles and troops of the kingdom obey orders, then the king feels enthusiasm for every sort of work. Being freed from anxiety about self-protection the mind of the king works in solving other problems. Whatever he does at any time results in a favourable way. Without being influenced by others the administration goes on uninterrupted. The fame of the king's valour and efforts increases. All the enemies and others feeling awe of him remain where they are. Therefore without neglecting the efficient maintenance of the body of royal troops, and considering that it is the most important of all the aspects of state administration and without admitting Siladars[2] into the body of royal troops he should organize it as mentioned above.

[1] A sabnis was in charge of accounts in general and the muster roll in particular.
[2] A horse soldier who equips himself with his own horse.

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King and his Servants, their Qualities and Relations

It has been said, 'one should give up a lord who is very ferocious ; but one who is miserly sooner than one who is very ferocious ; one who is incapable of appreciation sooner than one who is miserly ; and one who is ungrateful sooner than one who is incapable of appreciation.' Therefore there should never be in a king the above-mentioned disposition nor the following qualities, namely, a feeling of disgust with a large gathering of men and a want of desire to converse with men. These qualities do not lead to a harmony of mind between servants and master, and the servants feeling restrained are not wholly won over. Kings also not understanding the good and bad qualities of persons are not able to gather a group of good men. Therefore after abandoning these qualities completely, whatever will help in the collection of such men should be done positively. All the persons engaged in service should be respected according to their rank ; persons of higher rank should not be treated on the same level with the persons of lower rank ; and no one should be allowed to insult another keeping in view his own welfare. Speaking highly of ordinary men as well as able and industrious men, showing kind regard to them, granting their requests, and emphasizing their importance, he should do what leads to his welfare by using all means. If any new servant is to be engaged full inquiry should be made about his family, place of residence, relations and first service, and if he is not found fraudulent, profligate or a spy on behalf of others, murderous, drunkard, dissolute, very old, incapable of any work, he should be kept when found very brave. But no servant should be engaged without taking a surety for him. If he runs away after committing robbery, murder and other lawful acts, then the surety must be held responsible for the offender's conduct. This matter should not be neglected. Then the servant remains attentive (to his work) and does not go out of control, and the allotted work is done rightly.

King's Behaviour

Kings should be moderate in speech. Unless there is work they should not keep on talking with anybody and anything whatever. If they talk in such a manner, the servants get unduly intimate and unrestrained. After necessarily giving encouragement to persons in a

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wise manner, those with whom discussions are to be made about what is to be done and not to be done, and about the good or the bad side of the situation which has arisen, should be made to speak in political matters. Kings should listen to them attentively. If what they say appeals to their own judgment, then it should be accepted, being considered to be the best. If those people have not been able to deliberate or advise well, then without treating them with indifference and by stating their own views openly and without showing any impatience, kings should discuss fully the merits and demerits of the work to be undertaken. People should be made to realize those merits and demerits. Other daily work which is to be entrusted to ordinary servants should generally be given by signs. But they should not always continue using signs, such as gestures of eyes, hands, feet and other members, or restlessness of body. They should practice steadiness of seat, like a post or a mountain. Kings should not utter the faults of any servant high or low. If any faults are found, they should not be communicated to others. After keeping them in mind means should be employed to remedy them. The servant should be under the impression that whatever fault he has committed is not known to the master. This impression keeps the servants obedient, nay, they are even careful to remedy their faults. Then it becomes easy to correct their faults.

Prince's Education

Even kings do not give up vices and adopt virtues once for all. For this purpose, a few good persons should be kept near the princes to correct or to guide them. They should always be made to live in their company. They should be made to do strictly the study of *Śāstras*, and of writing without any idleness on their part. Similarly, royal teachers, such as professional wrestlers and other experts (जेठो) who are well-versed in the arts and knowledge of spear-throwing (भेजणे?), sword-playing (परजणें?), wrestling (कुस्तोघेणें) and athletic exercises (तालोमकरणें) should be engaged. Under their instructions each of those arts should be taught. Through false kindness studies should not be allowed to be neglected. The reason is that the ideal Hindu king is God himself who is the teacher of the whole world and is the distributor of weal and woe to all. If the

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worldy king is endowed with virtues, then the welfare of the greatest number is possible; if he is possessed of vices, the misery of the most is the result. Therefore 'the king is the maker of the age'. Consequently kings should possess many virtues. Even though they have studied all sciences, they have become endowed with all virtues, they have acquired a kingdom by the favour of God, and they are praised by all people, still they should not feel satisfied with this. They should always give thought to their own merits and defects. Nay, even one or two good men who are honest, influential, thoughtful and of sharp understanding should always be kept near by way of constant company. They should be definitely ordered that they should always give warning about the faults committed or things not done by him. By respecting them like elderly persons they should be attentively listened to. By not resenting their timely advice they should be treated with respect, and their words of encouragement should be looked upon as a source of gratification. As a consequence those persons feeling easiness of mind will warn him about the faults committed by him which he must abandon. Consequently, as the root of a tree makes the tree grow strong in a well-watered place, so the king, who is the root of the kingdom and is endowed with virtues, causes the growth of the kingdom.

Quality of Tolerance in a King

Kings should be very tolerant, for the reason that the king is the lord of a large number of people and all are generally not of the same character. Every one has some faults or others, nay, every one from the poor upwards to the highest officers get angry at times. In anger they carry on indecent wordy discussions. At that time keeping himself tranquil and keeping a smiling face in order to please them he should well consider the offence committed by them. Proper punishment should be awarded. As a consequence later on wise men feel ashamed of their behaviour and, becoming grateful to the master, do not commit again the same faults. So without toleration the way of making servants give up their faults is not possible.

(To be continued)

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Reviews

'THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA' VOLUME III—TURKS AND AFGHANS

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THIS volume which precedes the publication of the second of the series, purports to deal with the history of India under early Muhammadan rule from the time of the Arab occupation of Sind down to the establishment of the Mughal power under Babar at Delhi. The title 'Turks and Afghans' given to the book is perhaps a more accurate determinant of its scope, excluding as it does from its purview a full account of the series of Hindu kingdoms, Rajput and other, which flourished unbroken both in Hindustan and in the Deccan and the South till late in the twelfth century, and which contrived to survive the shock of the Muslim impact in the remoter parts of Hindustan like Rajputana and Central India and in South India, till a much later date than that at which the book ends. Both the Arab occupation of the Lower Indus Valley, and the planting of Ghaznavide rule in the Punjab by Sultan Mahmud are rightly regarded by the Editor who has been personally responsible for the greater portion of the work—taking in as he has done only a few noted scholars to collaborate with him, like Sir John Marshall for the chapter on the architecture of the period, Sir Denison Ross for the history of Gujarat and Khandesh, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar for the Hindu states of Southern India, Mr. G. E. Harvey and Dom M. de Zilva Wickrama-singhe for the histories of Burma and Ceylon respectively—as merely preparatory to the Muslim conquest of the land, which did not really reach the stage of definite consolidation till the first half of the fourteenth century. Sir Wolseley Haig has attained to reputation as a Persian scholar having edited a portion of Khafi Khan's famous history in the

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Bibliotheca Indica Series and translated the *Burhan-i-Ma'āsir* in succession to Major J. S. King. He has shown great capacity in these works and others of his, for accuracy of statement and sobriety in treatment. Being a Persian scholar he has relied too much (almost exclusively ?) on Persian sources of information contained in annalists who took but very slight notice of the real life of the people of the land and of their institutions and culture. Many of the Muslim historians cannot claim to rank above annalists and they content themselves for the greater part with a dry narration of events, 'conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations.' A good use has, however, been made of the available historical material, both original sources and modern works. The Hindu states have not received adequate treatment at all. Even the independent Hindu states of South India which formed a bulwark, for nearly three centuries, against foreign domination and Islamic fanaticism, and maintained Hindu cultural, religious and political independence, receive but scant justice. The learned author of the chapter devoted to them has to compress the varied dynastic revolutions, the consequent shiftings of frontiers and the cultural and architectural life of the period in an all-too-brief compass. The effects of the impact of a foreign polity based on Quranic precepts, on the life of the people, of the interaction between Hinduism and Islam and of the deep-rooted religious movements which produced Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya and saved Hinduism from utter demoralization have not been noted at all. Nor does Sir Wolseley concern himself, except in isolated notes scattered about the various chapters, with the administrative system —and the political theory on which it was based—of the early Muhammadan rulers of Delhi.[1]

With these limitations, the work of the Editor may be regarded as quite thorough, scholarly and marked by penetrative observation. The course of narrative has however in various places been diverted from region to region in rather sudden breaks and the proportion of detail has not been preserved with any uniformity in the various chapters. We are warned in the beginning, and rightly too, against believing that the rhapsodies of Muslim historians

[1] Prof. M. Habib of Aligarh has made a commendable beginning in the study of this subject, based on an analysis of the Persian texts surviving.

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in their accounts of conquests, war and victories means that the early Muslim occupation of India was one prolonged holy war for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam; and sufficient proof is adduced that this could not have been the case. Hindu legends came to be quickly used in Muslim coinage; Hindu rulers and *rais* had to be left to themselves; and the vast bulk of the warlike and armed agricultural peasantry together with the inevitable monopoly over the subordinate machinery of government that was enjoyed by Hindu clerks made no other course possible! Moreover it was certainly found often possible for the Hindus to obtain justice, even as against Muslims. Rebellion and open disaffection to Muslim rule were ruthlessly punished; and the main elements of disaffection sprang up chiefly from the ranks of the upper and hitherto dominant class of large landowners and petty chieftains. We are told that even as early as the thirteenth century there was in a few respects some sympathetic intercourse between Muslims and Hindus, and that 'the rule of the Slave Kings over their Hindu subjects, though disfigured by some intolerance and by gross cruelty towards the disaffected, was as just and humane as that of the Norman Kings in England, and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and in the Netherlands.' This conclusion should indeed be startling to some scholars, but it is supported by irrefutable testimony.

In Chapter V which deals the Khalji Imperialism, the Editor makes an intelligent contribution to our knowledge of Ala-ud-din's financial and economic measures. His arbitrary fixation of the prices of food-grains and commodities which has appeared abnormal to modern economists and historians, was less unreasonable than at first sight it seems, for the great treasure brought from the Deccan conquests had cheapened money and inflated prices and operated most forcibly in the capital and the suburban area to a degree hardly comprehensible at the present day. As regards Muhammad Tughlaq's rule, the Editor who had made an illuminating contribution on the subject in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1922), does not go to the extreme of revulsion from the ordinary estimate of the Sultan to which Mr. Gardner Brown and other recent scholars have gone; but takes a moderate view. He would maintain that the Sultan's peculiar vice as a judge and administrator was his inordinate pride which deprived him of the power of discrimination and which is described so impressively and frankly even

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by Zia-ud-din Barani who wrote his history under a sense of gratitude to, and fear of the Sultan. In his devotion to the details of administration the Indian Sultan is compared to Philip II, though not, it may be maintained, with perfect justice. Again from Barani the Editor tries to show that Muhammad's scheme of a copper token currency was not born out of a sense of vast power and great wealth as is maintained by Edward Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (1871, pp. 239-47), but formed a part of his extravagant designs and belief that his fiat could make any measure successful. His regulations, termed *ustūb* (methods) aimed at so improving agriculture after the great famine of the epoch that plenty would have reigned throughout the earth and not one span of land would be uncultivated. The Sultan's genius and character alike were an enigma to those who knew him best, like Barani and Ibn Batūtah. Sir Wolsely draws a discriminating comparison between Nasir-ud-din Mahmud and Firuz Tughlaq who are always equated by Indian historians as to their justice and clemency.

The Editor is at his best in the chapters on the Deccan kingdoms where he throws light on the ministerial and provincial organization of the Bahmani state and on the part played by foreigners in its decline and disruption. He takes the narrative of the five independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan down to the beginning of Mughal aggression on them while Dr. Aiyangar, in his usual thorough and scholarly manner, goes back to the remote origins of Vijayanagara which can be truly explained in the political situation of South India and the Deccan at the beginning of the fourteenth century. He lays stress on the part played by the last great Hoysala ruler, Vira Ballala III, in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar and on the real significance of the Saluva and Tuluva usurpations of the Vijayanagar throne. He also says that the evacuation of the strongly fortified city of Vijayanagar after Talikota has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and he would seem to suggest that the explanation of the traveller Cæsar Frederick who was at Vijayanagar in 1567 to the effect that the abandonment of the city was due to the mutiny of two large bodies of Muslim mercenaries in the service of the Hindu state was probably the truth.

Sir Denison Ross, Director of the London School of Oriental Studies, who is the editor of *An Arabic History of Gujarat* traces the history of

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independent Gujarat down to its absorption in Akbar's Empire ; while Mr. Harvey continues the story of Burma from the point where it has been left in the unpublished second volume ; and as a consequence the narrative begins rather abruptly and takes us on without due notice, through the period of Shan immigration and rule. Similar in character is the chapter of Ceylonese history which begins equally abruptly from the reign of Vijaya Bahu (1213-1234) and takes us on to the epoch of the arrival of Portuguese adventurers.

The last chapter is the longest as well as the most interesting of the book, where Sir John Marshall gives us a graphic outline of the evolution of the Indo-Islamic art which, he cautions, should be treated neither as a local variety of Islamic art in general nor as a merely modified form of Hindu art. Almost every Islamic land from Spain to Persia, while accepting standardized forms and concepts in general use, developed 'a local Muslim style of its own, based primarily on indigenous ideals and stamped with a strong national individuality'; India saw Muslim architecture inheriting or absorbing manifold forms and concepts from the Hindu—'so many, indeed, that there is hardly a form or motif of Indian architecture, which in some guise or other did not find its way into the buildings of the conquerors.' The Delhi School of Architecture had six centuries of continuous growth and witnessed shifting periods of the domination of Muslim and Hindu ideals by turn—the Qutb Minar strongly marked by a reaction against Indianization which made itself felt more in the Khalji period, while the Sayyid and Lodi buildings gave encouragement to the latent genius of Hindustan and at the same time derived a large amount of inspiration from Persian art. The various provincial styles had their own marked individual traits. The Gujarat Muslim School shone by a happy combination of the strong traditions of the pre-existing school with the Imperial architecture of Delhi at its highest point of expression. Even the Malwa style, though taking its main essentials from Delhi, has its own peculiarities of construction and ornament. Unlike Fergusson who placed the Jaunpur buildings in the foremost rank of Indo-Islamic monuments, Sir John Marshall would find in them a weakness of composition and lack of rythm ; and the juxtaposition of flat propylons and domes behind them constitutes in his opinion an inexcusable anomaly of which no one imbued with the true spirit of Islamic art would have been guilty. Much of the military architecture

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of the Bahmanis was introduced directly from Europe; while their civil monuments were largely influenced by Persian ideals, more than in any other contemporary Indian style; and it was not particularly difficult to find among the foreign adventurers in the Bahmani Court Turkish and other soldiers familiar with European fortifications. The whole chapter on architecture is highly instructive and forms a great improvement on Fergusson who is shown to have been wrong, even in some cases on points of fact.

The bibliography is scanty for most of the chapters except ch. xviii, xxi and xxii; it ignores indigenous sources in Hindi, like the *Alka Khand* and *Chand Raisa* and in many places too exclusively Persian and Islamic. The chronological and dynastic tables are full so far as they go; and the beautiful series of plates has been included thanks to a generous contribution of Sir Dorabji Tata.

C. S. S.

'HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI'

BY

R. GOPALAN

University Research Student, 1920–24

EDITED FOR THE UNIVERSITY WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH. D.

Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University.

THIS book embodies the work of Mr. R. Gopalan as University student and forms an up-to-date history of the Pallavas of Kanchi. The University Professor in his valuable introduction summarizes the salient features of the book and incorporates his further studies in the solutions of the problems of the Pallava period during recent years.

Chapter I makes reference to the history of previous research on the subject by Sir Walter Elliott, James Fergusson, Dr. Fleet, Venkayya, J. Dubreul and Krishnaswami Iyengar and gives an account of the several sources and their value. The recently discovered Samskrit works *Avanti Sundari Kathasara* and *Mattavilasa Prahasana* indicate the literary and religious activity of the period.

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Chapter II summarizes all the theories about the origin of the Pallavas. The author concludes that 'the theory of the foreign origin of the Pallavas, especially that which gives them a Parthian or Persian home, is without foundation'. He also rejects Dubreuil's theory of the eastward migration of the Pahlavas in the second century. The Pallavas (Intrn.) 'began as the officers of the Satavahanas and ultimately rose to undisputed possession of the territory of Kanchi'.

Chapter III gives an account of the Early Pallavas of the Prakrit records, A. D. 200 to 550. There were five Pallava kings from the founder. Bappadeva to Vishnugopa, the contemporary of Samudragupta. They had two capitals, one in the Telugu region at Dhanyaketa and another in the Tamil region at Kanchi. Bappa's successor, Sivasiskandavarma carried on extensive conquests, as evidenced by his performance of *Asvamedha*. The administration of the early Pallavas resembled the Asokan type of government.

Chapter IV gives an account of the early Pallavas of the Samskrit records, A.D. 350–600. The author gives a tentative list of the whole series of Pallava kings from Bappa to Simhavishnu, A.D. 600. He points out that there was no Chola interregnum in the fifth century at Kanchi, as was believed by Venkayya and Krishna Sastri (page 64).

Chapter V deals with some of the contemporary royal dynasties that ruled in the Dakhan during the period, such as the Kadambas, the Vishnukundins and the Salankayanas.

Chapters VI and VII give us a very lucid account of the kings from Simhavishnu, A.D. 575 to Paramesvaravarma, A.D. 701. It was an important period in South Indian History. The influence of these kings on the culture and thought of the period is well brought out in these two chapters. One of the most important discoveries of the Department of Epigraphy wasthe identification of the sculptures of Simhavishnu and his successor, Mahendravarman at the Adivarahasvami temple at Mahabalipuram. These kings were great patrons of the fine arts. The vestiges of the paintings at Sittanavasal and a musical inscription discovered in the Pudukkotta State are of great interest. Samskrit learning was also very much patronized by these monarchs.

Chapter VIII deals with the dynastic revolution which resulted in the accession of Hiranyavarma I, son of Nandivarma, of the collateral line on the throne. Nandivarma's reign of sixty-five years was the longest in the Pallava family. The Chalukya-Pallava struggle is renewed and

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Chalukya Vikramaditya II captured the city of Kanchi. Nandivarma, however, recaptured it after some time. The author concludes the chapter by saying that 'the notion that his reign was short having been distracted by continuous wars as a result of which his kingdom was much reduced now appears to be incorrect.'

Chapter IX deals with the successors of Nandivarma. It was believed that there was a dynastic displacement and that a new dynasty of Ganga-Pallavas came to power. The author points out that there was a regular succession in the line of Nandivarma and that there is no reason to believe in the theory of the Ganga-Pallava accession.

The concluding chapter gives an account of the administrative system, central and local, the system of taxation and the literary activity of the age.

The value of the book is enhanced by the three appendices containing a chronological index of Pallava inscriptions and extracts from MAHAVAMSA AND AVANTI SUNDARI KATHASARA.

S. H. R.

'CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'

BY

ARTHUR MAYHEW, C.I.E., LONDON.

[Faber and Gwyer, Ltd., pp. xi and 260.—price 12/6 net.]

THIS book is based on the idea that the Government of India has been growingly influenced by the Christian spirit ever since the middle of the eighteenth century and traces the relation between the Government and Christian missions from the beginning of that century. It does not presume to treat of the influence of a Christian government on the social, moral and religious life of India in detail, nor to be a personal record of great men in the missionary and official spheres, though the pioneer figures of Swartz and Carey stand out in bold relief in the treatment, like 'mountain peaks that catch the first glow of dawn'. Edmund Burke first roused the conscience of England in Indian affairs; and Wilberforce and Carey had to struggle for more than a quarter of a century, before the right of free entry of Christian workers into India was firmly established in the Charter of 1813. During the time that Carey was struggling in the years of his unlicensed evangelical work, it seemed doubtful, inspite of Lord Cornwallis's church-going and the Clapham affinities of Sir John Shore, whether, in the eyes of the Indian people, the Company had,

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by its commission as well as omission, any religion of its own to communicate to them. Much of the seed sown by the Baptists of Serampore and by the labour of Claudius Buchanan was rendered unfruitful by the reaction that followed the Vellore Mutiny; 1813 however saw that a new attitude began towards Christian effort; and henceforward the main trend of Christian and missionary activity was towards the winning of protection and fair treatment for their converts and the assisting and stimulating of the civil authorities in the legislative, administrative and educational spheres. Christian missions tried 'to encourage a constitutionally timid government to profess more openly the faith to which as trustee of a Christian nation it was pledged' 'Dry-nurse to Vishnu' and 'Trustee of Juggernant' were terms which were applied by Christian missions in their zeal to the Company which was pledged to the recognition of existing and long-established rights and privileges, and to continue all state endowments of Hindu and Muhammadan worship. Government was committed by precedent as well as by a sense of its own obligations to the patronage and in the matter of protection of the religious institutions and ceremonies of its subjects; and to blame the government for not merely honouring, but also considerably enlarging their 'polytheistic liabilities' is for the author to go one step too far and to criticize government for an attitude which only created a sense of security in the minds of the people. In fact the writer himself points out how the gradual withdrawal of government from the management and patronage of temples in the decade following 1843 was 'undoubtedly responsible for some of its unpopularity in 1857' (p. 152). The forcing by evangelical zeal of the hands of government to give up all connection with Hindu and Muhammadan religious institutions and ceremonies was rendered all the more unbalanced and partial by the insistent demand made that government should openly support and patronize Christian missionary undertakings.

The author rightly points out that the Common idea of Government's Christian tendencies stirring Hindu and Islamic orthodoxy to revolt in the Sepoy Mutiny cannot survive a reference to facts. The danger arose from other factors; but the interested stirred up discontent in a few places on this alleged ground. Missionaries and mission institutions alone were not singled out for attack; and when they suffered it was 'for loyalty to the British rather than to their

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religion.' The following conclusion of the author will find general acceptance :—

'It was not Christian influence, nor indeed the intrusion of any new religion, that caused a panic, but the selfish and destructive motives attributed, partly in cunning and partly *bona fide*, by priests and potentates to government action which seemed to threaten their interests.'

After the Mutiny, out of which emerged the spirit of Lawrence rather than of Hodson, government has been displaying more general tolerance of Indian modes of life and worship, 'though less submission to what was morally harmful in them.' Missionary influence on education, which was substantially advanced by Bentinck's declaration of 1835, was furthered by the Education Despatch of 1854 and has not aroused any resentment at all, except sporadically. Mr. Mayhew regrets rather plaintively that the development of social self-government has resulted in the increase of soulless, secular education, chiefly in the shape of indigenous aided schools. He tries to explain the absence in general of religious opposition to specifically Christian teaching and to legislative and executive acts obviously inspired by Christian principles ; but his explanation is not fully consistent with a real psychological analysis of Hindu social and ethical ideas. It attributes all the credit to a growing knowledge of the personality of Christ and reverence for his characteristics. He is conscious that Indian Christianity has become fully national and a living and operative force in national life; and Christianity is no longer viewed as an exotic and western plant.

The book, though professing to be but a patch-work, is really a mosaic of many-coloured ideas, yielding, as the author claims for it, 'a new design.' We cannot agree, however, with several ideas expressed by the author as the following :—

(1) The Hindu idea of kingship includes the determination and patronage of a state religion always.

(2) Hinduism can be adapted to the demands of selfishness and lust (p. 213). The first is true only with large modifications ; and the second which tries to exalt Christianity, condemns Hinduism unheard. We cite this as sample of generalities that may convey wrong impressions.

C. S. S.

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'A SCHOOL HISTORY OF INDIA'

BY

SHAFAAT AHMAD KHAN, D.LITT.,

Professor of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University.

[Published by Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd. Price Rs. 2-8.]

WE have before us a short history of India intended for the use of schoolgoing students entitled a *School History of India*. The object of the book is, according to the preface, 'to tell not merely the story of kings and queens but also the story of the Indian people—of their mode of life, culture, occupations, literature, art and government.' The effort is indeed a laudable one, and we are afraid the learned professor has not succeeded in his rather ambitious aim. No doubt every part of the first three parts of the book ends with a chapter on civilization of the Hindus, 'Pathans' and the Moghuls respectively. But in these chapters there is not enough material to portray 'these permanent elements of our civilization which have moulded the thought and life of Asia.' The author would have done well if he had devoted more space to this aspect of the question as the work is primarily intended for school students.

No impartial reader could help remarking that the book lacks proportion. While the author has devoted only sixty-five pages to the Hindu period, he has devoted 181 pages to the Muhammadan period including the Moghuls, and 123 pages to the British period. In writing a history of India, and especially for school-boys, it is our opinion that more attention must be given to the story of the Indian people when India was Hindu India. An equal, if not more, attention must be paid to the life of the people during Muhammadan and British rule. But the author has chosen to treat the British period in about double the number of pages, and the Muhammadan period in about treble the number of pages allotted to the story of Hindu India. When so much space is given to Babur, Akbar and Aurangzib, why not the same space for the Mauryan and the Gupta periods of Hindu India. Our reading of the history of India shows that the progress of life of the Indian people according to Hindu genius theoretically ended with the advent of the Muhammadans in India and practically with the advent of the British. As a result of contact with their civilization

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and culture, our outlook has been changed, and the birth of a New India is the consequence. The history of New India is largely the history of the future. A text-book therefore on Indian history must try to present, as a necessary preliminary, every aspect of India's life and culture as it was understood and realized in ancient times.

V. R. R.

'GOTAMA THE MAN'

BY

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, D.LITT., M.A.

[Published by Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell Street, London, Price 4 sh.]

WHEN the Sacred Books of the Buddhists were not available in large numbers and when Pali scholarship was the monopoly of the privileged few, what the scholar Rhys Davids wrote was deemed authoritative. From the bits available then, theories were built and books were written about Buddhism. 'No one can be wise' says the author 'who writes from half knowledge and no one has got beyond that yet. Men write in a hurry.' Thanks to the Pali Text Society, we have before us a pretty good collection, if not all, of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, some with Commentaries also. Mrs. Rhys Davids who is one of the scholars devoted to a special study of the Buddhist books and who is the author of several well-known works on Buddhism has now placed before us her recent work on 'Gotama the Man.'

In this book an attempt is made to review the early life and career of Gautama, as if narrated by him, taking into account all the recent investigations in Buddhist literature. The attempt is a laudable one. The whole life is so vividly presented as to be intelligible even to a lay reader. The style is flowing and the whole work is pleasant reading.

In presenting this work to the public at large we are afraid that the learned scholar has not revised her old opinions in the light of recent researches and investigations. Limitation of space compels me to point out only a few places wherein observations made ought to be subjected to clear revision.

1. That the Buddha decried the Vedas, the fire cult, the rituals of the Brahmans.

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2. That the Buddha looked down upon the monks and revolted against the monk monopoly.

3. That the Buddha used Brahmanical words and expressions such as *Dharma*, *Ātma*, *Brahmacarya* but gave them entirely a new meaning.

4. That the Buddha attempted to elevate the status of women in society by honouring them with equal freedom.

5. And that Asoka was a Buddhist and engaged himself in a propaganda for the spread of Buddhism.

As against the first statement it may be shown that the first followers of the Buddha, several of them at least, were Brahmans discontented or otherwise. Even according to the learned author only after the Brahman brothers Kassapa and their followers were won over, people accorded them (the Buddhists) notice and repute (p. 122). It may be that Kassapa and others were impressed by the will power and psychic powers of the Buddha. But the will power is in no way opposed to the fire-cult. Rituals and fire worship are intended for those in the first three *āśramas* or stages of life. Once the robes of an ascetic are put on, then one is released from all *karma* literally. In that way perhaps Kassapa and his brothers gave up the fire-cult. We have yet to see a pronounced statement made by the Buddha against the fire-cult as such.

The other statement that the Buddha was against the monks does not bring home conviction to us. The layman Buddha understood the value and significance of becoming an ascetic. Then alone he had the support of the laity. In fact it was the Brahman Kotthilā (p. 90) who converted the Buddha to this way of thinking. The author says 'Monks we were, monks we had to be' . . . . 'I had myself a high worth in the monk so far as he was a man with a teaching which the world needed' (p. 91). Because some monks have been depicted in the *Vinaya* as lazy, worldly, quarrelsome, impure, can be no reason that the Buddha was up in arms against the monk world as such. The degradation was due to indiscriminately entertaining all sorts of people into the *Sangha*. Hence what is to be condemned is the unhealthy method which enabled every idler to enter the *Sangha*.

It is a strange contention to say that the Buddha used Brahmanical terms and gave them a new meaning. The meanings of words like

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Dharma, *Maya*, *Brahmacarya* as understood by the Buddhists are all meanings familiar to every devout follower of the Veda. The Buddha knew that to make his teachings heard, he must use the current expressions and familiar terms. There is no doubt that he used them in their original meaning. After all whatever may be the later and latest developments of Buddhism, the first teacher did not announce that he was founding a new religion entirely different from the established religion of the land.

It is a wrong reading of the Hindu sacred literature that women were considered inferior to men in every respect and were denied the privileges of equality and freedom, and that they were not duly honoured. Woman has always been regarded as the queen of the household and Manu, the lawgiver prescribes that where women are not honoured, their homes will ever be of woe and wail. The same sentiments are common to Tamil India as is evident from a number of verses from the Tamil classic the *Kurral*. When such is the case, it is unthinkable of any inferior position to women given in Hindu Society. It seems to us equally wrong to say that the Buddha was in full support of their emancipation. The Buddhist books clearly show that the Buddha was at first against admitting women into the *Sangha*. Later on he seems to have yielded to the wishes of his near and dear relative Pajapati who insisted on their inclusion. When the Buddha came to realize that women entering the *Sangha* became a permanent factor, he is said to have remarked that his religion would not endure for more than five centuries. Again there is evidence to demonstrate that, like every true Hindu, he honoured such women who did not neglect the care of the home and who wedded themselves to the duties and responsibilities of the home. (pp. 30 and 31 : also p. 131).

Lastly a scholar of standing, the Rev. Father Heras, S. J., has recently argued with ability, in the pages of the Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore) that Asoka was not a Buddhist by faith. And to say that Asoka propagated the gospel of Buddhism does not stand on an unquestioned footing.

In attempting to establish her thesis, Mrs. Rhys Davids has to select, choose and eschew passages from Buddhist Texts and commentaries. No doubt the socalled Sacred Books of the Buddhists were compiled long after the death of the Buddha. They are apt to be

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defective. Some of them may be fables and mere stories. The accounts may be perverted, onesided or genuine. It is the duty of the critical historian to arrive at the kernel of historical truth from the vast mass of literature in the light of other contemporary evidence. Wherever it does not suit her purpose, the author throws away a passage or a commentary on it, as perverted and worthless and not transmitting the original words of the Buddha. Such disregard of sections of books is to attach no value or importance to the works as a whole. Incidentally the value of the Vedas is questioned as for example that the worth of the *mantra* was more in the 'how' than in the 'what' of the saying (p. 84). We do not propose to examine here such unwarranted statements. Suffice it to say they are mere sentiments but not statements with legs to stand on.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR.

'INDIAN ARCHITECTURE'

ACCORDING TO MANASA SILPASASTRA

AND

'A DICTIONARY OF HINDU ARCHITECTURE'

BY

DR. P. K. ACHARYA, I.E.S.,

Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University.

[Published by the Oxford University Press for the Allahabad University, Rs. 10.]

THESE two works by Dr. P. K. Acharya, I.E.S., Professor of Sanskrit, Allahabad University, are works of a monumental character, on which Dr. Acharya had been engaged for very near a decade. The Dictionary is a work of architectural terms collected originally by the author for his own reference on the strength of which he submitted a thesis and obtained the degree of D.LITT. from the University of London. The work is of an encyclopædic character explaining architectural terms in Sanskrit not merely from the Mānasāra, a classical work on the subject, but from the Śilpaśāstra works generally. These so-called Śilpaśāstras and Vāstuśāstras are found in some number in manuscripts in various characters, and are written in a Sanskrit which is not the Sanskrit of classical works. It is barbarous Sanskrit in the sense that it is not Sanskrit of the learned, but more or

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less a kind of Sanskrit understood of the ordinary and exhibiting peculiarities of its own. Apart from professed works on architecture, such as the Śilpaśāstras and the Vāstuśāstras, there are a number of other classes of works in Sanskrit which have a great volume of information on the subjects, occasionally even more illuminating actually than even the professed works themselves. Several of the *Purānas* contain chapters bearing on this subject and all the *Āgamas* have sections devoted to this subject, particularly religious architecture. Dr. Acharya has carefully collected all this material, classified and sorted it under particular heads and provided us a reference book on the subject, for which a reference book was very badly needed. The ordinary dictionaries prove defective and even such general cyclopædias, as the *Sabdakalpadruma* and *Vāchaspatya* are not always sufficiently informing. It will be difficult to go into the details of a work like this, which draws its information from professed architectural works, the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas* and other classes of Sanskrit literature generally. What is more, a very large number of inscriptions do contain illuminating details regarding architecture. They have all been drawn upon by Dr. Acharya in this volume in a form handy enough for reference and not altogether unsuitable even for reading generally.

In the second work, Indian Architecture, Dr. Acharya presents his own study of the Śilpaśāstras generally. He takes for his text the Mānasāra as the principal architectural work and brings round it other works, such as he has been able to bring into comparison with it. He divides this work into five books, in the first of which he gives a general survey of the literature on the subject indicating architecture as a subject which enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity. He deals with the subject in divisions, such as the architectural details found in Vedic and Buddhist literature on the one side, and in regard to classical literature he subdivides the subject into references in the books, the *Purāṇas* and *Āgamas* and miscellaneous other traditions. In the next division, he proceeds to consider the professed treatise on the subject beginning with a detailed consideration of the Mānasāra as the chief text. He brings into comparison with this work the Śilpaśāstra known as Mayamata and an *Āgamaic* work like the Aṁśumadbhēda Āgama. Other works are brought into comparison, such as the Śilpaśāstras of Viśva-Karma, of Agastya, of Sanat-Kumāra

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and of Maṇḍana. Last of all he considers the handbook known as the Śilpaśangraha, which is often quoted in authority, for various purposes relating to architecture and iconography. The third disquisition is devoted to an examination of the position of Mānasāra in literature. Dr. Acharya examines this in four sections and comes to the general conclusion that the Mānasāra is by far the most comprehensive work, and forms, as it were, the basis of all text-books in Sanskrit literature, whether it be works on Śilpaśāstra professedly or Śilpa chapters in other works of a generally encyclopædic character. The next section is devoted to a consideration of the classical European work of Vitruvius on architecture. There are many points of interest that he discusses in regard to the two works and the possibility of a connection between the two. Dr. Acharya finds at the end of his investigation that it would be safer now to leave the question open rather than offer what must be perhaps a conclusion on insufficient data. We may point out that he finds similarities in various matters which to him seem to argue for affiliation of the one on to the other. But as far as we could make out from the details that he himself gives, it strikes us that the items of similarity are none of them of a sufficiently fundamental character to argue for affiliation necessarily. Then he proceeds to a consideration of the age of the Mānasāra and arrives at the general conclusion that it is perhaps previous to all other works bearing on the subject and he regards it as ascribable to the brilliant period of Indian history, the age of the Guptas. Here again we feel that the arguments are hardly conclusive, while he may be right in ascribing it to the age of the Guptas. It does not seem to us necessary for writing an encyclopædic work of this kind there should have been an empire for the whole of the country. At no time in history was communication between different parts so bad in India that an author who devoted himself to the study of a particular subject could not travel from place to place; much rather it seems to have been a habitual feature of early Indian education that scholars travelled from kingdom to kingdom in search of particular masters in particular branches of study with a freedom, which it would be enviable if we could command with all the modern improvements and superior organization that we boast of.

Space forbids our going into greater detail, but we may conclude the review with the greatest pleasure by pointing out that the

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preliminary study as well as the Dictionary give evidence of the great industry, ability and enthusiasm of Dr. Acharya in the pursuit of his work, which he commenced perhaps fifteen years ago. Notwithstanding the ups and downs that he has had, it is gratifying to note that he has had the support and patronage of the Government of the United Provinces, which enabled him ultimately to publish the work in a form creditable to all concerned. We wish the author and his work all success.

'MEMORANDUM ON RESIGNATION AUGUST 1914'

BY

JOHN, VISCOUNT MORLEY

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.]

THIS valuable document on the resignation of the great statesman on the eve of the war is undoubtedly of very great importance and has not been published too soon for the information of the public. On the all-important topic other books have appeared and other views have been given publicity by the four important publications referred to on page ix of the introduction, viz., two works by the Earl of Oxford, 'The Genesis of the War,' and 'Extracts from his Diary', and two other works. Viscount Grey's 'Twenty-five Years' and Mr. Winston Churchhill's 'The World Crisis.' The Memorandum sets forth the actual circumstances that impelled Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns to resign their places in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, it led to the resignation of four members, of whom two had been persuaded to join again the Coalition Ministry, leaving therefore only these two out of the Cabinet. The Memorandum was entrusted to his nephew by the late Lord Morley before his death and had been submitted by Lord Morley himself to criticism both by Burns and by Earl Loreburn, whose testimony that it records correctly what took place, is of value, if such additional testimony were required to anything written by 'honest John.'

The important question does not really concern so very much to war-guilt and its apportionment, but is very illuminating as exhibiting individual and Cabinet responsibility in regard to matters diplomatic. The question arose as to what the *entente cordiale* between England and

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France committed England to in respect of France when war threatened. This was complicated by the possible violation of Belgian neutrality: What exactly the treaties of 1839 and 1867 imposed upon England in such a possibility arising. Morley's position is made clear that enough had not been done short of war to avert the crisis so far, at any rate, as England was concerned, and there seems to lurk behind the Memorandum the notion that the war even could have been avoided by firm diplomatic handling of the situation short of war, as the consequences of the war have been put before the Cabinet by Burns in quite a graphic form giving a correct anticipation of all the calamities actually experienced during the war and after. It raises the further point of how far the Cabinet was entitled to know what the Foreign Minister may be doing and how far the Foreign Minister could be allowed, actually without consulting the Cabinet, to Commit the country to, with other powers, such as France here, by conversation by individual Cabinet members, in this case, the Foreign Secretary. The document is one of great interest and is provided with an introduction written by a coadjutor of Lord Morley, and friend, Mr. F. W. Hirst, which supplies a general background for understanding the position, if such were needed.

'INDIA ON TRIAL; A STUDY OF PRESENT CONDITIONS'

BY

J E. WOOLACOTT

[Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd.]

THE author, formerly correspondent of the Times at Delhi and Simla, attempts in this book primarily to enlighten the English public upon the present condition of India, so that the British electorate may take an intelligent view of the position, particularly on the eve of the revision of the constitution that is impending. The object of the book, in the words of the author, is to 'impel every thoughtful citizen to acquaint himself with the achievements of the British in India, the constitution which exists in India to-day and the gravity of the Indian problems that await solution.' In a somewhat more detailed form, the position is expounded that 'India has derived inestimable benefits from the British connection: that the administration of India to-day,

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while sharing the imperfections, inherent in all human institutions, is inspired by honesty of purpose and high ideals of duty ; and that any weakening of the links which join the destinies of England and India would be pregnant with evil possibilities for both countries. The working of the reformed constitution will also be examined and the genesis of the many outbreaks of violence that have occurred in recent years will be discussed.' The author carries out this scheme of his in the work in seventeen chapters, beginning with the Mythical India and ending with the interrogation What of the future India? There are chapters bearing on the very many familiar subjects in a question like this. The work may be regarded more or less as a reasonably accurate presentation of the condition of India, as one finds it exhibited in the reports and documents issued from time to time by Government and as incorporated in the speeches of those speaking on behalf of the Government of India. To that extent it may serve the useful purpose of enlightening the uninitiated as to the position as expounded authoritatively from the point of view of the official side. It is only when he steps beyond this that he transcends the limits of his capacity for taking a dispassionate view of the whole position. Even in respect of some of those chapters where he holds up to view the achievements of British rule in India, the facts and figures presented are not always what exactly they are. But when he gets to deal with the opposition and the activities of the political parties in opposition, he hardly shows the required degree of insight, and fails to exhibit their position fairly. That anxiety which is evident in presenting the achievements of the administration cannot be said to be shown in dealing with the other side. Just as he admits that governments might have made mistakes, other political parties might make mistakes, and even very serious ones at that. The real question that is the cause of all the trouble he does not present with sufficient emphasis. It would be rather difficult to argue that the Swarajists and people of that ilk whom he criticizes severely are all of them irresponsible and ignorant people that they are represented to be. This becomes evident in regard to the Nehru Report and after. Some of those that took part in the production of that report and are taking part actively in presenting it as the united demand of India are people who held responsible positions under the government and therefore could be expected to understand better the position than those who are

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not accustomed to the esoteric technique of the administration. Even Dr. (Mrs.) Beasant, whom he quotes with approval in one connection, is enthusiastically for it and he hardly mentions these facts or attempts to give an explanation of how this comes about. We have no wish to be partisan either politically or otherwise. We wish merely to point out that the book fails to present the other side fairly. In regard to the Mythical India, that India is assuredly beyond the depth of the Times Correspondent, as we have had occasion to show of even such an extremely well-informed writer like Sir Valentine Chirol, his great predecessor, and if the administration is all that is claimed to be in this particular work, those British statesmen, who felt the need for doing something and launched India out on the reforms must have been seriously mistaken. While therefore the extremists may be brushed aside, as extremists have to be, whether in India or elsewhere, there is a body of opinion which cannot be characterized as extremist, which still exhibits lively dissatisfaction in regard to the existing state of affairs; and that has to be given more consideration that this author seems inclined to. That is the whole point. More success is claimed for diarchy than happens to be actually the case, perhaps much more irresponsibility is ascribed to the Legislative Assembly than would have been the case, if there had been more responsibility, and the communal bhogie is plied for all that is worth, while it stands to reason that an established administration would put an end to it under democracy, as a more or less vigorous beauracracy had succeeded in doing it before.

Most of the unsatisfactory features of the present position described in the book are ascribable to the want of responsibility in the governing body, as to the irresponsible way in which they have been exercising the power that they possess. The unsatisfactory features are features that an experiment like this is bound to produce. With a little more of sympathetic insight and inclination not to touch susceptibilities on the raw, it would be possible to achieve more success even on this experimental scheme. It is hardly suitable in a review to take up any one of the many questions raised and deal with it satisfactorily. Hence our disinclination to get into details. The book may serve a useful purpose as a handbook presenting one side of it fairly faithfully, and those who read it must remember that it presents one side of the picture and not both sides.

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'INDIAN CULTURE THROUGH THE AGES'

BY

S. V. VENKATESWARA, M. A.

[Vol. I. Education and Propagation of Culture. Messrs. Longmans.]

EACH race contributes something unique and essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization. In facing and solving problems arising in its own environment, in evolving a scheme of organized social existence in harmony with itself and its surroundings, it gathers experiences and develops memories which furnish the foundation for the culture that it rears and hands down through generations. The culture of a people is their make-up, inherited by tradition and education, their habitual way of looking 'after themselves and one another, and the way they look at that which is not themselves.' Their art and literature, religion, philosophy, society and government, their manners, modes and beliefs, their attitude to persons and things extraneous to themselves, are all expressions of their culture. As time lapses, civilization becomes more complex and the commerce of nations more widespread; borrowing, imitation and absorption are constantly at work and the result is a certain universalization of the more external aspects of culture. But behind all such mutations, there lie certain fundamental traits, which may after all be no more than a difference in stress, a slight difference in the gradation of social and spiritual values, which controls and guides the development of each people in the present and to some extent determines its future. There is perhaps no more fascinating pursuit for the philosophic historian than the study of these basic elements in the culture of a people and their action through the centuries.

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara undertakes 'to describe and interpret the genius of India and explain her contribution to the world's culture' in a series of volumes devoted to 'Indian culture through the Ages.' Each volume 'deals with an aspect of culture from the evolutionary as well as from the comparative point of view. The present volume deals with the supreme gift of India to the world—education in the fullest and highest sense of the term.' The author discusses the genesis and characteristics of Indian culture as a whole in a general introduction (pp. 1–45) and gathers the results of his

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study of Ancient Indian Education in a concluding chapter on 'our heritage' (pp. 299–318). Four chapters on 'Vedic Foundations' (pp. 49–104), 'Post-Vedic System Building' (pp. 105–184), 'Buddhist and Hindu Educational Institutions' (pp. 185–256) and 'The Middle Ages and the Broadcasting of Culture' (pp. 257–298) contain the author's account of the evolution and peculiarities of the educational system of Ancient India and the part it played in the propagation of culture among the masses.

Any work on so attractive a theme will be turned to by a reader with great eagerness and no doubt every one will find much in Prof. Venkateswara's book that is well worth knowing and pondering. The vast learning of the author, and his close acquaintance with the sources of his subject, literary and archæological, are seen on almost every page of the book and there is much sound description of several important aspects of the ancient educational system of the country. But as we read through the book a certain sense of dissatisfaction grows on us, that by the time we reach the end of the book the dissatisfaction almost amounts to disappointment. We seem to have missed something which is essential to the rational understanding of the whole and the realization of the inner meaning of the new facts we have learned. We do not get any clear impression in our minds of the evolution in the system of Indian education, or of the features that distinguished it from that of other countries that are often mentioned in the course of the book—Egypt, Babylonia and China. Nor are we in a position to say that we have quite understood the role of her 'sound system of education' in enabling India 'to preserve and propagate her cultural heritage in spite of military hurricanes and political cataclysms.'

It may not be a vain endeavour to try and find the source of this uneasy feeling with which the reader is left. It would appear ultimately to arise from two drawbacks which characterize the book. One of these is a fault of emphasis and the other of method.

Ancient Indian Society was a highly articulated and complex structure based on certain fundamental assumptions. In olden days many who were wise and good and learned cherished many beliefs which we may now look upon with amused contempt; yet, they captured the secret of so organizing social life and relations as to make it natural and easy for every one to make the best of his life

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here without losing his soul. It was a social culture based on obligation and duty rather than on self-assertion and right, and if the aim of civilization is control over environment, this control was in the last resort sought to be attained more by control over the self than by any other means. It is remarkable how little we hear of the personal life of the founders and leaders of thought in ancient India. At every turn we get a great sense of collective effort coupled with studied anonymity on the part of individuals. How nebulous are the names of Vyasa, Manu and Yagnavalkya. And yet how close the association between their thought and the daily life of the nation which cherishes them. It is perhaps not an accident that, in the whole range of Indian literature, we have no autobiography and so little biography and history. Again, social life was dominated by an anxiety to conserve the past achievements of the race and hand them to succeeding generations so that the common man was not encouraged to question too much about things or to set up as a reformer. The binding force of tradition is never once doubted though new traditions may grow imperceptibly with changing conditions under the guidance of the choice spirits of every age, the *śishṭas*. If life in such an age lacked the stimulus of novelty and the thrill of adventure, it was characterized by a certain quietness and restful contentment, which is altogether unknown in our time. It is a remarkable feature of Indian social history that at no stage do we come across intellectual protests like those of Plato and Moore or social outbursts like the struggle between the Orders in Ancient Rome or the Peasants' Revolts of Mediæval Europe. And when the Buddha, by his assault on the Veda, threatened to shatter the foundations of Indian society, no quarter was given to him or his followers; but even so the best results of his protest were absorbed and assimilated by the orthodox system. This lasting inner harmony, social and intellectual, is perhaps the most characteristic trait of Indian culture. And this harmony does not seem to have been purchased at the sacrifice of any tangible earthly good. In art and science, in literature and philosophy, in painting, music and the drama, as also in the industrial arts and commercial activity Indians attained an eminence that compares well with similar achievements of other countries in those days. And recent research is gathering together much interesting evidence of the achievements of Indians across the seas and the mountains and is

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bringing into view a greater India whose existence was so little suspected till the other day that the cultural isolation of India was a favourite theme with several writers on Indian subjects. Indians were as ready to take as they were to give and what they took from others they made part of their own in such a manner that it often seemed truly indigenous.

All this is evidence of a rare culture formation. Somehow the genius of the race struck the mean between ambition and effort on the one side and loyalty to its own ethics on the other and so ordered things that each could give to the world the best of what he has and be satisfied by their realizing the highest that is in him. And here is great work for a student of Indian culture in explaining, illustrating and interpreting this truly marvellous achievement of the makers of Indian Polity. It is only fair to say that we get occasional glimpses of these aspects in Prof. Venkateswara's work. He says, for instances, ' Indian arrangements were the result of a deliberate and self-conscious social organization based on a philosophy of society and directed to the realization of spiritual ends ' (p. 19). Again, ' The peculiar excellence of Indian culture consists in the combination of ends, co-ordination of traits, in the organization of a hierarchy of ends (*chaturvarga*) and not merely the highest end (*Paramapurushartha*), a gradation of values ; and in the purposeful systematization and intelligent direction of all resources of these progressive ends of humanity ' (p. 23). Or yet again, ' The type of culture thus evolved was not merely theoretical, but penetrated to the heart of the people, and pervaded every important aspect of indvidual and social life ' (p. 314). But these are more of the nature of *obiter dicta*, rather than conclusions emerging from a study and interpretation of the evidence on the subject. On the other hand, Prof. Venkateswara is so full of the conviction of the intrinsic excellence of the culture he deals with, that he spends himself rather more on vindication than on exposition and interpretation. This becomes clear in the lines of thought pursued by the author in the concluding sections of the Introduction in which he expounds the Indian view regarding solidarity, liberty, equality, progress and evolution. The attempt here is frankly to abridge the distance between Ancient Indian ideals and those of Modern Europe, and institute comparisons which are superficial and irrelevant. What for instance can one make of such a total distortion of the modern

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idea of progress as in the following: 'The Indian conception of progress was not that of a perpetual commotion and ceaseless strife, but a steady improvement in the power of the subject to adjust himself to the changing conditions around him. . . . It means the acquisition of more and more power in self, a greater independence of external circumstances and influences; not a tame submission to misconceived social ideals of false or wrongly graded values. The devices and contrivances which pander to convenience in modern times will have to be regarded as not conducive to progress in this view, if they weaken self-help or sap the vitality of native resources' (p. 43). Or take this,—'Protection of the infant was ensured in the Indian system, which exalted maternity and child welfare. Protection for women against their natural weakness and the tendency to a relatively early fading away of bloom, and for the instinct of maternity, was provided by the social worship of the mother, a system of monogamy in practice, and the absence of provision for divorce. Protection for the intellectually inferior classes was secured by the dependence of the intelligentsia on them for its material wants, and the compensation they had in a practical monopoly of power and pelf' (pp. 38–39).

It is evident from such passages that Prof. Venkateswara is obsessed by his reading of present-day conditions in his study of Ancient Indian culture. His treatment of the educational system of Ancient India is likewise marked by a tendency to stress unduly the points of resemblance, however remote with modern conditions, and underrate the importance of significant differences in the aims and ideals of educational endeavour. Very often the author starts in quest of what is not there and gives us sections on 'Vedic Culture and the Masses', 'Women's Education', 'Scientific Method', 'Technical and Vocational Education', 'Higher Technical Education', and so on. On such subjects we are treated to multitudinous assertions which may or may not be accepted by the reader but which no one will be in a position to prove or disprove. 'The masses of Vedic India may not have been lettered or literate, but they were subject to cultural and educational influences. They had some sort of training in arts and crafts many of which are mentioned in the Vedic texts. . . . Education in public life and in the duties of citizenship may be postulated from the existence of such organizations as *Sabha*,

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Samiti, Nitha, Vidatha' (p. 65). 'In the absence of the general education of girls it would be difficult to account for the terms of equality that subsisted between husband and wife in this (Vedic) period' (p. 67). 'There were various practical and useful arts in which the youths of the time could get technical education and vocational instruction' (pp. 155–6). But the author is not evidently himself satisfied with these statements, and later on, in his criticism of Ancient Indian education from the modern standpoint, he denies the existence of most of the things that, in the earlier sections of his book, he has particularly sought to establish and yet would fain hold that India was the better for their absence. He says, for instance, 'There was no general provision for the higher education of girls or for the teaching of vernaculars. But society had not become a misfit needing to teach people artificially those things which ought to be really drawn in with the air they breathe. Little girls had not to be sent to school to learn domestic subjects or grown children to be taught their vernaculars or to learn good manners. Nor was there any provision for technical training or vocational instruction for those who were to follow the learned professions. The struggle for existence had not become so keen as to develop symptoms 'of that materialism, whether born of all pervading poverty or of all-conquering avarice, which regards utilitarianism as the *Summum bonum* of education' (p. 511). In such contradiction and special pleadings there is much that irritates a thoughtful reader.

The other drawback in the book arises from the method adopted by the author in presenting the evidence. There is no sense of movement or growth in the educational arrangements of Ancient India as expounded in this work. There are intrinsic difficulties here. The chronology of the subject, and specially that of the most seminal period of Indian culture, the age of the *Upanishads* and the *Sutras*, has not been satisfactorily settled. And in every branch of knowledge we have no access to the records of early efforts and the earliest writer we can go to in grammar, politics, medicine or philosophy mentions a considerable number of authors who preceded him in the field. Few books were actually written down and even in such cases, the multiplication of manuscripts was perhaps not easy. Learning was transmitted by memory and to establish a *Vidyavamsa* was perhaps the greatest ambition of an *Acharya*. Under such conditions, the appearance of a

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great teacher often meant that the work of his lesser predecessors and often even their names passed into oblivion. This renders it all but impossible to trace the growth of any subject of study even in outline from its early beginnings to its systematization in a classical work, which, in its turn, furnished the basis for further study, elucidation and commentary. Again from the nature of the case, the evidence on the subject is fragmentary and it must take much laborious and critical effort before one can discover even in outline the means and methods of education in any particular place or period. The formal descriptions of *brahmacharya* in the law books are valuable in themselves as setting the norm, but they lack local colour and verisimilitude. Except for the observations of Chinese travellers bearing on a few centres of Buddhist learning at a comparatively late date, we have no contemporary descriptions or indeed direct evidence of any sort on a subject of this nature. These are all real difficulties. Prof. Venkateswara however is not troubled by any such obstacle in his path. He boldly simplifies his work by dividing his subject into Vedic and post-Vedic, and only tells us 'the type of culture described in the foregoing pages had been evolved in India well before the Muhammadan invasions' (p. 314). Even distinction between Vedic and post-Vedic is sometimes ignored and the *Upanishads*, *Nirukta* as also Asvalayana's *Grhyasutra* are quoted by the side of the earliest hymns of the *Rg Veda*. There is present throughout the book a persistent tendency to combine information drawn from various sources greatly differing from one another in their nature, time and place, and to draw a general picture meant to represent conditions in all India for an unspecified period of her history. To give only one such instance, the section on educational institutions (p. 159) combines the evidence drawn from the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jatākas*, the *Puranas*, the *Jaina Sutras* and the *Ramayana*. The author is also not always careful to distinguish what is evidence and what is not, and one cannot resist the feeling that he sometimes misquotes or misapplies well-known texts torn from their contexts as in his classification of students (p. 130) or that of religious conversations (p. 147). One may doubt also if the gradation of teachers into *Acharyas*, *Gurus*, *Upadhyayas* and *Sikshakas* (pp. 128-9) is borne out by our texts in the form in which Prof. Venkateswara expounds it. And when we are told that Sita 'could talk fluently in Sanskrit' (p. 110) we may well wonder if it means anything more

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than that the author has been reading the *Ramayana* in the original. One last extract from the section ' Specialization in Education ' (p. 202) ——' The rice diet of the southerners may have tended to idealism and imaginativeness, of which the fruits were soon to be reaped in the southern philosophical systems of the Vedanta. The wordy sword-play of the Bengalis was possibly due to their relative immunity of Bengal from foreign invasion and influence, and from absorbing commercial and other pursuits.' It may also be observed that in dealing with the recent finds in the Sindh and the Punjab and the origins of Indian culture, while he deprecates ' hazarding theories, at this stage,' the author commits himself to a considerable number of propositions (pp. 2–9) on the age, nature and affiliations of what has, for the sake of accuracy, been called the ' Indus Valley Culture ', by Sir J. Marshall.

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Principal Contents from Oriental Journals

Notes on the Contents of the Gujarati and Hindi Journals

Purātattva, a Gujarati quarterly of research, has just ceased publication after five years of memorable service to the cause of history and scholarship in general under the very capable editorship of Muni Jinvijaya Ji, a scholar who practically without any knowledge of English, is to be numbered among the foremost of our orientalists in India or anywhere else. His work is unfortunately in Gujarati and some of it in Hindi and consequently it has not received the recognition due to it. Jinvijaya Ji left India about a year ago to learn foreign languages and to get acquainted with the methods of European Universities, and with his departure have died two of the foremost research quarterlies in the Gujarati language—*Purātattva* and *Jaina Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka* which would challenge comparison with any of the famous oriental quarterlies. *Purātattva* owes its existence to the national university founded by Mahatma Gandhi, and the contributions to it are mostly from the brilliant galaxy of scholars that Gandhi Ji has collected in the Vidyā Pītha at Ahmedabad. One of the greatest among these is Pandit Sukhlal, who lost his eye-sight when he was eleven or twelve years old and possesses only the light of wisdom—*Prajnāchakshu*. He is known to the world of Sanskrit scholars by his great work *Sammati Tarka* of Abhayadeva Sūri, four volumes of which have already been published and the last volume is in the course of publication. Pandit Sukhlal has been trained according to the old methods of scholarship but belongs to the most advanced school of research of the twentieth century in his methods and in the depth of his erudition. He is equally at home in Sanskrit and Prakrit, but as his special subject is philosophy, we shall not deal any further with his contributions to the pages of the *Jaina Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka* or the *Purātattva*.

The last and the fifth volume of the *Purātattva* does not contain many articles of strictly historical interest. Rasiklal Parekh brings his brilliant study of Bhāsa's dramas to a close. Walji Desai has culled

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some interesting references regarding Vanarāj—the founder of Pātan from various Sanskrit verses. Pandit Bechar Das announces the discovery of a philosophical work of great importance on atheism from the manuscript-libraries of Patan. The work is entitled *Tattva-Upaplava* by Bhaṭṭa Śrī Jayarāshi Deva. We have not got here the space for reviewing the historical contents of the first four volumes of the *Purātattva* which must be deferred to some other time.

The Jaina Sāhitaya Saṃśodhaka has also suffered a premature demise on account of the departure of Muni Jinvijaya Ji to Germany for a period of two years. The Jaina quarterly despite its sectarian designation has rendered valuable service to scholarship in general, and to the study of Jaina history in particular, during its short existence of three years. I have already summarized a very important article by Muni Jinvijaya Ji of the *Kuvalaya-mālā*—a Prākṛt romance written by Udyottama Sūri at Jābalipur on the last day of the Saka year 700 in the pages of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, volume xiv, pages 29–38. This work which is being edited by him is of special interest in mentioning the various contemporaries of the Huna emperor Tormāṇa, who had his capital at Pavvayyā on the Chenab in the Punjab, and also in showing the extraordinary influence of Jainism in the eighth century, for Tormāṇa himself is said to have had the Jain Harigupta as his preceptor. This Harigupta is said to have been a scion of the Gupta family and the reference is probably to the imperial dynasty of the same name. The Prākṛt work is of great interest and we hope that it will be soon published.

Jinvijaya Ji has published a Persian composition by Jinaprabha Sūri, a writer of the fourteenth century, whose, works, e.g. *Vividha Tirthakalpa*, *Vidhiprapā*, *Sandēha-Viṣa-auṣadhi* are still available. The Sūri was a contemporary of Alauddin Khilji, and the composition is of special interest in showing the proselytizing zeal of Jain Sādhus even during the stormy times of Islamic onslaughts. The whole composition consists of eleven verses in praise of Ṛshabhadeva and is probably the earliest work in Persian by a Jain Sādhu.

There are two interesting articles relating to Vastupāl and Tejapāla—famous brothers, who were responsible for the immortal shrines of Abu. There is plenty of material available for writing a monograph on the two great heroes of Jainism, and we would suggest

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to the various Jaina societies who are engaged in spreading the knowledge of their faith and their past to publish a series of monograph on the great figures of Jainism. Rasiklal Pārekh—a competent researcher, critically examines the account given in Rājashekhara Sūri's *Chaturvimshati-prabandha*, in which Vastupāl is said to have sent lacs of mlēchha heads to his master at Dholka. The Muslim king opposed to Vastupāl is Maujudin, which is to be identified with Shāhabuddin Ghori.

There is another very interesting article on Mahmud Ghazni's invasion of Somanath, also from the pen of Jinvijaya Ji in which he examines an hitherto unpublished work by Dhanapāla, the celebrated author of *Tilakamanjari*. The work is called *Satyapurīya Sri Mahāvira Utsāḥ Parichaya* and deals primarily with and is, as the title indicates, a sort of hymn in the praise of Mahāvīra. It incidentally describes the iconoclastic activities of Mahmud of Ghazni and says in the third verse of the hymn—the whole of which consists of fifteen verses, how Mahmud had erased the temples of Shri Māl, Pātan, Chandrāvatī, Soraṭha, Delwāḍā and Someshwara. The invader however is alleged to have turned back baffled before the temple of Mahāvīra at Satyapur or the modern *Sāchor* in Marwar. Dhanapāla writes from his personal knowledge about the onslaughts of Mahmud, and is of interest as a contemporary corroboration of Muslim accounts of Mahmud's invasions. If Dhanapal's account is correct, it would seem that Mahmud did not return *via* Kutch and Sindh after his destruction of Somanatha, as is hitherto believed, but he may have gone back through Sāchor and Multan (vol. iii, *Jain SS.*).

I should perhaps also summarize from vol. ii another article also by Jinvijaya Ji on king Cheṭaka.

Cheṭaka—the king of Vaiśalī, is famous in Jain history not only as a devout adherent of Mahavīra Vardhamāra but also a ruler of a powerful kingdom who was related to some of the most important princes of his time. Cheṭaka's sister Triśalā was the mother of Mahāvīra himself; his daughter Jeṣṭhā was married to Mahavīra's elder brother Nandivardhana, and he was similarly related to Udrāyaṇa of Sindhusauvīra, Pradyota of Avanti, Śatānīka of Kausambi, Dadhivāhana of Champā and Bimbisāra of Magadha, who were all his sons-in-law. Emperor Ajātaśatru—the parricide, and Udayana Vatsarāja—the hero of an untold number of romances in Indian literature, were his

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daughters' sons. Considering all this it is extraordinary that Cheṭaka finds no mention at all in Buddhist literature.

The oldest and the most important account of Cheṭaka and his relationship to Mahāvīra is contained in *Āvashayaka Sūtra*—one of the Jaina *Āgamas*, which is prior to the eighth century, for it has been commented upon by the celebrated Haribhadra. This account forms the basis of subsequent Jaina writings such as in Hemachandra *Trishashṭishalākā-purusha-Charitra*. Cheṭaka had seven daughters—Prabhāvatī, Padmāvatī, Durgāvatī, Shivā, Jyeṣṭhā, Sujyeṣṭhā and Chellānā, who with the exception of Sujyeṣṭhā were married respectively to Udrāyaṇa, Dadhivāhana, Sátānīka, Pradyota, Nandivardhana and Bimbisār. Sujyeṣṭhā had become a Jaina nun at an early age. According to the Jain tradition Cheṭaka had to fight one of the most destructive battles with his own daughter's son Ajātashatru. Cheṭaka is described as of Haihaya family. Muni Jinvijaya Ji has brought out some interesting parallels from Jain and Buddhist literatures regarding the story of Udrāyaṇa and his famous *viṇa*. He comes to the conclusion that the word Raudrāyaṇa occurring in the Vyaodana which in the corrupted text form the word Uddayana the correction given in *Avashayaka Sutra*.

The most important article in vol. ix of *Nagri Prachārinī Patrikā* edited by the well-known scholar Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha—the historian of Rajputana, is undoubtedly the elucidation of the inscription on the victory horse of Samudragupta now in the Lucknow Museum. Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakar reads the inscription, which has hitherto defied the efforts of epigraphists as *Chandragupta-pituh Samuddagutlasat deyadhamma*. After an elaborate argument and an extremely interesting examination of the pictorial script which has been illustrated in two plates, Mr. Jagannath Das comes to the conclusion that the horse was set up by Chandragupta as a memorial stone of his father's martial exploits in the modern district of Kheri which was then of considerable political importance as being the frontier between Nepal and Oudh. Mr. Jagannath Das is also responsible for the articles on Bihari which occupy a considerable space of the volume. Mr. Jagannath Das has devoted a whole lifetime to the study of Bihari and the results have been worthily embodied in the brilliant series of articles which are meant as an introduction to his commentary on *Biharis's Satsai* already published.

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No work in the Hindi literature has been so carefully and critically edited as Bihari's *Satsai* and, reflects the greatest credit on the author, who is recognized as the greatest living authority on Braj and the finest exponent of modern Braj poetry. The editor himself contributes an interesting article on the Solanki king—the famous Siddharāj Jaisimha. The reign of Jaisimha deserves a separate monograph, for during his reign the kingdom of Gujarat reached its zenith. The entire period, eleventh century A.D., is of extraordinary importance and is specially remarkable for the galaxy of kings and ministers who were brilliant scholars and represented the ripest fruit of the classical traditions, albeit in their decadence.

Another article by the same scholar discusses the sway of the Pratihār Dynasty of Kanauj over Gujarat. The long article on Dhanurveda is of some antiquarian interest. On the whole the historical side is not so well represented as one would have expected in a journal edited by Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha.

N. C. MEHTA.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

January, 1929—

E. H. JOHNSTON: 'Two studies in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya'. Considers the relationship in date of the *Arthaśāstra* to the works of Aśvaghoṣa, to Āryasūra's *Jatakamāla* and to *Lankāvatārasūtra*.

J. PH. VOGEL: 'Two notes on the Ancient Geography of India', identifies Kaṃtakaśela mentioned in the Prakrit Inscriptions of Nagārjunikonda with Καντακοσσσύλα mentioned by Ptolemy immediately after the months of the Maisōlos river. It follows that this river is rightly identified with the Kistna.

April, 1929—

G. TUCCI: 'A visit to an "Astronomical" temple in India.' Gives a description of the Navagraha Temple at Gauhāti.

R. B. WHITEHEAD: 'Akbar II as pretender. A Study in Anarchy.'

J. PRZYLUSKI: 'Hippokoura and Satakarni.'

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Indian Antiquary

April, 1929—

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Empire or Orissa.'

H. DAS: 'The Mission of G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro' to the Court of Aurangzeb (continued in the May issue).

Journal of the American Oriental Society

March, 1929—

J. R. WARE: 'Studies in Divyavadana.'

Rupam

January, 1929—

O. C. GANGOLY: 'A Jaina relief from South Kensington.'

AJIT GHOSE: 'The Basohli School of Rajput Painting.'

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A. K. COOMARASWAMY: 'Nagara Painting.'

MAHFUZ-UL-HAQ: 'Some specimens of Islamic Calligraphy.'

H. PARMENTIER: 'The common origin of Hindu Architecture in India and the Far-East.' Translation of an article from *Etudes Asialiques.*

Journal of Oriental Research

January-March, 1929—

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI: 'Ravana Bhasya.'

D. S. SARMA: 'On the sources of *Bhagavad-Gita.*'

P. T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR: An Autolycus in the camp of Zulfaqar Khan at Jinji (A.D. 1690). This paper is based on a MS., of the Tamil MS. preserved in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras and is a dramatic lay composed for the purpose of eulogizing Sayyad Qadir.

T. R. CHINTAMANI: 'The date of Sankara Charya and of his predecessors.' Furnishes some data that Sankara was a contemporary of Narasimha Varman II and therefore lived in the latter half of the seventh century A.D.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI: 'Probable identification of King Harsavarsa.'

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M. RAGAVA AIYANGAR: 'Tirumangai Ālvar and Chalukya Vikramaditya I: identifies the mighty king of the north vanquished with the Pandyan King by the warriors of Nankūr' (P. T. 4, 5, 6), with Chalukya Vikramaditya I. The writer thinks that the Ālvar who lived during the reign of Pallavamalla (A.D. 717–779) should have had an opportunity to hear from the soldiers who took part in vanquishing the King of the North and who lived in Nankūr a village near his native place, all about the battle of Peruvalanallur.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

April, 1929—

R. RAMA RAO: 'Some problems of identity in early Vijayanagar History.'

R. S. VAIDYANATHA AIYAR: 'The Sumero-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origins.'

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11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
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14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
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RAO BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
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Honorary Correspondent, Archæological Survey of India

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(PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR)

NOTICE

The Editor regrets delay in the issue of this number, which should ordinarily have appeared in the course of the last month. The delay was due entirely to his own ill-health during practically the whole of January, and it is hoped that subscribers of the journal would, in the circumstances, overlook the few weeks' delay.

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The Rise of the Peshwas

CHAPTER V (1727-31)

BY

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A PERIOD OF STRUGGLE—BAJI RAO'S ULTIMATE TRIUMPH; NATURE OF THE CONTEST

For four years Nizam-ul-Mulk stirred up strifes through one agency or another, and kept the hands of Baji Rao full with the troubles at home. During these years he could not give effect to his policy, all his time being taken up by his struggle with the Nizam. But when he emerged triumphant out of this contest the fact had been driven home to the heart of the Marathas that the time was ripe for their expansion, and that was to be effected by means nothing short of aggression. Indeed everyone felt that Baji Rao's policy was the only solution of their trouble. His greatest opponent Shripat Rao Pratinidhi had veered round to his viewpoint. The Nizam had conceived such a wholesome respect for the ability of his youthful adversary, that he refrained from creating further troubles. Shahu who had always apprehended rashness in the measures of his young and inexperienced Peshwa, placed implicit confidence in him, and

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was confirmed in his conviction that Baji Rao alone could best control the affairs of the state without prejudice to his dignity and prestige. That was the upshot of this contest between Nizam and Baji Rao.

Phases of the Contest

The contest orginated out of the Karnatac expeditions. But when the issues had been decided between Baji Rao and the Nizam, the civil strifes did not cease. The Nizam was not only fighting for his own ends; he was continuously inciting a number of Maratha chieftains, hostile to Baji Rao, to secure their own interests against the grasping hand of the Peshwa. He even tried to create division between Shahu and Baji Rao by advising the former to shake off the hated tutelage of the Chitpavan Brahmans. He had given jagirs to several of the Maratha leaders, and had secured them to his own interst. The result was that after the main part of the contest was over there ensued another, between Shahu and Shambhuji, and yet another between Baji Rao and Trimbak Rao Dabhade. The Nizam, Sambhuji and Trimbak Rao, had made common cause against Shahu and Baji Rao, but they failed partly owing to their lack of co-operation and partly owing to the genius of Baji Rao. This period of four years from 1727–31 therefore falls into three distinct phases. The first was the contest between Baji Rao and Nizam; the second between Shahu and Shambhuji of Kolhapur and the third, between Baji Rao and Dabhade.

First Phase: Contest between Baji Rao and Nizam

The Nizam was studiously slow and cautious in unfolding his dark designs against Shahu. His first move was to transfer his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, which would be nearer the Karnatac, and from where he could better control the activities of the Marathas in that region. That was not all. At Haiderabad he would be farther away from Satara, and would thus keep his movements better concealed than if he were at Aurangabad. This he must have effected in the year 1726, and since then Haiderabad has become the capital of the Deccan. But mere transfer of the capital would avail him nothing, for the Marathas were ubiquitous in their activities and Maratha Mokassadars or tax-collectors had been posted throughout the six

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subahs of the Deccan. To rid Haiderabad and its adjoining districts of these tax-collectors, whose presence was a perennial humiliation to him, and who kept the Maratha authorities at home constantly informed of his proceedings, he proposed a barter to the Pratinidhi, whose pronounced notions of maintaining peace with the neighbours, made him all the more agreeable to the Nizam. Taking the opportunity of Baji Rao's absence in the Karnatac expedition he proposed to the Pratinidhi, that since he felt the presence of the Maratha tax-collectors in Haiderabad district humiliating to his dignity, he was ready to make annual payment of an equivalent sum of money to the Marathas, provided they never entered Haiderabad. In lieu of this annual payment, he assigned a substantial jagir in the subah of Berar to the Pratinidhi and an estate near Baramati to Shahu. When Shahu referred the matter to his advisers, all except Baji Rao gave their assent to it. Baji Rao alone resented the measure; but Shahu would not listen to him, and tried to pacify Baji Rao with the assurance that Nizam's withdrawal to Haiderabad was advantageous to them. The Peshwa however shifted to Poona in disgust. Thus while the Nizam accomplished his own end, he felt immense satisfaction to have accentuated the division in the court between Baji Rao and Shripat Rao.

Next he sedulously set to fan the jealousy of Shambhuji against Shahu. He had been sufficiently alarmed at the Karnatac expeditions for he considered the country between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra as his own, and thought that it was rapacious of Shahu to grasp at that part of the country, when his (Shahu's) officers were fast spreading in the north and levying contributions on Malwa and Gujrat. But he alone was helpless. Therefore he took recourse to the Nizam, and resumed his former negotiations with him. Here he found a willing mediator in Chandrasen Jadhav, the sworn enemy of Shahu and the Peshwas. It was indeed with some mortification that Chandrasen had viewed peaceful relations established between Shahu and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Now he waxed jocund at the resumption of the intrigues between Shambhuji and the Nizam against Shahu, and offered his own services for it.[1] As early as February 1726, we have evidence of the beginning of their intrigues, in the form of correspondence between Chandrasen and Shambhuji.[2] Preliminary negotiations

[1] Sardesai, vol. i, p. 184.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 183.

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over, Shambhuji actually left his government in charge of his mother Rajas Bai in September 1726, and kept in the company of the Nizam till 1728. The Nizam promised his help to Shambhuji and instigated him to claim the half of Swarajya from Shahu. While he was openly championing the cause of Shambhuji, he gave out with a show of reason that until the claims of the two princes were definitely settled, it would be unfair on his part to pay the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to Shahu and his officers.[1] After this the Nizam showed himself in true colours, and it came as a shock to Shahu.

Nizam's Hostilities

In November 1726, after the departure of the Peshwa and *Senāpati* for the Karnatac, the Nizam opened hostilities against Shahu. The latter, aware of his attitude soon sent an order on November 19, to Sultanji Nimbalkar, for an immediate convoy of two to three thousand Maratha horse.[2] But so quick was the blow the Nizam had aimed at him, that Shahu did not get time to be on his guard. Iwaz Khan, a commander of the Nizam, made a sudden attack on Kanhoji Bhonsle and inflicted a severe defeat on him. It was only when Fateh Singh Bhonsle, Naro Ram and Chimnaji Damodar hurried from Gulbarga to the rescue of Kanhoji that Iwaz Khan was forced to retreat. But in the meantime Shambhuji had joined the Nizam, and both had made a move to put spirit into the campaign. Chimnaji Damodar, who was wavering in his loyalty to Shahu, was won over by Shambhuji and he later on, was made his Peshwa. On February 18, 1727, the Nizam and Shambhuji were encamped in Poona, and many are the deeds of grant bestowed on various persons, by Shambhuji from there. So terrified was Shahu at this time that he sent urgent orders to Kanthaji Kadam, Pilaji Gaikwad and Udaji Pawar on March 19, 1727, to come with all their forces and join him at once. Further Kanhoji Bhonsle was called with his troops from Berar. In fact it took some time before Shahu could effectively return blows to the Nizam. But the arrival of Baji Rao in April 1727 after the Karnatac expedition, lightened the anxiety of Shahu, and he, now at one with the Peshwa, gave him entire management of the campaign against the Nizam. Now he was fully awakened to the mistake of the Pratinidhi's policy

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 55.

[2] Sardesai, vol. i, p. 183.

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towards the Nizam, and to the significance of Baji Rao's resentment against it. He placed implicit confidence in him and Baji Rao amply justified the confidence. He rose equal to the occasion, and difficulties seemed to vanish at his touch.

Back at the capital, Baji Rao spent two months in discussing measures with Shahu. He himself was in a peculiarly difficult position at this time. All his effectives were engaged in the campaigns in Malwa, and it would be long he thought before they came and joined him. Therefore in consultation with Shahu he decided on a guerilla warfare against the Nizam. The latter in the meantime had gained no inconsiderable advantage over his adversary. He had occupied the whole country up to the banks of the Bhima. Evidently there was no time to be lost in deliberation only, and Baji Rao actually started his campaign in the height of the rains. He left Satara on July 1, at the head of a small army and constantly harassing the Nizam in his rear, reached Poona in August. At Poona he held a review of his troops, and spent a whole month in equipping them. The grand festival of Dashara was celebrated on September 13, 1727, amidst great rejoicings. Hearty embraces mingled with the glitter of gold. Women and children unlocked all their bountiful treasure of love and affection, to their men-folk; for the return of the deep-blue sky, the clear sun-shine, the honeyed blossoming of the Mālati, Shefāli and Yuthikā of the fair season of autumn, and the strings of fleecy clouds floating above the outlines of the Sahyadris, are peculiarly reminiscent of the sad reflection that their dearest people on earth, father, brother, husband or son, would leave their homes and remain away for eight months, and who knows, whether to return or not.

Counter-offensive of Baji Rao and the Victory of Palkhed, February 1728

After the Dashara, Baji Rao marched due north from Poona and reached a place called Pantambe, on October 17. Thence he turned east, and entered the district of Aurangabad, which he plundered without mercy. His route from Aurangabad to Jalna, was marked by ceaseless ravages and unending clouds of smoke. Then crossing the Purna and the Painganga he appeared at Mahur where he gave out that he intended to advance on Burhanpur and burn it to ashes. This resolution of Baji Rao frightened Nizam-ul-Mulk, and he started hot

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foot with Iwaz Khan to save the city. To keep up appearances Baji Rao sent a detachment towards Burhanpur, and himself with the bulk of the army crossed the Narmada over to Gujrat. In Gujrat he sent a message to its Governor Sarbuland Khan, Nizam's avowed enemy to the purport that he had invaded the province at the instance of Nizam-ul-Mulk. When the latter came to Burhanpur he found that Baji Rao had outwitted him, and in deep resentment he marched on Poona which had been left defenceless. Determined on teaching a lesson to Baji Rao, the Nizam crossed the Bhima and actually occupied Indapur. The dangerous proximity of the Nizam brought the Maratha king Shahu to his wit's, end, and in great trepidation he wrote to Devji Sombanshi, Sabaji Nimbalkar and other Maratha leaders to check his further progress. In the meantime Baji Rao who had been apprised of the intentions of the Nizam wrote to Ranoji Sindhia posted at Patas, to hold out as long as possible, and himself hurried back from Gujrat to divert the attention of the Nizam from Poona. Crossing the Ghats in the mid-winter he appeared like a storm on the eastern bank of the Godavari and plundered the two parganahs of Vaijapur and Gandapur belonging to the Nizam. When this news reached the Nizam at Ahamadnagar, he gave up his march on Poona and proceeded rapidly to check the further depredations of Baji Rao. In his anxiety to bring the wily Peshwa to book he crossed the Godavari and approached him from an easterly direction. Baji Rao had already devastated vast areas, on the eastern bank of the river, and he now, no more afraid of meeting the Nizam in the open for the latter's troops had been sufficiently tired out, contrived to draw him into those waterless and desolated tracts. Retreating slowly before the Nizam, Baji Rao tempted him further away from the river into the hilly regions between Aurangabad and Paithan and when the Nizam reached Palkhed, he suddenly turned round and surrounded him on all sides. The advantage of the situation was on the side of the Marathas and the Peshwa had scrupulously managed to destroy everything round about. As far as the eye could reach all was a huge waste without water, without human habitation. In the meanwhile Shahu had sent the Pratinidhi with a large army to reinforce Baji Rao, but all had been over before he arrived. The Nizam was in a terrible fix, he could neither proceed further nor recede back. To stay there was to court death, for even water was not available. At last the

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Nizam deputed Iwaz Khan to make overtures for peace. He came to the Maratha camp on February 25 and Baji Rao demanded two prominent nobles as hostages. Then they were given way to proceed to Mungi-Shegaon, where they found water, and a treaty was concluded there on March 6, 1728. It was a glorious day for Baji Rao, this March 6, for he had brought the warrior of a hundred battles to his knees, without the help of anyone.[1]

Treaty of Mungi Shegaon, March 6, 1728

The terms of the treaty were as honourable as the victory was glorious. Baji Rao dictated his terms, and the Nizam accepted all but one. He had to agree to the payment of all the arrears of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, the reinstatement of Maratha tax-collectors in his dominions, and to recognize Shahu as the sole king of Maharastra. He was further required to surrender Shambhuji, which—be it said to his credit—he firmly refused, and Baji Rao, himself an honourable man did not press him further.[2] The importance of this treaty cannot be exaggerated. It disarmed Nizam-ul-Mulk, it humilated the Pratinidhi and his party, and lastly endeared Baji Rao to Shahu to a degree never known before. But for Baji Rao Shahu would have been at the mercy of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He would have well despaired of his sovereignty, and Maharastra would have been thrown into the vortex of an interminable civil war. But apart from these political results, the campaign demonstrated the triumph of guerilla warfare. Like Shivaji, Baji Rao showed himself a past master of that art. Indeed the victory of Palkhed was no mean achievement for the young Peshwa.

Duel between Shahu and Shambhuji

The victory of Palkhed achieved a great deal for the Marathas; but it left one vital thing undecided. That was the submission of Shambhuji. He had taken a leading part in the designs of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and when the latter was humbled he escaped scot-free. Had he kept quiet after the discomfiture of his ally and taken a lesson from it,

[1] Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 195-6.; Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 55-6.; थो: शा: च: pp. 79-80.

[2] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 56; Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 196-7.; थो: शा: क: p 80.

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he would not have been molested. But that was not to be. His unremitting intrigues with other Maratha leaders spoiled the peace of Shahu, a man whose one outstanding feature of character was love of peace, and he resolved to put an end to Sambhuji's intrigues by taking to task Shambhuji and co-adjutors. He knew full well, as much as the Peshwa, that Nizam would no more venture to espouse his cause. Therefore it was agreed on all hands that the time was most opportune to reduce Shambhuji. In this even the Pratinidhi was at one with Baji Rao and Shahu; for he was now feeling uneasy about his past conduct in the Nizam affair. He knew Baji Rao had out-stripped him in the eyes of Shahu and all Maharastra, and he wanted to retrieve his lost prestige in the ensuing contest with Shambuji.

Left alone, after the battle of Palkhed, Shambhuji persisted in his policy of opposition to Shahu, and reiterated the demand of half the Swarajya from him, with the help of Udaji Chouhan and Bhagwant Rao Amatya. The latter was not very loyal to him, and his chief strength lay in the support and abilities of Udaji. Udaji Chouhan was the son of Vithoji Chouhan who was a lieutenant of the famous Santaji Ghorpade and played a conspicuous part in his raids in the Karnatac. He died in 1696 and his son succeeded to his possessions and title of Himat Bahadur. Now Udaji Chouhan was the chief of Athni and rose to power in the sunshine of Ramchandra Amatya's favour. He was a freebooter in his pursuits and a free-lance in his attitude. Soon after the treaty of Shegaon he submitted to Shahu, and remained under him till the beginning of 1729. All the while he was playing a double game. He knew that Shambhuji was in league with Trimbak Rao Dabhade of Gujrat and the Nizam to make good his claim to the sovereignty over half of Maharastra. And as soon as he found that Baji Rao and his brother Chimnaji Appa had left for Gujrat he showed his hand to Shahu. His first move was on the country round the Waruna, which he plundered. From Shirole, which he made his head-quarters, he carried fire and sword into the countryside. One of these days Shahu had gone into those parts for hunting and when he came to know that Udaji was hard by carrying depredations into the country he called him to an interview promising him safe return. He came and listened to the remonstrances of the king against his conduct but said little in reply. He was let off in safety as promised, but Shahu had soon to experience an adequate return for proving too true

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to his words.[1] After a few days four assassins entered Shahu's tent. 'So majestic was the King's bearing and so indifferent was he to 'danger, that the assassins lost heart and throwing down their arms, 'begged for mercy. He asked them whence they had come and they 'admitted that they had been sent by Udaji Chouhan. With admir-'able irony Shahu gave them each a gold bracelet and bade them 'pick up their arms and take back to their employer a certificate from 'himself, that they were good and faithful servants. But if the king 'could thus jest with death, he was in earnest in his resolve to put a 'stop to these unprovoked inroads.'[2] No sooner resolved than urgent letters were despatched to Shambhu Singh Jadhav, Dawalji Somabanshi, Sidhoji Nimbalkar, Saikhoji Angrey, Baji Rao and Pilaji Jadhav. Full preparation was made between October 1729 and February 1730, and when everything was ready the command was given to the Pratinidhi, who showed great enthusiasm for it. There was another man who evinced equally great enthusiasm. That was Shambhu Singh Jadhav, son of Dhanaji and brother of Chandrasen. He was for long with his brother, but falling out with him he had lately left his shelter and came to that of Shahu. He was eager to gain favour of Shahu. Thus when the campaign opened Shahu had the satisfaction of receiving devoted loyalty and warm support from all, and he himself accompanied the army as far as Umbraj. If the Pratinidhi had been given the sole command in the campaign, the Peshwa kept in constant touch with Shahu between August 1729 and August 1730, to take the lead in his council. Indeed with such co-operation on all hands, success was within the grasp of Shahu.

In the meanwhile Shambhuji was also preparing vigorously for a final measure of strength. His Astapradhans and leaders of the army had been called with their quota, and the troops had been massed on the bank of the Waruna. Vyankat Rao Ghorpade and Bhagwant Rao Amatya were among them, and Udaji Chouhan had entrenched at Shirole. The campaign opened with the attack of the Pratinidhi and Shambhu Singh Jadhav on the position of Udaji in January 1730. His fortified camp was subjected to a vigorous siege, and it was not raised until Shambhuji came to his help and relieved the pressure

[1] थो: शा: च: p. 81.

[2] Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. i, p. 195. थो: शा: च: p. 82.

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on him. But it was of no avail. The fight continued with unabated vigour and Shambhuji and Udaji fled away to the fort of Panhala leaving everything behind. The flight was the signal for wholesale desertion, and as his army dispersed in all directions the Pratinidhi captured the treasure-chests of Shambhuji, his camp equippage and all his family besides many nobles of note. Among those captured were Tara Bai, Rajas Bai, Sambhuji's wife Jija Bai, Bhagwant Rao Amatya and Vyankat Rao Joshi. They were all taken to Shahu, who with a touch of chivalry ordered the release of all the ladies and their departure under proper escort. Tara Bai alone was unwilling to go back to the hated tutelage of her co-wife Rajas Bai. When told that she could go back if she liked, she observed with a touch of sad resignation 'wherever I go I shall have to live in confinement. Here or there is the same to me. Let me live here,'[1] and she was allowed to live in an old palace in the Satara fort. If she had gone back to Kolhapur, a host of complications would not have arisen in the affairs of the Maratha state after the death of Shahu. The captive nobles were ransomed by Shambhuji, but Shahu proved unrelenting. He next ordered the Pratinidhi to take Vishalgarh and it was occupied by October 1730. Now the pressure was unbearable to Shambhuji, and he prudently chose to throw himself on the mercy of his cousin Shahu.[2] Kind and forgiving as ever, Shahu pardoned his fallen cousin and promised a share in the kingdom. On his own initiative he had made similar attempts to make up matters between himself and Shivaji in 1708, and between himself and Shambhuji in 1726. Both the times he had failed to make any impression on his obstinate cousins. Now, when Shambhuji was on his knees, he did not go back on his former proposals. The Pratinidhi, Bhagwant Rao and Tara Bai volunteered their services to bring about a permanent understanding between the two cousins, and while the terms of treaty were taking shape on the basis of Shahu's proposals of 1708 and 1726, it was arranged that the two scions of the royal house of Shivaji should meet. Business was combined with pleasure, ceremony and formalities with good will and friendship. A formal invitation was sent to Shambhuji to come and meet Shahu,—he being the elder, at Jakhinvadi. 'In January 1731

[1] थो: शा: च: p. 83.

[2] Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 202–5.

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'Shahu sent from Satara Shripat Rao the Pratinidhi, Abaji Purandare, 'and other notable officers and nobles to escort Sambhaji into his 'dominions. With a large body of horse the Pratinidhi encamped 'below Panhala. Ascending the fort, he presented Sambhaji with a 'number of horses and elephants and costly saddlery. A day or two 'later Sambhaji descended from the fort and returned the visit. These 'courtesies over, Sambhaji escorted by his own picked troops and the 'Pratinidhi's escort marched with him to Wathar in the Satara district. 'There the prince and the soldiers halted while the Pratinidhi went to 'Umbraj to inform Shahu of the arrival of the royal visitor. From 'Umbraj the king moved to Karhad and pitched his camp on the banks 'of the Krishna river. An open space known as Jakhinvadi plain had 'been chosen as the meeting place of the two cousins. The ground 'between the royal camps with the tents and equippage of the nobles 'of Maharastra, who on this great occasion vied with each other in the 'splendour of their trappings and the profusion of their jewelry. There 'were present no less than two hundred thousand soldiers together 'with horses and baggage trains in countless numbers. On the 'appointed day Shahu and Sambhaji on the backs of elephants set out 'from their respective camps, their howdahs blazing with precious 'stones. When they came in sight of each other their elephants 'kneeled and their riders left them to mount richly saddled Arab 'chargers. When the horses met the two princes alighted, Sambhaji 'put his head on Shahu's feet in token of submission. Shahu bent 'down and lifting up his cousin clasped him to his breast. Then 'according to the gracious custom of the East, Shahu and Sambhaji 'decked each other with golden favours and garlands of flowers. This 'formal meeting over, both princes returned to their quarters. On 'February 17, 1731, Shahu received a visit from Sambhaji. It was 'arranged that the king and prince should again meet in public in an 'open space close to Karhad on the banks of the Krishna. The 'ceremonies observed were similar to those at the first meeting. But 'after the princes had embraced, Shahu seated Sambhaji beside him 'on his own elephant, while Shambhu Singh Jadhav waved impartially 'over the heads of both the royal horsetails (it is cow-tail or *chamar*). 'Shahu's elephant bore him and his guest back to the king's camp. 'There Shahu lavished on his cousin presents of elephants, horses, 'clothes of gold, jewels and treasure. From Karhad the princes went

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'to Umbraj, where the king gave a series of magnificent entertain-'ments. Then he insisted that Sambhaji should pass with him the Holi '(or vernal) festival at Satara. The Peshwa's mansion was placed at 'the prince's disposal. There he remained for two months. While 'the terms of the treaty were being discussed, the Maratha nobles in 'turn invited Sambhaji to a series of splendid banquets. When the 'treaty of Warna, as it is called, had been settled, Shahu showered on 'his guest further gifts, one of which was a sum of two hundred 'thousand rupees in cash and allowed him to depart. Fateh Singh 'Bhonsle was ordered to escort the prince back to Panhala. Shahu 'himself accompanied Shambhaji for eight miles, all of which 'were ablaze with the jewels and silks of the nobles in the train of the 'two monarchs. Even the splendours of the French nobles, when 'Henry met Francis on the field of the cloth of gold, would have paled 'before the magnificence of Shambhaji's reception by Shahu.'[1] Who can say that Maharastra was poor and barren, rough and rugged amidst such scenes as these! But amidst the glitter of gold, blaze of jewels, rounds of banquets and the effusion of friendship and good-will the relative position of the princes was not forgotten, and if Shahu erred on the side of generosity the terms of the treaty did not. They clearly indicated the subordinate position of Shambhaji and his dependence on Shahu. It was a treaty dictated by a superior to an inferior, concluded on April 13, 1731. Shahu granted the following terms to Shambhuji.

Waruna Treaty—April 13, 1731

(i) The Waruna Mahal, and all the districts known as Dotarfa (claimed by both king Shahu and Shambhuji) along with the forts and military outposts to the south of the confluence (of the Waruna with the Krishna) are given to you.

(ii) We give you the fort of Kopal and you give us Ratnagiri in exchange.

(iii) The military station at Vadgaon should be destroyed.

(iv) We shall destroy your enemies and you ours. We shall both work together for the improvement of the kingdom.

[1] Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, pp. 197-9.

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(v) From the confluence of the Waruna and Krishna, to that of the Krishna and Tungabhadra, all the forts and military outposts to the south are yours.

(vi) From the Tungabhadra to Rameshwaram half of all the country is ours, and half is yours.

(vii) In the Konkan all the districts from Salshi to Panch Mahal is yours.

(viii) You must not employ our servants and we must not employ yours.

(ix) You must surrender to us Miraj, the forts of the district of Bijapur, Athni and Tasgaon.[1]

Waruna decided the differences between Satara and Kolhapur existing ever since 1708. Never after this treaty was there any question on any side about the sphere of authority of each. It subordinated Kolhapur to Satara in all but name, and though Shambhuji grumbled over the stringency of the terms all through his life, he could not get them modified. And further be it said to the credit of Shambhuji that he never courted the help of an extraneous power to press his point. The treaty effected a division of the kingdom, but nevertheless it marked a distinct advance in the authority of Shahu within his territories and guarded his position from intermittent exposures to the sidewinds of civil strifes. In the eyes of his own people as much as in those of the aliens he appeared to be the real *Chhatrapati* now. He became the suzerain lord of the country. Lastly it smoothened the course of the Peshwa and gave him the requisite respite at home to successfully carry out his policy abroad.

Shambhuji's Later Years

As has been indicated above the division of the country did not impair the suzerainty of Shahu. It all the more confirmed the dependence of Shambhuji on him, and he gave ample proofs of this during his life-time. He lived for about thirty years more after the Waruna treaty and survived Shahu for about eleven years. As long as Shahu lived he used to visit Satara often either to pay his respects to him, or to spend a festive occasion with him or to get some little point about the state cleared or done in his favour. In short he gave proof

[1] Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 62-63.

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of uniform loyalty to Shahu throughout his life. In 1732 he came to Satara and would address Fateh Singh Bhonsle as ' Dada,' a respectable term for brother. When in 1734–1735 he visited Jejuri with his wife Jija Bai, he made a detour through Pratapgad and Mahabaleswar and came to Satara. There he enjoyed the hospitality of the king for two months and when he left for Kolhapur Shahu gave him a warm send-off and accompanied him to a respectable distance. He came again in 1741, 1744 and 1746 mostly on some state necessity and each time he drove some bargain in his favour. Eleven years after the death of Shahu, he died on December 20, 1760.[1] In the course of the narrative we shall have occasion to make passing references to his activities.

Duel between the Peshwa and the Senapati

When the grandeur of royal meetings at Jakhinvadi, Karhad and Satara dazzled the eyes of the people, when mirth and pleasure flowed on the cloths of gold and orient pearls, when the treaty of Waruna was taking shape, there were happening other incidents in Gujrat, that opened in letters of blood, a new epoch in the history of the Peshwas. Baji Rao had been pitted against the Commander-in-Chief Trimbak Rao Dabhade, and there was a sanguinary duel between the two for the Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Gujrat. Only twelve days before the conclusion of the Waruna treaty was fought the battle of Dabhai, that ended in the defeat and death of Baji Rao's hated rival Trimbak Rao Senapati. The victory of Dabhai marked a great advance in the power of Baji Rao, and practically united two important offices in the same person. Thenceforth the Peshwa became the Senapati also for all practical purposes. But Dabhai did more than this. It achieved the triumph of Baji Rao's policy and helped the building-up of the Maratha Confederacy as begun by Balaji Viswanath. Important as were the consequences of this duel (between Baji Rao and Trimbak Rao), it is no less so, to understand how the duel came about. In the tangled skein of the story it should not be lost sight of that the contest was mainly a matter of principle, and that Baji Rao was fighting not for his own interests, but for a point of policy. On the contrary Trimbak Rao was fighting for his own ends, and that at the instigation of the sworn enemy of the Marathas, Nizam-ul-Mulk. The

[1] Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 214–15.

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sanguinary character of the struggle was due to the bitterness of Trimbak Rao, and such was his obstinacy that the words of Shahu failed to produce any effect on him.

Trimbak Rao was the eldest of the three sons of Khanderao Dabhade. The ancestors of the Dabhades were Patils of the village Talegaon, and they had continuously served the Maratha kings generation after generation since the time of Shivaji. During the troubled days of Rajaram, they rendered meritorious services at the risk of their life and consequently on the death of his father and brother, Khanderao was given the title of Sena-Khas-Khel by Rajaram. Khanderao served Tara Bai for some time and when she was defeated by Shahu he took service with the new king. Khanderao was a great friend of Balaji Viswanath and both acted in concert with each other for the welfare of the Maratha state. In 1717 Shahu invested him with the office of *Senāpati*, and he accompanied the Peshwa to Delhi. On his return from Delhi, he was posted to the northern frontier of Maharastra in order to keep an eye on Khandesh, Berar and Gujrat. He was present in the battle of Balapur and later subdued Khandesh, Baglan and the whole country from Basim to Surat for the Marathas. During his old age his son Trimbak Rao and his agent Pilaji Gaikwad discharged his duties and on his death in May 1729 Trimbak Rao succeeded to the office and possessions of his father (January 8, 1730).[1]

There was little agreement between old Dabhade and young Baji Rao in matters of state. The former resented his lead and disapproved his policy. He was one of the party opposed to the Peshwa at the court. This difference was aggravated to the point of bitterness towards the end of his days and after his death. It was brought about by two causes, first, the interference of Baji Rao in the affairs Gujrat, which the Dabhades thought was a preserve of their own, second the intrigues of Nizam-ul-Mulk with Dabhade, whom he had incited against Baji Rao to promote his own interests.

We have already noticed that Kanthaji and Pilaji were residing in Gujrat as the agent of Shahu and the Senapati respectively for the collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from that province. In 1726 Sarbuland Khan granted the rights of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over

[1] Sardesai, vol. i, pp. 217–28.

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the country north of the Mahi, to Kanthaji, those over the country south of the Mahi to Pilaji. By a previous arrangement of Shahu the black-mail of Gujrat had been assigned to the Senapati and that of Malwa to the Peshwa. Baji Rao did not approve of this entirely separate allotment of the provinces, for that would make each chieftain independent of the other, and would destory the root of the Maratha Confederacy, which lay in the interdependence of each member. On that account he was opposed to the manner of the distribution of provinces to some of the leading Maratha chiefs e.g. Raghoji Bhonsle, Fateh Singh Bhonsle, Angrey and Dabhade, and he was involved in frequent broils with them. But not one of them realized his point, and all of them swore hostility against him. In pursuance of this policy Baji Rao approached the *Senāpati* with the proposals that he should give the Peshwa half of his revenues of Gujrat, and the Peshwa would give him half of his yield of Malwa. This the *Senāpati* rejected with scorn, and Baji Rao, domineering as he was, proceeded to enforce the measure on him. He ordered his agent at Dhar, Udaji Powar to enter Gujrat, and levy contribution on the portion assigned to Pilaji. Udaji acted as he was bid, and then resulted a fight in which the Deputy Faujdar of Dabhai, Abdun-nabi Khan, took the side of Udaji. 'In the subsequent fighting Abdun-nabi Khan was killed, and the town and fort thus fell into Udaji's sole possession.' This only served to unite the two Maratha Sardars—Kanthaji and Pilaji, who considered themselves as established in Gujrat, against Udaji, and they came with a strong army and laid siege to Dabhai. Udaji sought the help of Sarbuland Khan, but failed. The confederates had arranged an agreement with him, and therefore he (Sarbuland Khan) was in no mood to assist Udaji. Perforce he had to give up his position and return to Dhar in Malwa early in 1727. Dhabai and Baroda were occupied by Pilaji.[1]

The retreat of Udaji to Malwa almost synchronizes with the return of Baji Rao from his second expedition into the Karnatac and the outbreak of hostilities between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shahu. We have already noticed how Baji Rao spent two months in Satara discussing the plan of his campaign and left for Poona in July. The campaign was actually set on foot in September 1727. Now was the advantage for the *Senāpati*, who had been sufficiently offended by the Peshwa

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, Part I, p. 390.

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for his interferences in Gujrat through Udaji Pawar. Udaji had been chased out, and Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shambhuji were taking good account of Baji Rao. This was the time selected by Trimbak Rao,[1] to feed fat his ancient grudge, and he invaded Malwa to create a diversion in favour of Nizam-ul-Mulk. But Baji Rao was not thus to be outwitted. He had written to Sarbuland Khan, for the cession of Chauth and had sent his able brother Chimnaji, at the head of an army to invade Gujrat at the end of the rainy season of 1727. But Sarbuland Khan demanded extravagant conditions in return for the Chauth and the negotiations fell through. Then Chimnaji began to plunder Duraha, an unwalled town, realized a ransom and retired to Malwa by way of Godhara and Dohad, which he occupied along with the fort of Champaner. But Sarbuland Khan was not left at peace. Soon appeared Baji Rao like a whirlwind in Gujrat after throwing Nizam-ul-Mulk off the scent in January 1728. He told Sarbuland that he had invaded his country in consultation with the Nizam. He spent a month rapidly moving from place to place and plundering the people of the town and country, and appeared once again on the banks of the Godavari to bring the Nizam to his knees at Palkhed. When the treaty of Mungi Shegaon was taking shape, Baji Rao reiterated his demand of Chauth to Sarbuland Khan. The Peshwa promised to keep peace in return. But the Governor at first treated this with scant attention, for he had in the meanwhile chased Kanthaji and Pilaji out of his province, and was expecting the arrival of the Emperor at the head of a strong army from Delhi. Baji Rao however was not to be trifled with, and when he learnt that the Emperor was in no way disposed to come to the help of the Subahdar in person he sent his brother Chimnaji at the head a strong army in 1729. Chimnaji displayed great vigour in the campaign, and carrying fire and sword through the beautiful countryside and levying contribution on the flourishing marts of Gujrat, he halted at the town of Dholka, and sent in demands of Chauth to Sarbuland Khan.[2] The latter was now in no position to reject the proposal. Rumours of his transfer had reached him from Delhi and he willingly bought the Marathas off on their own terms. Like Sayid Husain Ali on a previous occasion he might have thought that an amicable settlement with the Marathas might

[1] Sardesai, vol. i, p. 225.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, p. 393.

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bring fresh accession of strength to him, that might stand him in good stead in his resistance to the governor-designate Abhai Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur. With these motives he ceded the 'Sardeshmukhi of the whole revenue, both on the land and customs with the 'exception of the fort of Surat, and five per cent on the revenues of 'the city of Ahemadabad.' In return for the Sardeshmukhi the Peshwa promised to protect the country from all the enemies of peace and order, and for the Chauth agreed to maintain a force of 2,500 horse at the disposal of the Viceroy.[2] He further agreed to prevent other Maratha leaders from leaguing with the disaffected zamindars and Koli chiefs of the country and thus disturb public peace. 'After these 'deeds were obtained the Mokassa and the collection of a part of the 'Surdeshmookhee, were assigned to Dhabaray; but jealousy of Baji 'Rao's interference in the affairs of the province, occasioned an 'implacable enmity on the part of that chief.'[3] By this time Khanderao was dead, and Trimbak Rao, the avowed enemy of Baji Rao, had succeeded to his father's office and possessions. Now the breach between the two had become wider than ever.

Nizam's Intrigues

The breach between Trimbak Rao and Baji Rao gave an impetus to the intriguing nature of the Nizam. He knew that Trimbak Rao alone would not dare defy Baji Rao, but with the slightest support from him he would jump on a war.[4] Further the time was most favourable to fan a civil war between the Peshwa and the *Senāpati*, when Shahu and Shambhuji were pitted against each other (at this time), and a large part of the army was locked up in the south. Burning for revenge, Trimbak Rao had secured the support of Kanthaji, who was now working against Baji Rao. Thus the Nizam found Trimbak Rao, his agent Pilaji Gaikwad and his ally Kanthaji, ready instruments to his hand and he set to work mischief to the national cause of the Marathas as championed by Baji Rao. Ever since Palkhed he had been covertly countenancing all the intrigues against the domination of the Peshwa. His hand was working in the aggressive designs of Udaji Chouhan, that ultimately resulted in the

[1] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 504.
[2] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 59
[3] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 505.
[4] Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 61.

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war between Shahu and Shambhuji. Simultaneously he created another trouble for Baji Rao in the north. In November 1730 at his instigations Dabhade entered Malwa with his confederates Pilaji and Kanthaji, and looted it. Shahu, apprized of this, ordered them to desist from further depredations but it was of no avail. Next Dabhade made an alliance with Udaji Pawar, who had quarrelled with Baji Rao as far back as November 1729.[1] It was further arranged they should unite with the Nizam and all of them proceed to the destruction of Baji Rao.

Battle of Dabhade.—When the dark designs were weaving round Baji Rao, his attention was distracted by the troubles created by Shambhuji. He arranged the expedition against Shambuji and had to remain by the side of Shahu till August 1730. All the while he was keeping a close watch on the movements of the Nizam. On July 8, 1730, arrived his brother Chimnaji after concluding the agreement with Sarbuland Khan about the Chauth of Gujrat. Throughout the rainy season (July–September) he was preparing not only for the campaign against Shahu but against the Nizam and Dabhade. When he found that the expedition against Shambhuji had been fully equipped, he left for Poona and was detained there till the Dashera on account of certain family affairs. Rakhma Bai, the wife of Chimnaji, after giving birth to the boy later known as Sadashivrao, on August 2, died of puerperal fever before the month was past. The bereavement unnerved Chimnaji, and the brothers had to pass a month in sorrow, before they could set out from Poona.[2] At last Dashera festival came off on October 10 and the Peshwa made a move out of the city that very day. As he embarked on the expedition and proceeded by gradual stages towards Gujrat, staggering news reached him from all sides; that Kanthaji, Pilaji, Udaji and Dabhade had formed a league against him, that Chimnaji Damodar had joined them and that Nizam-ul-Mulk was also coming to their aid in combination with Mohamed Khan Bagash of Malwa.[3] But undaunted by these heavy tidings, Baji Rao took the road towards Khandesh by way of Nasik and reached Surat by the beginning of December 1730. From Surat he passed on to Bharoch and thence towards Baroda with

[1] थो: शा: च: pp. 66-67. Sardesai, vol. i, p. 225.

[2] Rajwade, vol. ii, pp. 60-61.

[3] Irvine, vol. ii, p. 250.

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the intention of driving out Pilaji from there. At this juncture Abhay Singh, who had in October 1730 assumed charge of the government of Gujrat and since then had been exerting to rid his province of the depredations of Pilaji, sent an invitation to Baji Rao, for an interview at Ahemedabad.[1] Divining the motives of the Maharaja, he gladly accepted the invitation and met him at Ahmadabad in February 1731. In a grand audience held in the Shahi Bagh, on the banks of the Sabarmati, it was decided that the engagement of Sarbuland Khan would be respected by Abhay Singh, and consequently the Peshwa must fulfil his part of that engagement. Accordingly Baji Rao started with a contingent of the Maharaja towards Baroda, the seat of Pilaji's power, to besiege and reduce it. As he approached Sawali by March 25, 1731, he got definite information about the movements of the armies of Dabhade and the Nizam. He was told that Dabhade with his confederates Pilaji and Kanthaji and Udaji Pawar was fast proceeding to effect a junction with the Nizam. The danger of such a junction for Baji Rao was too obvious to be speculated upon, and on the spur of the moment he decided to fall on Dabhade and destroy him before he got the help of the Nizam. With a lightning march he turned east, and arrested the further progress of the *Senāpati* at Dabhai. With an army of fifteen to sixteen thousand horse, he fought Dabhade's which ' is said to have been upwards of fifty thousand[2] on April 1, 1731, on the plains of Bhilapur near Dabhai between Baroda and that town, defeated and killed him in the battle.[3] The Dabhade faction was thus wiped in blood, but it is said Baji Rao was forced to take this extreme measure on account of the obduracy of Dabhade. He never showed himself amenable to reason. Baji Rao tried an amicable settlement and ' commenced negotiating, from the day of his quitting Poona, and ' continued it until the hour of attack ! ! His death left complete ' victory to Baji Rao with all but nominal control of the Maratha ' sovereignty.'[4]

[1] *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 614, Letter No. 39, dated September 21, 1730. (Unpublished).

[2] *Surat Factory Diary*, vol. 614, Letter No. 67, dated April 7, 1731. (Unpublished).

[3] थो: शा: च: p. 68. Rajwade, vol. ii, p. 68.

[4] Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 508.

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Consequences of Dabhai

After the battle Baji Rao sent an account of it to Shahu and when he learnt of the death of Dabhade he was smitten with remorse. He felt it was on his account that a Brahman had been killed, and God-fearing as he was he proceeded to make amends for his imaginary sin. He sent for Baji Rao and Chimnaji Appa and 'for Trimbak 'Rao's brothers Yashwant Rao and Sawai Baburao, and for 'Khanderao Dabhade's widow Uma Bai, and did all that he could to 'effect a reconciliation. He made both Baji Rao and Chimnaji Appa 'fall at Uma Bai's feet and ask her forgiveness. Thereafter he 'conferred on Yashwant Rao the title of Senapati and on Savai 'Baburao that of Senakhas Khel. He then bade Uma Bai and her 'sons return to Tulegaon Dabhade. He himself went to the temple 'of Khandoba in Jejuri. After prostrating himself in the presence of 'the gods, he purified himself from the guilt of Trimbak Rao's death. 'He next set himself to the practical side of the question. He defined 'the boundaries of Malwa and Gujrat and passed orders that half the 'revenues of each province should be paid direct to the royal treasury 'by the Peshwa. The other half of the Gujrat revenues should be 'allotted to the Dabhades for the upkeep of the army of occupation. 'The other half of the Malwa revenues should similarly be allotted to 'Baji Rao for his military expenses. But in spite of the royal 'generosity, the house of Dabhades never recovered from the ruinous 'defeat of Dabhai.'[1] Yaswant Rao who succeeded to the office of Commander-in-Chief was a worthless idler and fell into evil ways and a victim to opium and drink. The power ultimately passed from their hands into those of the descendants of Pilaji Gaikwad. But that was not all. Dabhai was a victory without parallel in the history of the Peshwas. It marks a new phase in their rise; it left Baji Rao 'with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty.' Indeed Dabhai was a double triumph for Baji Rao—it was a triumph for his policy; it was a triumph for his ascendancy. It has been indicated above that with Baji Rao the struggle was a matter of principle, of policy—not of self-interest. He was fighting for maintaining an equilibrium in the Maratha Confederacy by enforcing interdependence of its various

[1] Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, p. 194.

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members in matters of money and jagirs. For this he had to bear in his life-time a great deal of unmerited odium. This was the first instance, and here he won a complete victory, for his arrangement was ultimately adopted. Within the four years from April 1727 to April 1731, he had encountered a series of difficulties, and with admirable fortitude and consummate ability he had combated them all, conquered them all. If Palkhed humiliated Nizam-ul-Mulk, the enemy of the Maratha state, if Waruna definitely subjected Shambhuji to Shahu, Dabhai crowned these by sweeping away all possibilities of mischief on the part of both Nizam-ul-Mulk and Shambhuji. After the destruction of Dabhade, Shambhuji, Nizam and other miscreants fully awoke to the transcendent abilities of Baji Rao and dared not defy him. By sheer force of the unrelenting law of survival of the fittest, Baji Rao towered supreme over all. And in fact Dabhai was no mean achievement. When two armies were closing round him, with all the determination of malice and vindictiveness, it required great coolness and caution to face them against overwhelming odds. Baji Rao had only 15,000 men when he encountered Dabhade at the head of 50,000. The issues of the battle were obstinately contested till the last moment, and during the whole course of it, Baji Rao displayed no mean generalship. Though Shahu made Baji Rao fall at the feet of Uma Bai, his admiration for his young Peshwa now rose higher than ever, and henceforth his confidence in him was unshakable. Baji Rao eclipsed all his rivals in the court in point of favour in his master's eyes. Indeed none ventured to dispute his authority now, neither his master, nor the nobles. Baji Rao alone held the helm of the Maratha state, and steered it through many a shoal and rock to the ultimate goal, defined in his policy—Maratha empire. Nine more years of unflagging zeal and indefatigable activities, brought the Marathas actually to strike at the trunk which he had exhorted them to do in 1722. So it is that Dabhai forms a landmark in the history of the Peshwas.

Baji Rao and Nizam again

After Dabhai came the turn of Nizam-ul-Mulk, that arch-enemy of the Maratha state, Baji Rao was burning in resentment against him, for it was through his agency that the troubles of the last four years had arisen. Now with grim determination he started to destroy his last fangs. He prepared a large army to meet him in the open field. But if

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Baji Rao was so resolute to wreak his vengeance, the Nizam was not less so to effect a conciliation on terms, which would be most suitable to Baji Rao. The destruction of Dabhade knocked the bottom out of the Nizam's intrigues and there was an end to the proposed alliance of the Nizam and Bangash. Then the Nizam thought that to buy off Baji Rao on his own terms would be most advisable under the circumstances and he knew that nothing was more after the heart of Baji Rao than to allow him a free scope in the north. Since the loss of Malwa and Gujrat he was in no mood to extend his power to the north of the Narmada. The Karnatac was his proper field he thought, and he knew that in his infatuation for the north Baji Rao would never care for the Karnatac. Hence he seized the earliest opportunity after Dabhai of sending envoys to Baji Rao, with offers of peace. He promised to give him free passage through his dominions into Malwa and urged him to conquer the rich imperial dominions rather than waste his energies in the barren soil of the Deccan. He should fight the Emperor rather than a viceroy like himself. This proposal was eminently pleasing to the Peshwa. 'In August 1731 Baji Rao and Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed to give each other a free hand—the Nizam should be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwa in the north.'[1] Now Baji Rao was left to pursue his policy of Maratha expansion unhampered by the rivalry of the Nizam. And the Nizam eager to keep himself behind the barrier of the Marathas, so that he might be free from the jealousies and intrigues of Delhi, had his purpose served.[2] But it bore bitter fruits for the empire. The Marathas were put upon the track to Delhi through the selfish ambition of the Nizam, and as we shall see in the next chapter, soon mastered the north through the connivance of the Rajputs.

[1] Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. ii, p. 212.
[2] Malcolm, *Central India*, vol. i, p. 79.

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The Maṇimēkalai Account of the Sāṁkhya

BY

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For some time past scholars have been endeavouring to fix the date of the Tamil Classic, *Maṇimēkalai*, and the period of what is called the Sangam Age, in the light of the account given of the classical Indian systems of philosophy, in that work. The treatment of Indian Logic is particularly full and has constituted the battle-ground of rival theorists who claim either that that account marks a transition to Dignāga[1] or that it has utilized the teaching of Dignāga.[2] The question has not yet been settled. Since it seemed to the present writer that the treatment of the other systems of philosophy could not but be of interest and profit, in this connection, he attempted a study of these, and was agreeably surprised to find that the account of the Sāṁkhya was both novel and significant. The doctrine there expounded has very little affinity with the classical Sāṁkhya except in respect of the number of the tattvas (twenty-five including Puruṣa). Since the account is comparatively short, it is set out here in English, *in extenso*.

The expositor of the Sāṁkhya doctrine spoke dispassionately thus: That which is difficult to know, is of the nature of three constituents,[3] is unattainable by the mind (*manam*), is pervasive and common to all, and is the substrate of the evolution of all things, that is Mūla-prakṛti. From this Citta (a synonym for Prakṛti) arises ether (*ākāya*); from that arises air (*vāyu*); from that arises fire (*agṅi*); from that arises water (*appu*); from that arises the earth (*maṇ*); from the

[1] Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Maṇimekhalai*, pp. xxii–xxv.

[2] Prof. Jacobi in the Supplement to his article in the Hultzsch Jubilee Number of the *Zeisschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*; tr. in *Maṇimēkhalai*, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

[3] It is worth noting that the text uses the words 'mukkuṇamāy: *being* (or becoming) the three guṇas,' and not '*possessing* the three guṇas'. The guṇas were thus constituents, not qualities.

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aggregate of these arises the mind (*maṉam*);[1] from the mind is declared (to evolve) the evolute of individuation (*āṅgāram*); from ether the evolutes called the ear and sound, from air the evolutes called the skin and touch, from fire the evolutes called the eye and light, from water (of the elements still left) the evolutes called the mouth (*vāy*) and taste, and from the earth the evolutes of the nose and smell are declared (to evolve)[2]; out of these, as evolutes of the skin[3] arise the organ of speech, the hands, the feet, and the organs of excretion and generation. As modifications of the elements here mentioned arise hills, forests, etc., and constitute the world. These return in the same manner as they appeared and are absorbed. Till the universal deluge these will expand continuously throughout space.[4] Puruṣa is easy to know, devoid of the three constituents, incapable of being cognized by the senses (poṟi); he is not the substrate for the evolution of anything, (but) he is the intelligence whereby all those (evolved) things are known; he is the one, all-pervasive, eternal intelligence. There are twenty-five entities

[1] This provides an interesting analogue to the Vedānta view that mind evolves from the five tanmātras: see *Advaita Vedānta Paribhāṣā*.

[2] The text would seem to support only a parallel evolution of the indriya and what it senses, not a prior evolution of one or the other. Kanakasabhai's translation (in *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*) reads 'from ether sound is produced through the ear' and so on. There is little warrant for this in the text: 'ākāyattiṟ ceviyoli vikāramum', etc. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's translation —'from ākāśa springs sound heard by the ear'—is non-committal.

[3] The text reads: 'ivaṟṟiṟ ṟokku vikāramāy', etc. The second word 'tokku' changed by sandhi to 'ṟokku' is used in the sense of skin (tvak) a few lines earlier. There is no reason to hold that it is used in a different sense here. Kanakasabhai translates thus: 'From the union of these appear the tongue etc.' This is not a very helpful way of understanding the passage. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who translates 'These find expression by means of the physical organs' seems not to recognize the difficulty. Is there any view which takes the organs of action to be derived from one of the organs of cognition—the skin? An interesting view which bears on the question, though not directly, may be noted here. In commenting on verse 59 of Bhoja-deva's *Tattvaprakāśikā* (a Śaiva Āgamic work), Aghora Śiva raises the objection that the organs of action would be infinite in number, if for every action, e.g., knitting the eye-brows, a separate organ were needed. The reply he gives is that the organs of action are not localized but pervade the whole body like the skin, and that knitting the eye-brows is a function of the indriya known as the hands. A certain fundamental resemblance is here recognized between the skin and the karmendriyas; whether any greater degree of identity is pre-supposed is not known.

[4] The sentence in the text is far from clear. I have adopted Kanakasabhai's translation.

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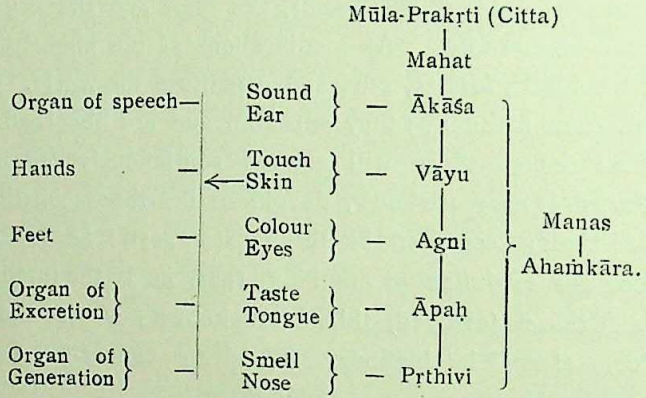
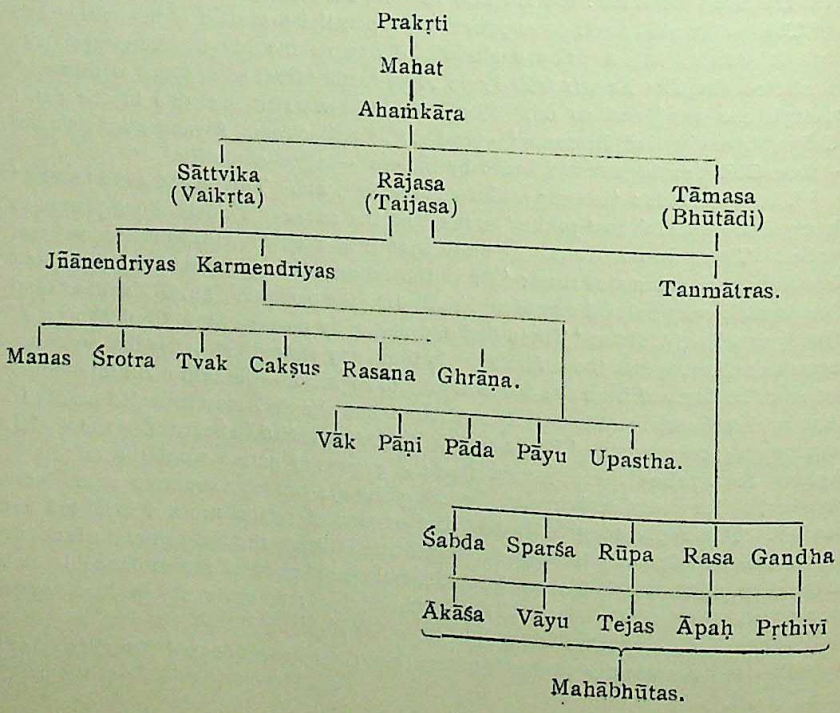
cognizable by the senses (pulam); earth, water, fire, air and ether; the body, the mouth, the eye, the nose and the ear; taste, sight, touch, sound and smell, the organ of speech, the feet, the hands, the organ of excretion and the organ of generation; mind, intellect, individuation and citta; and the one soul (*āṇmā*) called life (*uyir*).'

The scheme of categories may be clearer from the accompanying table. It will be noticed that there is considerable divergence

I.



II. TABLE OF EVOLUTES OF PRAKṚTI AS SET OUT IN THE SĀṀKHYA KĀRIKĀ



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from the Sāṁkhya as expounded by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa and taught (presumably in a continuous line of tradition) up to the time of Vijñāṇa Bhikṣu, if not up to the present day. A prominent feature is the omission of all reference to the subtle elements (tanmātras), out of which the gross elements evolve, according to the classical Sāṁkhya. Another prominent feature is the notion of the oneness of the Puruṣa. Whether we construe the unity strictly or as but referring to the class of intelligent beings, we have something very different from, if not opposed to, the plurality emphasized in the *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*.[1] The order of evolution is itself worthy of note. Manas and ahaṁkāra figure more as by-products than as evolvents of the third and fourth degree as they do in the *Kārikā*. The evolution of the elements is that set out in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* II, 1. To a great extent, the account seems to show affinities with the Sāṁkhya of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The omission of the tanmātras is also reminiscent of the

[1] See *Sāṁkhya Kārikā*, 18.

[2] Cf. Keith. *The Sāṁkhya System*: 'The absence of the five elements, Tanmātras, from the epic results in a different position in the series of evolution for the gross elements. Occasionally these are derived direct from the absolute being, following the doctrine of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (ii, 1), or from mind, but their normal source is the principle of individuation. From the gross elements spring their Viśeṣas, distinctions, the term given to the specific qualities which they possess. In the classical Sāṁkhya, the introduction of the Tanmātras reduces the gross elements to an inferior position; the five elements are without distinction, Aviśeṣa, probably because each element consists of its own nature alone, while the gross elements now themselves bear the term Viśeṣas apparently because they each contain portions of the others. This theory of the mixing of the elements is found in the Epic, but there is also found the very different theory by which the elements, as in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, arise each from the less complex, the lowest, the ether, with one quality and the highest, the earth with five' (p. 37). On the unity of Puruṣa in the Epic Sāṁkhya, see Dahlmann, *Die Sāṁkhya-Philosophie*, esp. p. 5. 'Das klassische Sāṁkhya nimmt eine Vielheit geistiger Substanzen an, das epische Sāṁkhya leugnet diese Vielheit und hält an der unbedingten Einzigkeit des absoluten Geistes fest;' also *Mahābhārata*, xii, 311 (where Vasiṣṭha says, 'Prakṛti is one at the time of the deluge and manifold in creation. The controlling puruṣa is also one at the time of the deluge and manifold in creation'). On the indriyas as evolutes of the mahābhūtas, see *Mahābhārata* xii, 253, and 258 (where Vyāsa says, for instance, 'The organ of hearing is the evolute of ākāśa. The sage who knows what the śāstras lay down knows sound to be characteristic of that ākāśa.); also ch. 315 (where Yājñavalkya says, 'Avyakta, mahat, ahaṁkāra and the five gross elements are the prakṛtis. The five organs of cognition, the five sense-impressions, and the five organs of action are specifications of the five gross elements).' This doctrine provides one

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Sāṁkhya as expounded by Caraka.[1] It would be interesting to know if there is any analogue to the view of the evolution of the organs of action from the skin (or the body as it is termed at a later stage of the account).

Judging from the remarkably precise account given of Indian Logic and the equally correct though, perhaps, jejune account of Buddhism, there is little reason to think that the account of the Sāṁkhya, as given in the *Maṇimēkhalai* is anything but a faithful version of the doctrine as current at the time of the author, and in his part of the country. It is difficult to believe that such a version would have been current after the date of the *Kārikā*, and one may assert with a good measure of reason that there is no likelihood of its having been current two to three centuries after the date assigned to Īśvara Kṛṣṇa. One seems compelled, therefore, to conclude that the composition of the *Maṇimēkalai* could not have been later than the third or at the most the fourth century A.D.[2]

A consideration of the pramāṇas enumerated in Chapter XXVII of the work gives a suggestion which may in some measure reinforce the above conclusion. Inference, which is recognised as a pramāṇa, is said to be three-fold and the three forms—pūrvavat, śeṣavat and sāmānyato dṛṣṭa—are explained much in the same way as by Vātsyāyana in the first portion of his commentary on *Nyāya Sūtra* I, 1, 5. Śeṣavat, for instance, is said to be inference from effect to cause, not inference by elimination as suggested by Vātsyāyana in the latter half of his commentary; sāmānyato dṛṣṭa applies where perception of co-existence between middle and major is absent, not only where it is impossible (being atīndriya). The latter view of sāmānyato dṛṣṭa inference suggested by Vātsyāyana himself seems to be shared by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, as seen from *Kārikā* 6. It seems likely,

more affinity with Vedānta; See *Advaita-Vedānta-Paribhāṣā*, Viṣaya Pariccheda; here, of course, the evolution is from the tanmātras, not from the gross elements which are themselves derived from the tanmātras. The probability of the doctrine being closer to the Upaniṣads than to the classical Sāṁkhya seems thus to be very great. The references to *Mahābhārata* are to the Madhva Vilas Book Depôt Edition.

[1] See Das Gupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, pp. 213–22.

[2] For the date of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa, which is generally fixed as the third century A.D. or earlier, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, pp. 254–55.

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therefore, that the author of the *Maṇimēkalai* came before Vātsyāyana, who is believed not to have come later than 400 A.D.[1] The suggestion in itself is very weak, however, since a particular interpretation might have been chosen in preference to others which were also known. But if taken along with other suggestions which a more detailed study of the chapters XXVII–XXX of the work are likely to yield, the cumulative result cannot but be positively helpful in a more precise determination of the period to which the work belongs.

[1] For the date of Vātsyāyana, see Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 38.

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Relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Bengal in the middle of the Eighteenth Century (1740-1765).

BY

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LIVING side by side for centuries together, the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities had borrowed each other's ideas and customs.[1] Whenever two types of civilization come into contact with each other, it is quite natural that one must exercise its influence on the other. Hinduism had stood patiently before the onrush of the militant forces of Islam without losing its assimilative power in the least, and as soon as the storm had subsided, it embraced within its fold the followers of Islam and cast its influence over them. Similarly the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feeling of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thought, drew the two communities closer and closer. It is worthy of notice that we find illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought in the age of the great orthodox emperor Aurangzeb himself. Alwal, a Mahometan poet, translated the Hindi poem *Padmāvati* into Bengali and wrote several poems on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the seventeenth century.[2] In Kṣemānanda's *Manasāmangala*, written towards

[1] *Vide* the article by Mr. Mazhal-ul-Haque in the *Statesman* November, 17, 1910, referred to by Dr. D. C. Sen in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 794-795.

[2] Dr. D. C. Sen's *History of Benagli Language and Literature*, p. 624. 'The manuscripts of Padmāvatī hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of Ārācān in the back-woods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities. No Hindu has ever yet cared to read them. This goes to prove how far the taste of the Muhammadans was imbued with Hindu culture. This book, that, we should have thought, could be interesting only to Hindu readers, on account of its lengthy disquisitions on

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the latter part of the seventeenth century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel-chamber prepared for Laksmindra, a copy of the Korān was kept along with other sacred charms to remove Manasā-Devi's wrath.[1]

By the middle of the eighteenth century, we find that this process of mutual assimilation had reached its culminating point. Nawab Shāhāmat Jung (Nowagis Mahommad) with Saulat Jung, who came from Purneah at that time, enjoyed the Holi festival for seven days, in the gardens of Motijhil.[2] On that occasion about 200 reservoirs had been filled with coloured water and heaps of Ābir (red-powder) and saffron had been collected ; and more than five hundred charming girls[3] dressed in costly robes and jewels used to appear in groups every morning and evening, mustering from every part of the gardens. After the treaty of Alynagur (9th February, 1757), Nawab Serajah Dowlah proceeded to Murshidabad and enjoyed the Holi festival in his place at Mansurganj[4]. Once, when at Azimabad, Nawab Mir Jafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the Holi festival[5]. It is said that on his deathbed, Mir Jafar drunk a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol

theology and Sanskrit rhetoric, has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurangzeb's time, by Moslems for whom it could apparently have no attraction, nay, to whom it might even seem positively repellant. From the time of Māgnana Ṭhākur, the Muhammadan minister till the time of Shaik Hāmidullā of Chittagong who published it in 1893—covering a period of nearly 250 years—this book was copied, read, and admired by the Muhammadans of Chittagong exclusively'—*Ibid.*, p. 626.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 793 and 288.

[2] *Muzaffarnamah*, pp. 86a-86b. The author of *Muzaffarnamah* was himself present on that occasion.

[3] These were perhaps such professional dancing girls, who could not be classed with the ordinary gentlewomen of the society (Cf. Edmund Ive's and Craufurd's references to dancing girls in Hindu society.)

[4] *Muzaffarnamah*—p. 123b.

[5] (*a*) *Ibid.*, p. 137 a. It is important to note that not only Mir Jafar, but also all the gentry of the city took part in the festival. On this occasion, Mir Jafar amused himself in the company of a woman named Ferzānā, who might be regarded as an example of that type of professional girls 500 of whom had been engaged by Shahamat Jung.

(*b*) 'Not content with that, he (Mir Jafar) ordered a sandy spot in the river, through which ran a small stream to be surrounded by cloth-walls and there he spent some days, in fulfilling the rites of that Gentoo festival, the last of which consists in throwing handfuls of dust and coloured earth at each other and syringing coloured water on one another's clothes.' (*Seir-ul-Mutakherin*—Cambray's old edn., vol. ii, p. 266).

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of Kirīṭeśvarī[1]. The Muhammadans offered 'pujā' at Hindu temples, as the Hindus offered 'sinni' at Muhammadan mosques[2].

This fusion of ideas and customs had long ago led to the evolution of a common god, Satyapīr, warshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike[3]. In Bhāratachandra's poem on Satyapīr we find that a Hindu merchant named Sadānanda got a daughter by favour of the god Satyapīr, to whom he had vowed some offerings; but very soon the merchant forgot to make his offerings, and incurred the wrath of the god Satyapīr, as a result of which his son-in-law met with a premature death[4]. It is related in the contemporary work *Samaser Ghājir Puñthi*, that on one night a Hindu goddess appeared thrice before the Ghāji in his dream, and in obedience to her behest the Ghāji worshipped her the next morning, with the help of the Brāhmaṇs, and according to due rites[5]. A Bengali document[6] (dated A.D.

[1] 'Several persons of credit have affirmed that some moments before his demise, he had, on Nandecomer's persuasion, ordered to be brought to him some water that had been poured in libation over the idol at Kyirut-conāh (a famous temple of the Gentoos in the neighbourhood of Murshidabad) and that some drops of it were poured down to the dying man's throat'. (*Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Cambray's old edn., vol. ii, p. 558). It is worthy of note that a Hindu could, without any hesitation, offer a Moslem the water of libation poured on a Hindu idol, and that it was drunk in faith.

[2] Dr. D. C. Sen's *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 793. 'In Chittagong this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seems to have reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the *Behulā-Sundār*, written by Hāmidullā of Chittagong, we read that the Brahmans, who had assembled to find out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad, consulted the Korān for the purpose. The hero, who was the son of an orthodox Hindu merchant, obeyed the injunctions 'as if they were laid down in the Vedas' and started on his voyage, praying to 'Āllāh' for his safety : . . . . . Āptābuddin, another Mahomedan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called *Jāmil Dilārām*, in A.D. 1750, writes that his hero, who was a Mahomedan, went to the nether worlds to seek a boon from the Saptarṣies or the seven sages of the Hindus.' *Ibid.*, p. 796.

[3] Compare the numerous poems on Satyapīr written in old Bengali, *Vide History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 396–397.

[4] *Satyapīrer kathā* by Bhāratachandra, p. 1.—Bhāratachandra's *Granthāvalī* (New Victoria Press Publication).

[5] 'Summon the Brāhmins, if you do not worship yourself; otherwise, the victory in the battle is not for you. In this way she appeared thrice in his dreams and he took fright on hearing of the battle. Leaving his bed in the morning, the Ghāji pondered over the matter for some time, and (at last) duly worshipped the goddess by summoning the Brāhmins.' (Samaser Ghājir Puñth—*Vide* Dr. D. C. Sen *Typical Selections*, part ii, p. 1851).

[6] S. R. Mitra's *Types of Early Bengali Prose*, pp. 136–38; *Typical Selections*, part ii; *Sāhitya Pariṣada Patrikā*, 1308 B.S., pp. 8–10.

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1732) which marks the victory of the Sahajiyā cult over the orthodox Vaisnava cult, has got a few Muhammadan signatories as its witnesses, and it is really worthy of notice that even in matters of social and religious changes the opinions and testimony of the Muhammadans were sought and obtained by their Hindu brethren. Many of the Muhammadans believed in the principles of astrology and were as particular in observing them as the Hindus[1]. 'Mir Casim understood a little astrology and believed in its maxims and predictions; he procured the child's horoscope to be accurately drawn by able astrologers.'[2] When we compare the large number of works composed by Moslem writers of the age, in praise of the Hindu gods and goddesses and on Hindu music, we cannot but conclude that the Vaiṣnava and orthodox Hindu notions and thought had deeply influenced the inner strata of Muhammadan society in Bengal.[3] Thus in the field of ordinary life, the two communities were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment.

But, in spite of all this, the relations between the prominent members of the two communities, living in the court circles, were sometimes very bitter, though it did not affect so much the internal life of the country.[4] This was due principally to two important changes which had greatly influenced the political outlook of Bengal; one was the gradual weakening of the imperial authority and the consequent rise of

[1] 'So that between the Mahometan and Gentoo astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils; no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted and his veto is as effectual as that of a Tribune in the Roman Senate' (Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Industan*, p. 17.)

[2] *Seir-ul Mutakherin*, vol. ii, p. 387.

[3] We are indebted to Sāhitya Sāgar Ābdul Karim Sāhitya-Viṣhārada for the discovery of some of these MSS. and to Dr. D. C. Sen for the notes and scrutinies on them. Vide *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp, 796–804 and '*Prāchin Puthir Vivaraṇa*' by Ābdul Karim.

'In his work called *Pada Kalpataru*, composed in the 18th century, Vaiṣṇavadasa has quoted the 'padas' (songs in praise of Vaiṣṇava gods) of 11 Moslem writers.' Dr. D. C. Sen's article on 'Vaṇgabhāṣār Upar Musalmānerprabhāva'.—*Vide* the *Bengali Magazine* 'Vicitrā', Māgh 1335, B. S.

[4] 'Yet an Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the Government; it is not felt beyond the small circle of the court. To the rest it is a matter of the utmost indifference, whether their tyrant is a Persian or a Tartar; for they feel all the curses of power, without any of the benefits but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone the only state worse than they endure. (Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Industan*, p. 32).

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upstarts and adventurers[1] as provincial governors, and the other was the emergence and active participation of greal European powers in the field of politics. ' There was a revival of Hindu feeling coincident with the gradual weakening of the Muhammadan power ', and the Hindu aristocrats and zemindars sought to utilize this opportunity to redress their long-felt grievances. Nothing could efface from their minds the memory of the cruelties and oppressions of Murshid Kuli barely a generation ago, and they now wanted to ' feed fat their ancient grudges ' and so they allied themselves with the English to overthrow the upstart Nawabs of Bengal[2]. Colonel Scott wrote to his friend in 1754 that the Jentue (Hindu) Rajahs and inhabitants were much disaffected to the Moor Muhammadan government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their tyranical yoke'.[3]

As long as the strong hands of Alyverdy held the reins of power, this feeling of discontent was not expressed by those Hindus, and by

[1] ' The mother of Alyverdykhan Mahabat Jung belonged to the tribe of ' Afshas', a class of Turks in Turkestan and was related to Shuja-ud-daulah, the son-in-law of Murshid Kuli Jafar Khan and the Subedar of Orissa in his time. Mahabat Jung, together with his father and his brother Haji Ahmed, was in the service of Azim Shah. After the death of Azim Shah, Alyverdykhan was reduced to straitened circumstances and lived a retired life. In the beginning of the reign of Mohammad Shah, Mirza Mohammad, the father of Mahabat Jung, proceeded from Shahjanbad to Orissa in a most wretched condition and made his appearance before Shuja-ud-daulah and his father. Shuja-ud-daulah kept him also in his service. He then sent for his brother Hajy Ahmed with his family and relatives. He remitted to them a decent amount for their travelling expenses, and they all travelled safe from Shahjanbad to Orissa. Haji Ahmed also got into the service of Shuja-ud-daulah. The two brothers were men of great merit and their services to Shuja-ud-daulah conduced much to the stability of his government. By virtue of his courage and judgment Mahabat Jung rose to a much higher position than his father, brother and other nobles of Shuja-ud-daulah's court . . . . . " *Kulāṣatut Tawārīkh.*

[2] This was quite in keeping with the tradition of Indian history. Since the days of Alexander's invasion, it had become, as it were, the fashion of the aggrieved or the weaker party to invite or welcome a foreign power. Āmbhī, the King of Taxila, sided with Alexander against the powerful Hindu monarch Porus ; Jayachandra invited Mohammad Ghori against Pṛthvīrāja ; Bahalol Lodi invited Babar against Ibrahim Lodi;—and here also the Hindu aristocrats and zemindars greatly helped the establishment of the British power in Bengal. Mr. Hill is of opinion that it was the special advantage of the English,—their ' power was based on a firm commercial footing and the grants made by the Emperor, which they could enforce in exact proportion with the weakness of the Local Government '—that attracted the Hindus towards the English—Hill's *Bengal in 1756–1757*, Introduction, p. lii.

[3] Hill, *Bengal in 1756–1757*, vol. iii, p. 328.

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tact and sagacity, Alyverdy was able to utilize their serivces. Orme has remarked:—'Thus the Gentoo connection became the most opulent influence in the Government of which it pervaded every department with such efficacy, that nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge nor did they ever deceive their benefactor, but co-operated to strengthen his administration and relieve his wants; and it is said that the Seats (Seths) alone gave him in one present the enormous sum of three millions of rupees as a contribution to support the expenses of the Morattoe war'[1]. But it is doubtful if this attachment was a sincere one, bound by mutual love and sympathy. Both Alyverdy and his Hindu officers were prompted by political considerations, and the one could not easily dispose of the other without prejudicing one's interest. The very language of Orme that 'nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge', shows the increased influence of the Hindu officials, whose support Alyverdy was probably anxious and careful to secure in order to combat successfully with the Maratha hordes or Afgan rebels. The Hindu aristocrats and zemindars also supported the Government of Alyverdy as it was fighting against the Marathas who were nothing but the terrible plunderers of their homes and property.[2] What of Alyverdy, Jagat Seth would have quite naturally supported any one, coming forward to drive out those Marathas who had sacked his banks and robbed him of two crores.

When the administration of the country fell into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, the loyalty of those Hindu politicians vanished, and most of them, with the exception of three or four, such as Rāmnārāyan[3] Meer Madan Mohanlāl and Rāmrāmsingh of Midnāpore, joined in that 'great conspiracy' against the Nawab. During the first Nawabship of Mir Jafar, the relation between him and the Hindu officers like

[1] Orme, vol. ii, page 53 (Ed. of 1861.)

[2] When a country is attacked by any external force or is tormented by a civil war, its peaceful citizens would quite naturally rally round their monarch, if he makes a sincere effort to drive out those evils. All questions of personal likes or dislikes vanish, for the time being, before the considerations of practical necessity.

[3] 'Of all the Gentoos, Ramnarain seems to have been the only man who did not join the conspiracy against Surajah Dowlah and who had given the French party a warm reception at Patna, as he regarded it as an important source for Surajah Dowlah in case hostilities should be renewed with the English.' (Orme, vol. ii, p. 166.

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Rāmnārāyan and Roydullub was one of deadly antagonism, and it was only the support of the English which saved them from the wrath of the Nawab[1]. Had Mir Casim been ably supported by Shitāb Rāy and his party, then perhaps affairs might have taken a different turn, and the English would not have been so easily victorious at Udayanalā. The attitude of Shitāb Rāy towards Mir Casim was all along hostile, and no one can deny that the cause of the English was greatly furthered by the assistance of Shitāb Rāy, his son Kalyān Singh, Mahārājā Beni Bāhādur and Rāi Sādhorām. Mir Casim tried his utmost to employ Shitāb Rāy in his service, but the latter was too distrustful of Mir Casim to enter his services[2]. On the contrary, he spared no pains to poison the mind of the English against the Nawab and was greatly instrumental in bringing about his downfall. Kalyān Singh has himself[3] related in plain words his own activities, those of his father, of Mahārajā Beni Bāhādur, and Rāi Sadhoram in favour of the English. They greatly popularized the English cause at the courts of the Emperor and the Nawab Vazir, and persuaded the Emperor to grant the Dewani to the East India Company[4]. They could not forget their jealousy of Mir Casim even when the latter was a helpless fugitive in the camp of the Nawab Vazir.[5]

[1] 'Mir Jafar felt those restraints with abomination which turned his head to notions of emancipating himself from the ascendancy of the English; but warned by the experience of the confederacy which had raised him to the sovereignty, saw the necessity of first breaking the power of the Gentoos, in whom the English would find the same resources against himself, as he with the English had derived from them against Surajah Dowlah.'—Orme, vol. ii, p. 196. For details *vide* Orme, vol. ii, pp. 277–359; Scrafton, *Reflections on the Government of Indostan*, pp. 104–114.

[2] 'He had no trust or confidence in the Nawab. He considered him unprincipled, faithless and treacherous, and did not wish to have anything to do with him'.—*Khulāṣatut-Tawārikh*, p. 102 a. For details vide *ibid*, pp. 986–1046.

[3] *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārikh* the chap. 'An account of Mahārāja Shitāb Rai Re-installation of Mir Jafar—Last days of Mir Casim. . . . . .'.

'In this manner I used to call on the Nawab Vazir for a long time, when he always gave me a most patient hearing. In all my talks I impressed upon him the desirability of cultivating friendship with Mir Jafar and the English officials who were men of honour, and avoiding Mir Casim Khan who was a fickleminded man of no character.' (*Ibid*).

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] *Ibid*.—'Mahārāj Beni Bahadur, for some reasons best known to himself intrigued against Mir Mohamad Kassim Khan. The Nawab Vazir was persuaded to pass an order for the imprisonment of Mir Mohamad Kassim Khan and the demolition of his house'.

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The supporters and partisans of the English were almost all Hindus or proteges of the Hindus. The English refugees at Fulta were greatly helped in their distress by the neighbouring Hindu Zemindar Rājā Navakṛṣṇa,[1] and by some of the merchants[2] of Calcutta, though the Nawab had passed strict orders against helping them in any way. All the Company's Gomasthas belonged to the Hindu community,[3] and the native commissioners in Calcutta were all with two or three exceptions, Hindus,[4] were the men who were favoured on account of their connections with the native commissioners.[5] Thus the support of the powerful Hindu aristocrats and Zemindars greatly advanced the supremacy of the English East India Company in Bengal.

[1] 'When the English were on board at Fulta, Raja Naba-Kissen helped them greatly'.—Long, p. 93, footnote. For further details, *vide* the article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

[2] The petition of Gaṅgārām Tāgore and Locoor Sirkār, both merchants of Calcutta, to Mr. Drake.—Proceedings, November 17, A.D. 1757:—'That your petitioners having supplied the Buxeyconnah with rice and gunnies when the Nawab marched on the place in 1756 confide in your goodness to be paid the amount of what they sent into the factory at the desire and orders of the Zemindar, as they are informed all other merchants and Doocandars have been paid by your orders.'

[3] These Gomasthas were all actuated by selfish considerations of making money and took advantage of this opportunity to confirm their hold in the commercial transactions of the country. They were long excluded from many economic advantages, which had been in the exclusive enjoyment of the native Muhammadan merchants and consequently they readily accepted the services of the East India Company with the hope of retrieving their lost fortune.

[4] Gobindrām and Ragoometre, Sooberām Bysāck, Ally Boye, Butto Sircār, Sookdeb Mullik, Niān Mullick, Diārām Bose, Nilmony Hurrikissen Tāgore, Durgārām Dutta, Rāmsantose, Māhmud Suddock, Āyer Noody.—*Consultations*, September 18, A.D. 1752.

[5] Chaithon Dās, Dulob Lucky, Cannant Norry, Churm Bysāck, Curoy Bissās, Gones Bose, Rāmdev Mitra, Sookdev Mitra, Rutharn, Lolta, Hutty Rāon, Rājārām Pālit, Durgārām Dedā Songā, Durgārām Surmat, Lilmoni Choudree.—*Ibid*.

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'The Ring Fence System' and the Marathas

BY

K. M. PANIKKAR

By the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company the Governor and Council of Bengal were faced with the problem of defending their newly acquired territories from the encroachments of the Marathas who at that time held sway over the whole of North India outside the Punjab. Ranoji Scindia had carved out a principality at Gwalior which his more renowned successor Madhaji consolidated and developed into a formidable military power. The Bhonslas had established themselves at Nagpur and extended their sway to the coast of the Bay of Bengal, exacting periodical tribute from the chieftains of the hilly tracts now known as Feudatory States of Orissa. The authorities of the Company lived in daily dread of an invasion of their territories by the Marathas, and the policy of successive Governors from Clive to Wellesley was directed to safeguard the Company's possessions from being devastated by the Maratha horse. The RING FENCE Policy, to which can be traced the development of the system of Protected States, was the defensive measure evolved to meet this danger.

The fundamental idea of this system may be defined as the defence of your neighbour's boundary at his expense in order to protect your territories. The Company's territories under the Governor of Fort William were open to attack from the side of Oudh, Korah and Allahabad, Benares and Orissa. By the treaty of Buxar, the Company entered into an alliance with the Nawab Vizier of Oudh, the most important clause of which read as follows :—

'In case the Dominions of H. H. Shuja-ud-dowla at any time hereafter be attacked, the East India Company shall assist him with a part or whole of their forces. In the case of the Company's forces being employed in His Highness' services, the extraordinary expenses of the same are to be defrayed by him.'

By this clause the Company undertook to defend the Nawab Vizier against all aggressors, thus protecting the frontier of their own

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province of Bengal. 'The defence of the Nawab's possessions from invasion is in fact the defence of ours,' said Warren Hastings at a later time. The relationship of the Company with Oudh was governed by this consideration. Even the much discussed Rohilla war was undertaken for this purpose.

In a letter written to Col. Champion, dated May 28, 1774, Warren Hastings states as follows :—

'We engaged to assist the Vizier in reducing the Rohilla country under his Dominion that the boundary of his possessions might be completed by the Ganges forming a barrier to cover them from the attacks and insults to which they were exposed, by his enemies either possessing or having access to Rohilla country. Thus our alliance with him and the necessity for maintaining this alliance so long as he or his successors shall deserve this protection was rendered advantageous to the Company's interest, because the security of his possessions from invasion in that quarter is in fact the security of ours.'

The Company had originally proposed to ward off the possibility of attack through Allahabad by neutralizing that territory by granting it to Shah Alum. But the Emperor ceded it to the Marathas thus bringing the danger one step nearer. Faced with a breach in the RING FENCE so laboriously constructed, Hastings hit upon the plan of giving the title to the districts to the Nawab Vizier, hoping thereby that the conflicting claims of the Vizier and the Marathas would render any alliance between them impossible. Writing to the Court of Directors on October 4, 1773, the Governor-General explained the purpose of the action as follows :—

'By ceding them (Korah and Allahabad) to the Vizier, we strengthen our alliance with him. We make him more dependent on us as he is more exposed to the hostilities of the Marathas. We render a junction between him and them, which has sometimes been apprehended, morally impossible since their pretensions to Korah will be a constant source of animosity between them.'

The same consideration led Hastings to guarantee the principality of Benares to Cheit Singh. Though Balwant Singh, the father of Cheit Singh, had died in 1770, Shuja-ud-dowla had not recognized Cheit Singh's succession to the gadi. Benares was important strategically to the Company as its possession gave the key to their province of

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Bihar. Hastings visited Benares in 1773 and himself witnessed the agreement between Shuja-ud-dowla and Cheit Singh, by which the latter was confirmed in his territories on an increased tribute. Writing in 1775, Hastings remarked as follows :—

'The Raja of Benares, from the situation of his country which is a frontier of the provinces of Oudh and Behar, may be made a serviceable ally of the Company whenever their affairs require it. He has always been considered in this light both by the Company and by the successive members of the late Council ; but to ensure his attachment to the Company, his interests must be connected with it which cannot be better effected than by freeing him from his present vassalage.' [1]

In pursuance of this policy, Benares was made independent of Oudh and brought directly under the suzerainty of the Company. On the death of Shuja-ud-dowla in 1775, the Company made the transfer of Benares a condition of its recognition of Asaf-ud-dowla. Article 5 of the treaty, dated May 21, 1775, laid down :

'The said Nabob, for the defence of his country as above specified, declares that he has given up of his own free will and accord unto the British Company all districts dependent on Raja Chet Singh.'

The Benares frontier was thus made secure.

The prospect of invasion from these sides, though apprehended by the authorities of the Company, was not so real at any time as from the Orissa side. The Maratha threat from the Midnapore side was not merely apprehended, but was actually on point of materialization on more than one occasion. In fact, the RING FENCE SYSTEM as a method of defence was put to the test only on the Orissa side.

The area between the British dominions in Bengal and the Maratha province of Cuttack was held by independent chieftains who nominally acknowledged the sway of the Marathas and paid tribute when they were forced to do so. The most important of these was the Ruler of Mayurbanj whose principality lay mainly on the Maratha side of the frontier but who also held the Zemindary of Nayabasan in the Company's dominions. The Bhanja family was established in these tracts for many centuries and had enjoyed internal authority and independence even in the time of the Moghuls. 'They paid only a light tribute and were independent within their jurisdiction.' [2]

[1] *Bengal Secret Consultations*, February 13, 1775.
[2] Toynbee's *History of Orissa*, p. 25.

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According to the *Muraquat-i-Hassam*, during the inter-regnum that followed the serious illness of Shah Jehan in 1657, 'Krishna Bhanja of Hariharpur, the leading Zamindar of this province, spread his power over the country from Midnapur to Bhadrak.'[1] Krishna Bhanja wielded considerable military power. *Muraquat-i-Hassam* states that 'he kept one thousand horse and ten thousand or twelve thousand foot soldiers and was obeyed and helped by all the Zemindars of this country. (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur, carried off ryots to his own territory, increased their cultivation and ruined the Imperial dominions.'[2] In A.D. 1724, Emperor Mahommed Shah granted a farman to the ruler of Mayurbhanj by which the Maharaja was confirmed in his authority over his state.

When the Marathas established themselves in Orissa by the treaty by which Ali Verdi Khan ceded Orissa without Midnapore to RAGHOJI BHONSLA, the ruler of Mayurbhanj rose again into prominence. His submission to the Maratha power was nominal and the tribute which the governor of Cuttack demanded was paid only under compulsion. Mr. T. Motte, who was sent by Clive to Sambalpur to find out the condition of the country, reports as follows :—

'There is usually, at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot ; but at this time they were with Pelliji (Pillaji), collecting the tribute of the Mohur Bunge country. The Mohur Bunge country extents from the Neelgur (Nilgiri) hills to the sea ; but having borne with impatience a foreign yoke, each expression of such impatience has been punished by dismembering part of the country, for every officer who behaved remarkably well in the expeditions against the rebellious princes was rewarded by a portion of their land under the name of a tallook.'[3]

As the Mayurbhanj rulers held territory on both sides of the frontier, their support became necessary for the English for the protection of their provinces and for the Marathas if they wanted to enforce their claim of *Chauth* on Bengal. Damodar Bhanja, who became Maharaja in 1761, was a man who well understood the importance of his position when the Company occupied Midnapur as a result

[1] *Muraquat-i-Hassam*, pp. 72 and 107. See also Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 205.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 107, and also J. Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India*, page 207.
[3] *Asiatic Annual Register 1799, Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 51.

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of Mir Qasim's grant. Damodar Bhanja wrote a letter to Vansittart professing friendship which was acknowledged by the Governor with the same cordiality.[1] This friendliness on the part of Damodar Bhanja was no doubt prompted by the fear of an immediate invasion of his territory from the side of the Marathas, between whom and the Raja there was some difficulty owing to the support given by the Nagpur Government to the Nilgiri Chief who was a subordinate of the Raja. Mr. Motte writes in his narrative about this as follows :—

'I left Ballasore the 27th of April, and halted under the tree near Ectiurpoor, where I entered Neelgur, formerly dependent on Mohur Bunge

* * * *

The country is small, and pays rupees thirty thousand annual tribute to the Marathas, by whom the Raja is maintained against the claim of Mohur Bunge.'[2]

In 1763 the Maratha general Bhaskar Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj.[3] The Raja seems to have held his own, for we find the Maratha general Bhavani Pandit writing to the governor on 16th November, 1764, that he 'will shortly march to root out the rebellious Zamindars of Hariharpur, &c.'[4]

A letter of February 28, 1765, indicates that Bhavani Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj but had to retreat to Cuttack.[5]

Sambhaji Ganesh succeeded Bhavani Pandit as governor of Orissa in March, 1768. His first task was to collect the Chauth of Bengal and Bihar from the East India Company and, if that was not forthcoming, to lead an expedition for its collection. Sambhaji Ganesh wrote to Damodar Bhanja to this effect shortly after he took charge of Orissa. 'That in case chout (Chauth) was not paid, he should march in his army in Bengal after the rains, and ravage the whole country, that in the meanwhile he intended to quarter his troops in Gorpudda (Garpada), which is between Jellesore and Ballasore, and that he (Damodar Bhanja) must prepare cantonments for them and be ready to join them in due time with the force.' Damodar Bhanja was

[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. i, 1020.
[2] *Asiatic Annual Register, 1799, Miscellaneous Tracts*, p. 52.
[3] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. i, 1948.
[4] *Ibid*, vol. i, 2481.
[5] *Midnapur Records*, vol. i, No. 34.

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neither ready to allow the Maratha army to encamp within his dominion at Garpada, nor to join his forces with them against the English. To this communication Damodar Bhanja therefore replied that rice was then very dear and scarce in his country and therefore it was not advisable to quarter troops in Garpada as they would not be able to find subsistence there. As a result of Damodar Bhanja's refusal Sambhaji Ganesh quartered his troops in Keonjhar. That Sambhaji Ganesh had a large body of troops under his command and was keen about realizing the *Chauth* of Bengal is evident from his letter to the Governor received by the latter on the 1st April, 1768, in course of which he says: 'A body of 50,000 horse will be attached to the English cause, provided that the Governor maintains a sincere harmony and discharges the *Chauth* according to the original agreement, as long as the province of Bengal continues under His Excellency's influence and power.'[1] When refusing permission to the Maratha Governor to quarter his troops at Garpada during the rains of 1768, Damodar Bhanja apprehended that the army of Sambhaji Ganesh, like that of his predecessor, might also be employed in reducing Mayurbhanj to subjection. He therefore sent a vakil to Mr. George Vansittart, the Resident of Midnapur, to solicit the protection and alliance of the Company against the Marathas. Mr. Vansittart communicated the message of Damodar Bhanja's Vakil to the Governor (Harry Verelst) in a letter, dated the 15th July, 1768. Mayurbhanj was at this time an important buffer state between the British and the Maratha territories, and occupied a particularly strategic position, as the following observation by Mr. Vansittart in this letter to the Governor would testify :—

'* * * * his country is so advantageously situated that, with a very little assistance from us, he would at any time be able to prevent Marathas from entering into Bengal from the southward.'[2] In reply Mr. Verelst requested Mr. Vansittart to gather more information from the Raja of Mayurbhanj and to keep a strict eye on the activities of the Marathas.[3]

Nearly eight months after, on the 28th February 1769, Mr. Vansittart again informed the Governor that 'very strong reports

[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, vol. ii, 892.
[2] *Midnapur Records*, vol. ii, No. 366. [3] *Ibid*, vol. ii, No. 378.

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prevail that the Murattoes really intended to invade these Provinces' and concluded :

'Would you choose that I should enter into a negotiation with the Mohrbunge Raja and engage our protection for his support? I have reason to believe that he would be glad of such an opportunity to shake off the Moratta yoke, and the position of this country would, in case of Moratta troubles, render it extremely convenient to us.'[1]

The realization of the strategic importance of Mayurbhanj led to efforts being made to secure the Maharaja's good will and to afford him protection as against the Marathas. In this policy, the authorities of the Company were greatly helped by the fact that a portion of the hereditary dominions of Damodar Bhanja lay in the Midnapur district and was held by him, according to the new principles of revenue farming introduced by the Company, as an ordinary Zemindar. It was not till the time that Mr. Graham was appointed as Resident at Midnapur that this area was reduced and brought under the operation of the regular revenue rules of the Company. As 'the continuance of this independence' of the parganna in the western jungles was 'judged unsuitable in the present situation of our Government', a military officer with a party of sepoys was despatched against the Rajas, 'with a view to reduce them to a proper subjection to our Government on payment of first revenue and to enforce their obedience to the Resident at Midnapur'.[2] Damodar Bhanja resisted to desperation the attempt to reduce his territory within the Midnapore area to the position of a Zemindary and was more often in revolt against the Company's officers than otherwise.[3] It was even attempted by the Company's authorities to ally themselves with the Marathas with a view to put Damodar Bhanja down. On the 29th December, 1783, the Governor-General of Bengal requested Raja Ram Pandit, the Maratha Subadar of Orissa, to commence joint hostilities against the Mayurbhanj ruler[4] but nothing came out of this, and beyond issuing general edicts, no effort was made to chastise the Raja for his refractoriness. On the other hand, the revenue payable by him for the parganna of Nayabasan

[1] *Midnapur Records*, vol. ii. No. 442.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. i, No. 109.
[3] *Bengal MS. Records*, Hunter, Nos. 537, 561, 579.
[4] *Ibid*, letter No. L.R. 583.

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was considerably reduced. It is clear that the Company was anxious to keep him humoured as his help was necessary in case of Maratha troubles.

Damodar Bhanja died in 1796 and a war of succession broke out between Trivikram Bhanja Deo, the adopted son of the deceased Raja and his widow, Rani Sumitra Devi who claimed the *gadi*. The Rani, in order to strengthen her position, sought and obtained recognition of the Marathas in respect of her principality on their side, and was likewise recognized by the British in respect of the parganna of Nayabasan held by Mayurbhanj in British territory. Rani Sumitra Devi continued the policy of Damodar Bhanja and maintained friendly relations with the British. Her position was at that time particularly important as Wellesley was on the eve of his campaign against the Marathas. By this time the position had so far changed that there was no fear of any attack by the Marathas on the Company's territories. But the British authorities were anxious to obtain possession of the littoral which connects Ganjam with Bengal. When war was declared against Bhonsla in 1803, the Company was anxious that Sumitra Devi, whose authority in Mayurbhanj had been displaced by that of Trivikram Bhanj Deo, should be restored to her State, as her help was deemed to be of great importance. In a letter written to the Mahant of Gopiballavpur, dated 23rd September, 1803, the Collector of Midnapur states :

'At present war has broken out between the English Company and Maharaja Raghuji Bhonsla on account of disagreement. Consequently, an English army has been employed to take possession of the Katak province. Rani Sumitra Devi, Zemindar of Mayurbhanj, is staying at Gopiballavpur owing to her disagreement with her adopted son Trivikram Bhanja ..... This disagreement and dissension among relatives is very undesirable ..... You and Vaidyanatha Chaudary acting in union should bring about an agreement between the Rani and Trivikram Bhanja. If, according to the terms of the agreement, the Rani and Trivikram Bhanja become well-wishers and help the Company, it will be good for both. If the Marathas have oppressed and done injustice to them, the matter will be investigated and justice will be done. *The relations that exist between them and the Maratha Government will be continued.* There will be no deviation from it.'

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Presumably, as a result of these efforts, Rani Sumitra Devi took possession of her State. She was requested to help the British forces proceeding to Cuttack and to hold her country against the Marathas, as will be seen from the following letter of her Vakil to the British Authorities :—

'Durkhast of Bhagbut Churn Muhtee, Wukeel of Ranee Soomitra Bhunj, Zemindar of Nyabusawunt—

'* * * * * In the year 1211 Amlee, the English Government undertook the conquest of Cuttack and owing to the fort Hurihurpoor which belong to your Petitioner's client being situated on the confines of the Maratha territory, she was honoured with a purwanna from the Governor-General in Council to this effect. The English army is proceeding against Cuttack. *You will afford it every assistance in your power*, and comply with any requisitions you may receive. At the same time Mr. Ernst, Judge of Midnapore, issued a purwanna to your petitioner's client informing her that the payment of the kists due from her Zemindar was suspended, directing her to afford every assistance to the English army, *and to guard with the utmost vigilance the Ghauts and passes of her Zemindary and in the event of any of the enemy making their appearance, to convey immediate intelligence thereof to the English army* informing her that, whatever expense she might incur in consequence would be deducted from the revenues of her Estate, Your petitioner's client highly honoured by these commands immediately set about carrying them into execution.' * * * * *.

It will be noticed that the Rani was asked not merely to help the British armies but to defend her own boundaries and to guard all the passes leading into her territory. That, as has been pointed out before, is the essence of the RING FENCE policy. This letter also provides definite evidence that the Mayurbhanj State had completely disowned the Maratha allegiance and accepted the alliance of the East India Company.

With the conquest of Cuttack, the possibility of an attack on the Company's possessions from that side vanished, and the RING FENCE had to be shifted to the new frontier. Like other states which began as parts of the defensive system Mayurbhanj became a protected State. This fact has a curious outcome which it is not necessary to discuss here—and that is, that by reason of its earlier relationship with the Company, this State was not mentioned in the Article 10 of

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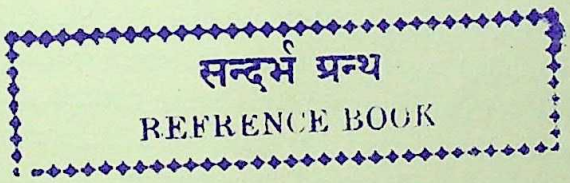
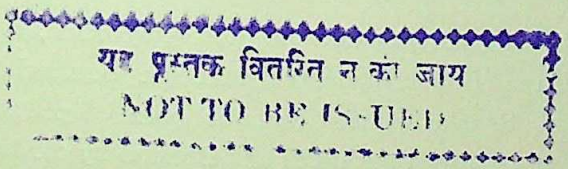
the treaty of Deogun, by which the Bhonsla confirmed the treaties made by the Company with the Nagpur feudatories. Though Mayurbhanj was some time or other a tributary of the Marathas, it was deemed by reason of its close connection with the frontier policy treated here, to have freed itself from the Maratha yoke even before the campaign of 1803, as its rulers were in alliance and friendship with the Government of the Company.

The RING FENCE policy by which Bengal and Bihar were thus saved from attack was actually enforced only in Orissa. Its historical importance in the development of the Indian State policy is well recognized and need not be discussed here.





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Gleanings from Sanskrit Mahakavyas

BY

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(1) THE ŚIŚUPĀLAVADHA

SANSKRIT Mahakavyas are among the least utilized sources of Indian History. While Vedic literature has been enough to provide material for many big volumes on Vedic civilization, Sanskrit Mahakavyas have hardly supplied more than a score of facts to the histories of India. The neglect is, however, far from being justified. For, within the range of Sanskrit Mahakavyas lies scattered a large number of facts which can be gleaned and pieced together by painstaking students of Sanskrit.

Of the Mahakavyas too the most important, for the purpose of history is the Śiśupalavadha, the great epic poem written by Magha, the celebrated Sanskrit poet who, in point of poetic excellence, was considered superior to Kalidas and Bharavi by old fashioned Pandits.[1] In this great Kavya the story of the final success of Krishna and the death of Śiśupala, and a few other incidents have been taken from the *Mahabharata*. But the facts given there are so few that Magha is frequently obliged to draw upon his imagination to supply the want, and compose a book of twenty cantos. Most of the situations and descriptions are therefore Magha's own and owe little to the *Mahabharata*. It is this independence from the source-book which gives the Mahakavya its special value in the eyes of historians. Magha, if he does not describe things taken from the Great Epic and other sources, must have laid his own surroundings under contribution and made thereby his poetic composition a mirror of the age in which he lived.

[1] उपमा कालिदासस्य, भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।
नैषधे पदलालित्यं, माघे सन्ति त्रयो गुणाः ॥

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For instance, the view about statecraft in the second canto, which owes little to the *Mahabharata*, reflects accurately the political conditions by which our poet was surrounded. The eighth century[1] in Indian history was a time of political disruption when kingdoms were falling like ninepins, and constantly changing their boundaries. With such an environment, Magha must have naturally reached the conclusion that 'the sum and substance of political wisdom is one's own rise, and the other's decline[2]. Kings must have, as desired by him, never rested content with what they had acquired but ever tried to increase their domitions at the expense of their enemies.[3] Diplomacy and secret service must have been ever active and monarchs fully believed in the dictum that 'intellect is a king's weapon, that subjects are his limbs, safeguarding secrets his armour, detectives his eyes, and messengers his mouth[4]. Forged letters must have been frequently used by traitors who pretended to be a king's friends, received pay from his enemies and struck at the ministers of the state by accusing them of conspiring with the enemy, and producing false written deeds to prove their treason.[5]

Again, if the twentieth canto be left out of consideration, the description of armies in the rest of the book will be found to abound in details drawn from life. In the twelfth canto, for example, the author does not rest satisfied with the description of the usual four arms—elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, but goes on to speak about camels, mules and oxen which must have been used by the armies of the eighth century. Camels perhaps formed a separate corps.[6] They were largely used by soldiers for riding, and traversing long distances[7] in that part of India where Magha lived. Mules and oxen were employed as beasts of burden[8] and large numbers of camels too served the same purpose.[9] Magha's descriptions of camels are so frequent and lifelike that one is tempted to hazard the inference that Magha was most probably a native of some place in or near Rajputana

[1] For Magha's date, see Prof. Pathak's article in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, vol. xx, pp. 303-306.

[2] आत्मोदयः परख्यानिर्द्वयं नोतिरितीयती ।
Canto ii, 30

[3] Canto ii, 32. [4] Canto ii, 82. [5] Canto ii, 113.
[6] Canto xii, 7, 18, 32. [7] Canto xii, 7, 18, 32. [8] Canto xii, 10, 19.
[9] Canto xii, 9, 11.

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where these animals are largely used, for riding and carrying burdens.

Of the four or five arms mentioned above, the war-elephants were, as shown by the large number of pages devoted to the account of their fighting, the most important for warfare. With their bodies covered with coats of mail[1], and tusks provided with barbs, these creatures must have worked terrible havoc in the hostile army. So eager did these remain for fighting that their eyes had to be covered with clothes which were not removed before their reaching the battle ground and the beginning of the fight in earnest[2]. On their backs sat archers, who showered arrows on the enemy, and remained safe in some measure in their howdahs[3]. Hostile soldiers in their turn tried to blind the elephants by means of arrows[4], and sometimes cut off the tips of their trunks by means of their swords[5]. On the whole, the war-elephant was a terrible creature. He could crush men under his feet, throw them in the air, and tear them to pieces with his trunk, tusks and feet[6].

Cavalry was specially valued for its sudden onrush, quick speed and the breach it caused in hostile ranks[7]. The horses of which it was composed came from outside India[8], and were carefully selected with regard to their speed, training[9] and auspicious signs on neck and bosom[10]. In some cases so good was the training given in styles of movement and attack that under the direction of their leaders the horses did not fear rushing on elephants and allowing their masters time to attack these huge creatures with their spears[11].

Magha does not give more than one or two stanzas to the description of fighting between charioteers. Infantry receives a better treatment and was perhaps more in use than chariots.

Details about equipment are rather meagre. Elephants carried archers, horses spearmen[12], and the foot-soldiers had their swords and shields[13]. Discs[14] and barbed darts[15] which receive a slight mention at some places might have been used by some people. Strong armour was used by many in the army[16].

[1] Canto xviii, 6.
[2] Canto xviii, 28, 29.
[3] Canto xviii, 39, 9.
[4] Canto xviii, 13.
[5] Canto xviii, 45, xix, 67.
[6] Canto xviii, 51.
[7] Canto xviii, 13.
[8] Canto v, 54.
[9] Canto v, 60.
[10] Canto v, 4.
[11] Canto xviii, 23.
[12] Canto xviii, 23.
[13] Canto xviii, 21, 19, 4, xix, 55.
[14] Canto xviii, 45.
[15] Canto xxix, 59.
[16] Canto xvii, 51, 21.

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Drums were sounded[1], conch-cells blown[2], and banners waved[3] as soldiers marched out to battle. Wine was drunk before starting, and intoxicants taken to simulate courage[4]. Bards accompanied warriors to the battle field, and praised loudly the valorous deeds of soldiers showing prowess[5]. Fighting must have been as usual a cruel affair. But its cruelty was perhaps softened a little by the chivalrous principles which directed that a flying enemy should not be pursued[6], and the wounded soldiers should be protected even if they belonged to the hostile party[7].

On marches strict discipline was commended, and generally maintained by good generals[8]. Tents were carried by armies and used whenever required[9]. If rivers were to be crossed in the course of march, a ford was probably sought out and a crossing easily effected. Women and children crossed by means of boats[10], elephants, horses and oxen swam over the river[11], and soldiers must have generally done the same[12].

Camping arrangements vied in elaborateness the system described by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The king's camp was fixed in the centre and surmounted by a flag which served, as did the big lamp in Akbar's camp, to guide stragglers to their tents[13]. Women accompanied chiefs to the wars, and lived with them in their tents[14]. Merchants made the life easy, and supplied all sorts of things from their shops[15]. Prostitutes accompanied the king and his soldiers, set up their own tents, and used their well-known wiles in winning the hearts of people[16]. On the whole, camp life was fairly luxurious.

Interesting facts about religious life too can be had from the Mahakavyas. The Krishna and Bhakti cults are said to have taken their rise during the Gupta Period. If that is so, they had reached their full development by the eighth century. Krishna was at the time regarded as an Avatara and worshipped as such by all people. Devotion to him was believed to be an act of great merit, and a good means to salvation[17]. Stories of his life must have been eagerly drunk in by the masses who knew that he was the slayer of Putana,

[1] Canto xvii, 31, 32. [2] Canto xii, 13. [3] Canto xii, 44, 49, xviii, 8.
[4] Canto xv, 81. [5] Canto xviii, 16. [6] Canto xviii, 18.
[7] Canto xviii, 66. [8] Canto xii, 36. [9] Canto xii, 63, 4.
[10] Canto xii, 71. [11] Canto xii, 72, 73, 74. [12] Canto xii, 75.
[13] Canto v, 13. [14] Canto v, 22. See Canto xii, 34 also.
[15] Canto v, 24, xii, 26. [16] Canto v, 27. [17] Canto xiv, 63.

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Śakatasur, Kamsa and Shisupala[1]. Of other Avataras, the best known were Varaha, Nṛsimha, Vāmana, Dattatraya, Parasuram, and Rama.[2]

Some items can be gathered about popular religion. That it was largely dominated by superstition is proved by the large number of things tabooed as evil if seen or done at the time of departure for battle. The falling of a bowl of water or wine was considered a sure sign of evil.[3] If bangles slipped off, there was a fear that the woman would lose her husband, and be a widow.[4] Sneezing denoted that the man going out would be unsuccessful in his mission.[5] The word 'alam',[6] falling of tears from the eyes, showing signs of distress,[7] and asking one where he was going[8] were certain to cause some obstruction. Even looking towards the feet of one's husband was a bad omen.[9]

Side by side with these superstitious notions went great mental activity among the higher classes of society. Nyaya, Vedanta, Yoga, and Sankhya flourished and the abstruse science of Metaphysics found many eager students. Perhaps the theory of Maya had been already formulated and expounded by some great Acharya.[10] The Sankhya ideas of Prakṛiti and Puruṣa were not merely known but had also become the basis of Yoga Philosophy.[11] The Nyaya doctrine of the subsistence of qualities in the substrate was known and used by the poet.[12] Grammarians too were fairly active. Magha himself was a great scholar of this science and gives more than once proofs of his vast learning.[13]

Of social life the Mahakavya cannot be expected to give a full picture. But something at least can be definitely written about the morals of the people who allowed the Śiśupalavadha to become popular and survive. They certainly cherished no Puritanic ideals. Prostitution was a popular system in their times, and the kings, not

[1] Canto xiv, 23-38.
[2] Canto xiv, 71-86.
[3] Canto xiv, 81. See Mallinatha's commentary also.
[4] Canto xiv, 47. See Mallinatha's commentary also.
[5] Canto xiv, 91. See Mallinatha's commentary also.
[6] Canto xiv.
[7] Canto xiv, 96. See Mallinatha's commentary also.
[8] Canto xiv, 87. See Mallinatha's commentary also.
[9] Canto xiv, 86. See Mallinatha's commentary also.
[10] Canto xiv, 70.
[11] Canto iv, 55.
[12] Canto v, 38.
[13] Canto xiv, 23-24, xvi, 80.

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content with the large number of their wives, had courtezans[1] to wait upon and please them. Illegal love by Abhisarikas was a favourite motive with their poets,[2] and verses were written about the most intimate relations of man and woman.[3] Drinking wine was a common evil which must have ruined many prosperous families.[4]

A few stanzas furnish some account of family life. Monogamy was not the general rule with people. In the eighth century, as now in the twentieth, rich persons had two or three wives.[5] Homes were the scene of intrigues and counter-intrigues. Co-wives did not see eye to eye,[6] and tried to supplant one another in the affections of their husbands. Sometimes matters went further. Indignant at their husband's transgressions, women threatened domestic non-co-operation. Reconciliation was in such matters often reached through the mediation of female friends who, by their sweet words, won the wives' hearts and made them forgive the faults of their husband.[7]

Some light on the way in which women lived will also be found interesting. They were, as now, confined within the four walls of their houses, and rarely allowed to stir outside. So great was the care taken about the *pardah* of queens and ladies of higher classes that men feared being beaten if detected seeing their faces even for a moment.[8] *Amtahpur* or inner apartments were the women's residence proper, and the words *avarodhika*[9] and *avarodhabadhu*[10] employed by Magha connote the exact nature of their bondage.

Women tried various means to set off their beauty. They used jingling girdles,[11] ear-ornaments set with gems,[12] bracelets made of ivory,[13] anklets[14] and pearl necklaces.[15] Various kinds of unguents were used. Of these the most commonly used were prepared with saffron, musk, and sandal.[16] *Kunkuma* and *lodhra* powders[17] were used for the complexion, and *alaktaka*,[18] the red resin of several trees, was used for dyeing the lips and the soles of the feet. Flowers decked

[1] Canto xi, 20. [2] Canto ix, 21, 22. [3] Canto x, 43–67.
[4] Canto xii, 38. [5] Canto viii, 36–44. [6] Canto viii, 36–44.
[7] Canto vii, 7–11. [8] Canto v, 17. [9] Canto xii, 20.
[10] Canto v, 7. [11] Canto vi, 6, 14, Canto vii, 5.
[12] Canto vi, 27. [13] Canto x, 43. [14] Canto vii, 18.
[15] Canto viii, 9, xvi, 84. [16] Canto ix, 7, vi, 24, xvi, 84.
[17] Canto ix, 46, vii, 63. [18] Canto ix, 46, vii, 6, xvi, 84.

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the hair in profusion.[1] Betel-leaves were chewed and many kinds of scents used.[2]

A few details about the ways in which people enjoyed themselves will, we hope, not be out of place at the end of this article. Sometimes men went out on long excursions to forests and enjoyed themselves under their shady trees.[3] Sporting in water was highly popular. Certain machines called *jalayantras* were used by people for throwing water on one another.[4] Sometimes dust too was used by way of joke.[5] Fairs were common. April or Chaitra was the month of enjoyment and merry-making throughout India. Kamadeva, the god of love, was the presiding deity of the Madhu festival which was held in the spring season and celebrated with great eclat by both men and women.[6]

[1] Canto v, 19. [2] Canto viii, 70, Canto viii, 30.
[3] Canto vii. [4] Canto viii, 30. [5] Canto vi, 52.
[6] Canto vi, 19 ; cf. the accounts in *Ratnavali* and *Daśakumara Charita*.

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Varahas of Sri Krishna Raya of Vijayanagara

BY

R. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar, M.A.

The Rev. H. Heras, S. J., has described a golden varaha of Sri Pratapa Krishna Raya of Vijayanagara in Part I, Vol. VII of the *Journal of Indian History* (April 1928.) Two incorrect statements have been made in it, one regarding the publication of the coin and another about the identity of the figure found on the reverse. This paper is intended to correct them and to describe clearly the gold coinage of Krishna Deva Raya.

(1) Prior to his description in the *Journal of Indian History* the Rev. H. Heras states that the coin in question was not published. This statement is not correct, for similar coins have been figured and described by several scholars. Their names and references to their works are noted below :—

Wilson	...	Description of select coins in the possession of the Asiatic Society.	No. 88–89 in page 594 in the *Journal of Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII.
Marsden	...	Oriental Coins, Ancient and Modern.	*Numismatic Circular*, Part II, No. 1070–1071.
Prinsep	...	*Indian Antiquities*, Vol. II.	No. 13 in plate XLV.
Bidie	...	Pagoda or varaha coins of South India.	No. 12 a, b in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LI, Part I, 1883.
Elliot	...	Coins of South India	... Nos. 183 to 188.
Hultzsch	...	Coins of the Kingdom of Vijayanagara.	Page 305, *Indian Antiquary* of September 1891.
Jackson	...	The Dominions, Emblems and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties.	Pages 352–353 in the *British Numismatic Journal*, 1912.

While seven scholars have taken the trouble to describe similar coins, it is somewhat misleading to state that the coin was unpublished hitherto.

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(2) The Rev. H. Heras first of all thought that the figure on the obverse might be a representation of King Krishna Raya, and finally concludes that it could not be, as the figure does not agree with the description of Krishna Raya as found in other sources.

He then suggests that the figure might be a *sanyāsi*, and states that King Krishna Raya had him seated on his throne for a while, and concludes that this coin might have been issued to commemorate this event. He quotes some story to confirm his statement.

The Kings of Vijayanagara never had their figure on their coins. They always had the figure of a deity, except in the case of Achyuta Raya who had the bird *gaṇḍabhērunḍa* on the reverse. These deities were either Śaiva or Vaishnava, or both, according to the religious beliefs of the kings. This was the case throughout. The figure in the present coin therefore neither represents Krishna Raya nor any *sanyāsi*, as stated by the Rev. H. Heras.

This point has been a matter of contest from the year 1832. Wilson took it as the representation of the Varāhavatār of Vishnu; while Bidie, Marsden and Elliot have taken it to be the representation of the goddess Durga (the bull-headed consort of Siva.)

But Dr. Hultzch and Jackson considered it as the figure of Vishnu himself, perhaps owing to the presence of the conch and the discus and as Sri Krishna Raya having been known throughout as an orthodox Vaishnava.

The gold coinage of Krishna Raya consists of double, single and half varahas.

I. The double varaha has on the

Obverse.	Reverse.
Vishnu standing under an arch.	श्री कृष्णरा य॰

This is figured in No. 112 of the Coins of South India.

Dr. Hultzch was doubtful of the issue of this coin by the absence of the word प्रताप, but this might have been issued early in the reign of the king and प्रताप might have been added when he began to conquer vast dominions to his kingdom.

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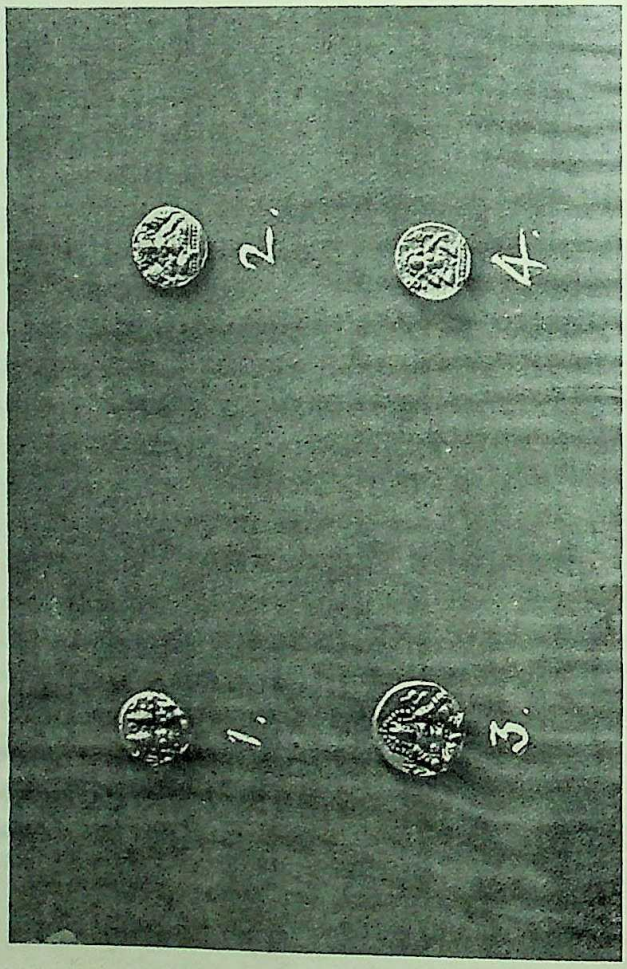

HALF-VARĀHAS OF KRISHNADEVA RAYA OF VIJAYANAGAR

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II. Śingle vārahas have got on the

	OBVERSE.	REVERSE.
(*a*)	Siva and Parvati seated.	
(*b*)	Female figure with right leg hanging down and left leg folded and placed over the seat.	श्रोप्र
(*c*)	Female figure with right leg folded and placed over the seat and with the left folded and kept erect over the seat.	तापकृष्ण राय

III. Half varahas same as II (*c*).

The Madras Government Museum has got in its collection eleven full varahas and thirteen half-varahas. Out of these eleven, one is like II (*a*), (Pl. 1), and one full and half varaha are like II (*b*), (Pl. 2). The rest including all other half varahas, have all the seated figures like II (*c*), (Pl. 3 and 4) which resembles the one figured by the Rev. H. Heras in his article.

The Rev. H. Heras has described: 'The obverse presents a nude figure of a man squatting on the ground. He wears no head dress. His face is absolutely worn out. He has one bangle round each arm over the elbow. His right hand seems to be slightly raised up before his chest as if making a gesture, while the left arm rests upon the knee, somewhat risen above the ground. Below the plank where this figure is squatting, there is a line of drop-like ornamentation, suggesting the decoration of a throne. Something like this is to be seen on the top behind the head of the figure. I could not make out the significance of these flourishes'.

The following is the description of the seated figure: A woman-like form is seated over a pedestal with the right leg folded and the left leg bent and kept erect. The right arm is bent and a ball-like thing is seen in the right hand. The left arm is stretched and is supported by the left knee. Bangles are worn on the two wrists and there are bracelets on both the upper arms. A zone with beads is worn round the waist. A trident-like thing appears over the head and above it there are a series of dots from shoulder to shoulder which may perhaps be to represent a rosary of *rudrāksha* beads. In some cases these dots extend from the discus on the right side to the conch on the left. In the case of some coins, there are no dots but a wavy line is put up over the head.

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While such is the description of the figure, it seems inaccurate to say that the figure is nude. Presumably the Rev. H. Heras has been tempted to draw this conclusion from the beads in the girdle worn round the waist. To all appearances the feminine figure is sitting on a pedestal and not on the ground as stated by the Rev. H. Heras. It has got a head-dress as may be seen from the trident-like thing over the head. The right hand is holding a ball-like object and not raised as if making a gesture, as stated by the writer. The pedestal over which the figure is seated is a *badrāsana* and not a throne as stated by him. There is no *tridaṇḍa* on the coin to indicate that the figure is that of a *sanyāsi* or ascetic.

The form, as observed in these coins, may be divided into two classes. Firstly, those having a trident-like thing on the head and a series of dots over the head and from shoulder to shoulder. Secondly, those having a wavy line above the head. The form, dress and ornaments worn clearly indicate that the figure is feminine. The position of the left leg is peculiar to *Śākta* deities. The ball-like thing in the right hand may be taken to represent the head of a human being which is usually carried by Durga. The feminine features, the trident-like thing on the head, the conch and discus on either side, the series of dots which may represent *rudrāksha* beads, all go to prove that the figure is no other than the goddess Durga. It is obviously from this figure of Durga that these coins were known by the name of Durgi Pagoda.

It may be asked whether it would be compatible for Sri Krishna Raya, a staunch Vaishnava, to have a representation of Durga on his coins. According to a reliable[1] Telugu work, *Śringara Satya-bhāma Sāntvanamu*, by Kāmēśvarakavi, a golden image of Durga was worshipped as the guardian deity of the fort of Vijayanagara ever since its origin and all prosperity of the kingdom was believed to be due to this deity. The kingdom of Vijayanagara was at its zenith during Krishna Raya's time and it would be quite consistent to have the figure on the coin to respect the feeling that all prosperity was due to this Durga. This Durga was handed over to Visvanatha Nayaka of Madura by king Achyuta Raya, from which time the kingdom began to decline.

Therefore there seems to be no doubt whatever that the figure in question is Durga and not a *sanyāsi* as suggested by Rev. Heras.

[1] Verse 26, I am indebted for this information to Mr. Prabhakara Sastri of the Oriental Manuscripts Library.

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The Khaza'inul Futuh

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

CHAPTER IV

GUJRAT, RAJPUTANA, MALWA AND DEOGIR

Having described the dagger thrusts in many victories over the Mughals, I now come to the conquest of the Hindūs of Gujrāt:—[1] As the sword of the Emperor of land and sea had been plentifully smeared with the blood of the infidel Mughals, he wished to wash off this clotted impurity in the immense ocean. Consequently, on Wednesday, the 20th Jamadīul Awwal, 699 A.H., a fortunate day, he issued a *firmān* to the *'Arīẓ-i Wāla* [2] to send an army, like clouds and rain, to the coast of Gujrāt to destroy the temple of Somnāth. Like an angel directing the clouds, the late Ulugh Khān (May God make him drink out of the fountain of His forgiveness!) was appointed to lead the victorious army. Resolved to conquer, the clouds moved towards the sea; and as the foundations of the temple were water-deep, *they wished to bring its summit to the water also.* When the Imperial army reached the City of that land,[3] the sword of the righteous monarch completely conquered the province, which, adorned like a bride, had escaped so many emperors of the past. Much blood was shed. A general invitation was issued to all the beasts and birds of the forest to a continuous feast of meat and drink. *In the marriage banquet, at which the Hindūs were sacrificed, animals of all kinds ate them to their satisfaction.* Then the *Khān-i 'Aẓam* [4] moved his army towards the sea.[5] Round the temple of Somnāth, which is the centre of Hindū worship, he drew a circle with his troops, and planted his *Khaṭāī* spear so high towards the centre that its sharp point almost

[1] *Allusions to sea and rain.*

[2] Minister of War. The office was then held by Hizhabruddīn Zafar Khān.

[3] Apparently Anhilwāra, the capital of Gujrāt, is meant. It is now known as Pattan.

[4] *Khān-i Aẓam* and *Ulugh Khān* both mean the first *Khān* of the Kingdom. It was equivalent to the later title of 'Khān-i Khānān'.

[5] *Allusions to circle and centre.*

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pierced the sky. The banner of Islām was elevated to the equator, while every arch emerging from the two semi-circles, into which the army was divided, without fail passed its arrow through the black dot of infidelity. So the temple of Somnāth was made to bow towards the Holy Mecca; and as the temple lowered its head and jumped into the sea, you may say that the building first said its prayers and then had a bath. The idols, who had fixed their abode midway to the House of Abraham (Mecca), and there waylaid stragglers,[1] were broken to pieces in pursuance of Abraham's tradition.[2] But one idol, the greatest of them all, was sent by the *maliks* to the Imperial Court, so that the breaking of their helpless god may be demonstrated to the idol-worshipping Hindūs. It seemed as if the tongue of the Imperial sword explained the meaning of the text: 'So he (Abraham) broke them (the idols) into pieces except the chief of them, that haply they may return to it.'[3] Such a pagan country, the Mecca of the infidels, now became the Medīna of Islam. The followers of Abraham now acted as guides in place of the Brahman leaders. The robust-hearted true believers rigorously broke all idols and temples wherever they found them. *Owing to the war, 'takbīr,' and 'shahādat' was heard on every side; even the idols by their breaking affirmed the existence of God.* In this ancient land of infidelity the call to prayers rose so high that it was heard in Baghdād and Madāīn (Ctesiphon) while the 'Alāī proclamation (*Khuṭba*) resounded in the dome of Abraham and over the water of Zamzam.[4] As to the city of Nahrwāla and the city of Kambāyat (Cambay), which the sea raises its head to swallow up, as well as the other cities situated on the coast—though the sea beats against them with force, yet the wave of the Muslim army did not turn to the sea to wash off the contamination of infidelity from the land, but cleansed the ground by a deluge of infidel blood; for if blood is not clean, and cannot cleanse, yet the sword is a purifier; and the sword having overcome the infidels, their blood became pure also. My

[1] Obviously referring to the custom of Mussalmāns praying at Hindū shrines. Muslim pilgrims to Mecca, it seems, used to visit Somnāth on their way. It was a great seaport and the place from which the pilgrims embarked on their voyage. Somnāth had been destroyed by Maḥmūd, but like many other temples it had been rebuilt.

[2] *Allusions to Qibla (Mecca) and Abraham.* The holy Mecca was built by the Prophet Abraham.

[3] The *Qurān*, chapter xxi, sec. 5. [4] A famous well in Mecca; Hagar's well.

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object in this simile is not real blood, but (only to show) that *the sword of Islām purified the land as the sun purifies the earth.*[1]

[1] 'In the beginning of the third year of 'Alāuddīn's reign, Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān marched to Gujarāt with their *amīrs*, *sar-lashkars*, and a large army. The whole of Gujrat, including Nahrwala, was plundered. Karan, the Rāi of Gujrāt, fled to Rām Deo at Deogīr, while his wives, daughters, treasures and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslim army. The whole of Gujrāt was conquered. They also sent to Delhi an idol, which the Brahmans had called Somnāth after the destruction of Nāth by Sultān Maḥmūd, for the people to tread on. Nusrat Khān then proceeded to Cambay and took plenty of precious stones and valuables from the Khwājas (Muslim merchants) of Cambay, who were very rich. Kāfūr Hazārdinārī, who later on became the *Malik Naīb* and infatuated 'Alāuddīn, was forcibly seized from his Khwāja and brought to the Sultan.' (*Barni*).

While the army was returning from Gujrat, a serious mutiny broke out, which Khusrau refrains from mentioning. It is, however, described by Barni. 'When Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān were returning from Gujrāt with their spoils,' he continues, 'they resorted to great severity and to kicks and blows to find out what spoils had fallen into the hands of the men and in demanding the fifth part, which was the share of the state. Their demands were extortionate; they would not accept the returns made by the men but wanted more. By compelling the men to drink salt water, and by various kinds of coercion, they wished to take away from them all the gold, silver, jewels and other valuables they had. These tortures drove the men to desperation. There were a number of 'New Muslim' *Amīrs* and horsemen in the army who collected together, about two or three thousand in number, and raised a revolt. They killed Nusrat Khān's brother, Malik Aizzuddin, who was the *Amīr-i hajib* of Ulugh Khān and then proceeded tumultuously to Ulugh Khān's tent. Ulugh Khān cleverly came out of his tent unrecognized and escaped to Nusrat Khān's tent. A nephew (sister's son) of Sultan 'Alāuddīn was sleeping in Ulugh Khān's tent and the mutineers slew him under the impression that he was Ulugh Khān. The disturbance spread through the whole army and there was a grave danger that the spoils (of Gujrāt) would be lost. But as 'Alāuddīn's power was destined to increase, even such a disturbance was soon quelled. The horse and foot of the army gathered before Nusrat Khān's tent, the 'New Muslim' *Amīrs* and horsemen were dispersed, and their ringleaders, who had instigated the revolt, fled for refuge to the *rais* and other rebellious (chiefs). Further inquiry into the spoils was given up, and Nusrat Khān and Ulugh Khān reached Delhī with the spoils, treasures, elephants and slaves they had obtained in the plunder of Gujrāt.

'When news of the "New Muslim" revolt reached Delhī, Sultan 'Alauddin, from the cruelty that was ingrained in his nature, ordered the wives and children of all the rebels, high and low, to be captured and imprisoned. Now was begun the practice of punishing women and children for the misdeeds of men, which had not till then been known in Delhī. But a more horrid act of tyranny was committed by Nusrat Khān, the author of many acts of violence in the City. In revenge for his brother's death, he dishonoured and disgraced the wives of those who had struck his brother with their axes; he gave them to sweepers to be used as prostitutes and ordered their suckling children to be broken to pieces on their heads. His actions filled people with horror and dismay. A shiver went through the hearts of men.'

A short sketch of the conquest is also found in the *Dawal Rānī*. 'When the territory of Sind, the mountains and the sea, had become obedient to him,

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In a single campaign Rantambhor was conquered, and by the decree of Providence the land of infidelity became the land of Islām. [1] When the the Sulṭān's exalted judgment decided that the Rāī of Gujrāt should also come within his power. He sent Ulugh Khān to scatter the dust of that province to the winds and to defeat the Rāī with his superior wisdom. Like lions (the Mussalmāns) shed the blood of the *gabrs* by the side of the river and the sea; and the temple of Somnāth was overthrown with so much force that the earth trembled like the ocean.' (*Dawal Rānī*).

The fortunes (or misfortunes) of Rāī Karan's wife, Kamala Devī and his daughter, Dīval Devī, are described by Amīr Khusrau in his *Dawal Rānī* and are summarized in prose by Ferishta. The story is too long for citation in a foot-note. (See my monograph on *Amir Khusrau*, chapter ii, Messrs. Taraporevala, Bombay).

To Khusrau's regard for the memory of Sultān Jalaluddīn and his reluctance to refer to anything not morally creditable to 'Alāuddīn, we may attribute his omission of the conquest of Multān by Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān. Arkali Khān, the eldest son of Sulṭān Jalaluddin, was governer of Multan when his father was assassinated at Karra. Sultān Jalaluddīn's wife, the Malka-i Jahan, instead of calling Arkali Khān, hastened to place her youngest son, Ruknuddin Ibrahim, on the throne. Her action was probably due to the expectation that she would be all in all with a minor on the throne, whereas Arkali Khān had a will of his own. But when 'Alāuddīn advanced towards Delhī, the Malka-i Jahan found herself too weak to make a stand and most of her officers deserted to the enemy. She frantically appealed to Arkali Khān, but he had been deeply wounded by his mother's behaviour and refused to stir. Finally when 'Alāuddīn encamped opposite to Delhī, the Malka-i Jahan and Sultān Ruknuddin fled to Multān. 'The first project, which 'Alāuddīn entertained after his accession to the throne, was the removal of the late Sulṭān's sons. Ulugh Khān and Za'far Khān were sent to Multān with many *Maliks* and *Amīrs* and an army of thirty or forty thousand horse. After they had besieged Multān for a month or two, the *Kotwal* and the citizens of Multān turned away from Sulṭān Jalaluddīn's sons and some of their *Amīrs* joined the besiegers. Jalaluddīn's sons asked for peace through the mediation of Shaikhul Islam Shaikh Ruknuddin; after it had been promised and the terms settled, they came out (of the city) with the Shaikhul Islam and all their *Maliks* and *Amīrs*. Ulugh Khān treated them with honour and quartered them near his own tent. He sent a message of victory to Delhī, where it was read from the pulpits and then despatched to the provinces. *Qubbahs* (cupolas) were constructed in the City and drums beaten in joy. 'Alāuddīn's power over Hindūstān was now established and he had no enemy or rival to fear.'

'Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān, who had the sons of Sulṭān Jalaluddīn (both of whom had once possessed the canopy) together with all their *Maliks* and *Amīrs* in their hands, now started for Delhī. On the way they met Nusrat Khan, who had been sent to them. The two sons of Sultān Jalaluddin, Ulughu, a son-in-law of the late Sultān, and Malik Ahmad Chap, the ex-*Naib-i Amir-i Ḥajib*, were all blinded. Their *harems* were separated from them and their wealth, goods, slaves and slave-girls, in fact, all they possessed, were seized by Nusrat Khān, who imprisoned the sons of Sulṭān Jalaluddīn in the fort of Hansi and put the sons of Arkali to death. He brought their *harems*, together with the Malka-i Jahan and Ahmad Chap to Delhi and kept them as prisoners in his own house.' (Barni, *Persian Text*, p. 249–50).

[1] *Allusions to the sun and planets.*

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celestial canopy of the Shadow of God cast its shade over the hill of Rantambhor and the conqueror of the world emitted his heat like the sun over the unlucky inhabitants of that place, the days of their life began to decline. The towering fort, which talked with the stars through its lofty pinnacles, was surrounded by the troops. The Saturnian Hindūs, who are related to that planet, had for purposes of defence collected fire in all the ten towers, thus *turning the towers of earth* (*burj-i khākī* [1]) *into towers of fire.* Every day the fire of those people of Hell extended its heated tongue to the light of Islām. But as the Mussalmāns, men of pure elements, had no means of extinguishing it, they took care of their own water (morale) without trying to overcome the fire. Sand-bags were sewn and with them a *pāshīb* was constructed. From the sowing of sand-bags it seemed that the Emperor of the world was investing the sand even with a robe of honour in reward for its capturing the fort. What then was to be the reward of men? *May the country prosper under such an Emperor till water and earth, fire and air continue to exist!* [2] When the *pāshīb* rose high enough to touch the western tower of the fort, the Imperial Westerners (*maghrabīs*) appeared like the trunk of an elephant on its summit and shot large earthen balls. A mountain moved against the infidel fort, and the hearts of the Hindūs began to fail them.

[3] Some 'New Muslims' from among the ill-starred Mughals had turned their faces from the sun of Islām and joined the Saturnians.[4] All these men of Mars had collected together in the tower of fire (*burj-i atshin*); but though they had lighted a fire in all the three towers, and gathered like particles in the 'heaven full of stars', yet was Mercury (*tīr* or arrow) caught in the sign of Saggittarius (*qaus*), and wandering towards the fire, was totally consumed. From[5] Rajab to Ẓil

[1] The signs Taurus, Virgo and Capricornus. [2] *Allusions to* '*manjaniq.*'
[3] *Allusions to stars.*
[4] A number of 'New Muslims', i. e. Monogols converted to Islām, had rebelled when the army of Delhī was returning from Gujrāt and sought refuge at Rantambhor. They were among its staunchest defenders.
[5] The following appears to be the sense of the sentences of which a literal translation is given above. 'When 'Alāuddīn began to pile up his sand-bags on the western side of the fort, the martial Hindūs (who though Saturnians were the Men of Mars as well) and their "New Muslim" comardes collected together in the three western towers of the fort, which looked like "the heaven full of stars". From here they threw fire on the besiegers who were constructing a *pāsheb* at the foot of the fort and at the same time shot their arrows (Mercury) also. But

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Q'ad the victorious army remained encamped at the foot of the fort. From the towers above, the fire rose high enough to evaporate the water-laden canopy of the clouds, but the fortunate Mussalmāns gathered together every day at the extremity of the *pāsheb* and carried forward the Imperial banner. With the impetuosity of Bahrām the brave warriors penetrated like salamanders through a fire that scared away the lion of the sky (the sun). To the sound of pipes, the *pāiko* (footmen) from above made their arrows dance over the fire so that even birds could not fly over the ethereal sphere ; the royal falcons were, therefore, unable to reach the dome of fire which extended to the sky. [1] Again, the *'irādas* inside the fort, being the brides of the Hindūs, had borne them female offsprings of stone and were openly throwing them out by the end of *Sha'bān*. The Imperial *ghazbāns* took account of their misdeeds and stoned them. *For inevitably the mischievous is stoned.* The stones of the besieging *maghrabis* went up in the air and struck the clouds with such force that lightning was emitted from them. Heavy stones fell like hail on the heads of the besieged; they ate them and became cold. Yes ! Their provisions being finished, they ate stones. Famine prevailed to such an extent within the fort, that they would have purchased a grain of rice for two grains of gold but could not get it. The fire of hunger had roasted their hearts within their earthen bosoms—*and they wished to open their bosoms and eat up their roasted hearts. Man can bear all afflictions except that of a starving stomach.*

[2] When the celestial sun had ascended the steps of honour and sat in the sign of Aries to hold the festival of the New Year's day (*naurūz*), *tankas* of gold were showered on the earth like falling leaves, and it became finer than a garden. After the *naurūz*, the Sun of Justice (the Sultān) shone full on the Rantambhor hill and every day its heat and

the arrows they shot (so Amīr Khusrau imagines) wandered into the fire they had thrown and were consequently burnt.

[1] *Allusions to manjanīq* (*catapult*). *'Irâda, manjanīqs and maghrabīs* were various machines for shooting stones at the fort walls and were largely used in siege operations. The central piece, it seems, was a large wooden beam moving upon a pivot; the strongest men of the army were made to pull one side of the beam so that the other side moved forward and hit the stone like a cricket bat. The stones were chiselled into a round or oblong shape of the size of a football on the average. I succeeded in discovering a fairly large number of these *manjanīq-stones* at Chitor.

[2] *Allusions to seasons of the New Year.*

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light increased,[1] till finally the lofty fort, which drew its water-supply from the azure sky, became a desert from lack of vegetation and water. The world seemed smaller to the Rāī (of Rantambhor) than the prison within a rose-bud. So in his desperation one night he lighted a high fire, which rose like a mountain-tulip on the hill, and threw into it the rosy-coloured young maidens, who had grown up in his arms. After he had personally despatched to hell these deserving inmates of paradise, he came to the head of the *pāshīb* with one or two other unbelievers, bent on sacrificing his life with honour. Though the morning breeze had begun to blow, the narcissus-eyes of the watchmen had not yet closed in sleep. The melody of the bulbul accompanied the *Rāī* as he advanced. The rose raised a cry. The watchmen drew their swords of lily, sprang up from their places like the morning breeze and put the *Rāī* to flight, as the winter-wind annihilates the blooming cypress. Thus on the fortunate date, Tuesday, the 3rd *Zil Qa'd*, 700 A. H. such an impregnable fort was taken through an exercise of the strong will. [2] The title of the 'Place of Islām' was sent from heaven for this house of infidelity. The inhabited parts of Jhābun, that old land of paganism, became the 'New City' of the true believers. The great Imperial banner stood over the iron fort like a key in a lock; for it was the key for the conquest of southern lands. First the temple of Bāhir Deo, the support of which he had invoked, was destroyed. Then the houses of infidelity were overthrown by the strong arm of the holy warriors. Many strongly built temples, which the trumpet of the Day of Judgment could not have shaken, went to sleep on the ground as the morning breeze of Islām blew upon them. The stones of the infidel fort had grown deaf from hearing the Hindū conches; but now they re-echoed the (Muslim) call for prayer. Where formerly the loud pealing of the Brahman's kettles had torn the ears of the Hindūs, now the sound of the Prophet's *Khuṭba* filled true believing ears with a melodious joy. *Henceforward whichever side the Imperial armies march, I know their arrow will hit the mark; wherever the Imperial 'Khuṭba' is read, its fame will resound to the sky.*[3]

[1] i. e. after the New Year's festival, 'Alāuddīn distributed gold to his troops and pressed on the siege with greater vigour.

[2] *Allusions to fort and mosque.*

[3] 'Next the Sultān planned another expedition to win elephants and treasures. Ulugh-Khān went to Jhāīn and moved towards the fort of Rantambhor. The army invested the fort as the sea invests the land. The Emperor also went

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This is an account of the conquest of the Fort of Māndū and of the whole of Mālwa :—[1] When the lancers of the victorious army had put antimony into the eyes of the more dimsighted *Rāīs* with their spears, many powerful *Zamīndārs*, gifted with greater keenness of

after him and the august pavilion was pitched up on the hill. The fort itself was as high and exalted as the family of the Rāī, Hamīr Deo, who, though a descendant of Rāī Pithaura, exceeded his ancestor in pride. He had *rāīs*, *rāwats*, *rāṇas* and an army beyond computation; there were well caparisoned elephants, thousands of horses swift as the wind and footmen without limit. The fort of Rantambhor, which is two weeks' march from Delhī, was encircled by a wall three *farsangs* in length. The Sultān attacked the fort as 'Alī had attacked Khaibar. The *maghrabīs* began to strike the fort from east and west with such force that at every stroke one of the towers threw its hat on the ground; because the stones were sent by the Emperor, the fort kissed the ground as soon as they touched it. The Sultān was firm in his determination and reduced the fort in a month or two. As the fort was struck by stone after stone in succession, the path which had been attempted for thirty years was cleared, and through the pious resolve of the Sultān, the desire of an age was fulfilled in a month. When this "land of infidelity" became the "land of Islām," the Sultān assigned the palace and the fort of Rantambhor to Ulugh Khān while he himself returned to the capital.' (*Dawal Rānī*). There are three mistakes in this short description: the time was considerably longer than is asserted, the fort was reduced not by *maghrabī* strokes but through the arduous process of the *pāshīb*, and the affair was anything but the easy walk-over a reader of Amīr Khusrau would imagine.

Barnī's description gives an idea of the difficulties that faced 'Alāuddīn at Rantambhor: 'The first expedition of the Sultān was against Rantambhor, which was (comparatively) nearer to Delhī and had been seized by Hamīr Deo, grandson of Rāī Pithaura of Delhī. Ulugh Khān, who held the territory of Biāna, was sent against the fort and Nusrat Khān, who was governor of Karra that year, was ordered to march to his assistance with the army of Karra and the other provinces of Hindūstān. Ulugh Khān and Nusrat Khān captured Jhāīn and laid siege to Rantambhor. But one day Nusrat Khān, who had gone too near the fort in order to direct the construction of the *pāshīb* and the raising of the *gargaj*, was struck by a stone shot from a *maghrabī* in the fort and died after two or three days. When the news was brought to 'Alāuddīn, he came out of the city in royal splendour and started for Rantambhor. (At Tilpat, however, 'Alāuddin's nephew, Akat Khān, tried to assassinate him and the plot just missed success.) After this event the Sultān marched by continuous stages to Rantambhor and fixed his camp there. The siege, which had been commenced before his arrival, was now pushed on with greater vigour. Ropes were brought from every side and woven into sacks, which were distributed to the army, to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch. The *pāshīb* was constructed and the *gargaj* was raised. The besieged destroyed the *pāshīb* with their *maghrabī-stones* and threw fire from their ramparts, while the besiegers established themselves over the territory of Jhāīn till Dhār. (At this juncture the Sultān's nephews 'Umar and Mangū revolted at Badāūn and Oudh while a freedman, Ḥājī Maula, raised a rebellion in Delhī.) News of the tumult and disturbance at Delhi was brought to 'Alāuddīn but he had made a princely resolve to conquer Rantambhor and

[1] *Allusions to eyes.*

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vision, threw aside their boldness and impudence from fear of the stone-piercing arrows of the Turks. They came to the Imperial Court with open eyes and turned its threshold into antimony by rubbing their black pupils upon it; at the same time they saved their bones from becoming antimony-boxes for the dust.[1] The Emperor regarded every one of them with an affectionate glance, and threw on them a ray of his favour, which their eyes had never expected to behold. Finally, no impudent infidel remained in the provinces of Hind; some had gone to sleep on the scarlet-coloured bed of (Imperial) punishment; others had opened their eyes and bowed in obedience before the Court.

But on the southern frontier, Rāī Mahlik Deo of Mālwa and Kūkā Pardhān had a permanent army of thirty or forty thousand chosen

refused to stir from his place. The large army investing the fort was weary and sick of the siege—it was mid-summer—but from fear of 'Alāuddīn's punishment no horse or foot could either return from the army to Delhī or desert it and fly away to some other place. Repeated rebellions had aroused 'Alāuddīn from his sleep and he strove hard to reduce the fort. After much bloodshed and a hard struggle, Rantambhor was at last captured, and Hamīr Deo and the "New Muslims", who had fled to him after the Gujrat rebellion, were put to death. The Sultān assigned Rantambhor and its territory to Ulugh Khān and returned to Delhī.' (*Tārīkh-i Fīrozī*).

Ferishta adds a few details to Barnī's account. 'After Nusrat Khān's death, Hamīr Deo came out of the fort with two hundred thousand horse and foot and offered battle. Ulugh Khān raised the siege and withdrew to Jhāīn, from where he wrote of the state of affairs to the Emperor. After the siege had dragged on for one year—or, according to another statement, for three years—the Emperor collected a large army from all sides and distributed bags to them. Every man filled his bag with sand and threw it into the ditch, called 'ran,' till an ascent to the wall being formed, the besieged were overpowered and the fort captured. Hamīr Deo fell along with his tribe. Most of the rebels, led by Moḥammad Shah, who had fled to Rantambhor from Jalore, fell in the siege. Mīr Moḥammad Shah himself was lying wounded. When the Sultān's eye fell on him, he asked him out of kindness: 'If I have your wounds attended to and rescue you from this dangerous condition, how will you behave towards me in future?' 'If I regain my health,' the other replied, 'I will put you to death and raise the son of Hamīr Deo to the throne.' Stung to fury, the Sultān ordered him to be cast under the elephant's feet, but soon after, remembering Moḥammad Shah's courage and loyalty, he ordered the dead man to be decently buried. Further, 'Alāuddīn put to death those who had deserted the aforesaid Rāja—the Rāja's wazir Ranmal, etc. 'Such has been their behaviour towards their own master,' he said. 'How can they be loyal to me?'

[1] Antimony (*surma*) is extensively used in India, partly as a medicine, and partly as a toilet for the eyes. *Surma* is put on the eyelids with a large blunt needle; the Imperial army used its spears instead to cure the dim sight of Rāīs. *Surma* is generally kept in small phials of wood or ivory.

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horsemen. The darkness of their (minds) and the dust raised by their legions had put the antimony of pride in their eyes. 'When Fate decrees, the sight is blinded'. A curtain had fallen before their eyes and they forsook the path of loyalty. Consequently, a body of select troops was sent by the Emperor against them and fell on those blind wanderers all of a sudden. Victory itself preceded them and had her eyes fixed upon the road to see when the triumphant army would arrive. When the army of Islām came upon the rebels, their eyes were closed and their necks were cut open with the blows of the sword. Streams of blood sank into the ground. So far as the human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood. The Hindūs tried to fly away from the blood-eating earth, yet with eyes full of tears many of them sank in the mire. At this moment Kūkā came blindly forward, but his horse remained stuck in the mud 'like black earth in the mire'. In the twinkling of an eye he was pierced by innumerable arrows, and looked like a bee-hive with a thousand compartments, all full of bees. Then his soul fled to the streams of the under-world, while his unfortunate head was sent to the Imperial Court, so that it may attain to a real sublimity by being placed under the feet of the royal horses below the Palace Gate.

When Mālwa, an extensive territory of which even clearsighted geographers are unable to discover the limits, was conquered, it was necessary to entrust it to an experienced and clever governor (*mutaṣarrif*), who would not only keep a firm hand over the newly conquered land, but also through courageous judgment and great efforts reduce the fort of Māndū, an edifice so high that the human eye was unable to see its summit. The Emperor surveyed with a critical eye the confidential and trusty servants of the state to see which of them most deserved being entrusted with such a post. When his inspired mind had come to a conclusion, he mentioned to the *Ḥājib-i-Khāṣ* with his brow: 'Tell 'Aīnul Mulk[1] (the Eye of the State) that I have seen foresight in him. I am giving him the title of 'Ainul Mulk' and elevating him to a very high office. I entrust him with the province of Mālwa, where the darkness of infidelity has been

[1] The whole of this passage is based on allusions to the eye. This was naturally suggested by the title of 'Aīnul Mulk Multānī (the eye of the state), who was the first governor of Mālwa. The Hājib-i-Khās or Imperial Chamberlain was one of the greatest officers of the Court.

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illuminated with the light of Islām. He is to use his foresight with skill, without permitting his eyelid to cover his pupils in sleep at the command of night. A handful of thorns still remain in that land, and he is not to consider his eyes safe from being pricked by those ignoble people. He has to conquer the fort of Māndū by closing up the streams and making breaches in the walls ; and when, by the kindness of the " Opener of the Gates ", the place has been conquered, he has to wash away, with the sharpness of his sword, the contamination of infidelity, which sticks to that pagan land as evil intentions stick to the eyes of the rebellious. The cowardly Mahlik Deo has withdrawn to his fort as the eye of a blind man sinks into its socket. Bring him out by such means as you can in order to overawe the other Hindūs. And if, even for a short time, he remains safe in his fort from the arrows of the Mussalmāns, you are to expect nothing but anger from me. *There is reproof for him if he is unable to flow streams of blood on the mountains.*' The '*Ḥājib-Khāṣ*' came and in his official way told Ainul Mulk exactly what the Imperial order was. 'Ainul Mulk stood up as the eyelashes stand upon the eyelids, rubbed his forehead on the ground and accepted the royal *firmān* with the pupils of his eyes.

'Aīnul Mulk started on the mission with his troops and opened wide his joyous eyes to accomplish the task entrusted to him by the Emperor. He cleared the territory (Mālwa) of the remaining evil doers as the eye is cured of its inflammation, till finally his sword refused to do any further work and went into the 'eye' of its scabbard. The dark faced Rāī, like a grain of *chāksū*,[1] had sought shelter between two stones ; but he only made it clear that he would be pealed and ground for the sake of 'Aīnul Mulk (the Eye of the State). From dimness of sight, the Rāī sent the 'light of his eyes'[2] in front, thus making him a shield for his own eyes. At the same time he placed round his son an enormous multitude which only contributed to his fall, as overgrown eyelashes injure the eyes. All at once a body of 'Aīnul Mulk's troops fell upon them, like the dust storm that overpowers the eyes of men. In an instant the boldest of them

[1] '*Chāksū*' is a grain, resembling a lentil, from which a remedy for the eyes is prepared. The Imperial army being commanded by 'Aīnul Mulk, it was necessary for the Rāī to be like a grain of *Chāksū* so that he may be ground into powder for the 'Eye of the State'.

[2] i.e. his son.

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were rolling in blood and dust, while the Rāī's son slept the sleep of death. But 'Aīnul Mulk's clear judgment was not content with this success and he wished to lure the Rāī himself out of his cave. He was planning this when a spy (*dīdbān*) came back from the fort and undertook to guide them. The man led them by a way he had discovered, illuminating the path with the lamp of his eyes. In the course of the night 'Aīnul Mulk's army reached the summit and fell on Mahlik Deo with the impetuosity of a shooting-star before even his household gods were aware of it. Then eye-piercing arrows began to pour on them like innumerable drops of rain, while the flashes of the sword dazzled their eyes. The meteoric arrows kindled a fire in the bodies of these demons (*deos*)[1] brought up in the shade. Rāī Mahlik Deo (the fierce demon) was burnt from head to foot in his battle with the shooting-stars and fled to the stream of Sār, where he was slain. This event occurred on Thursday, the 5th of Jamādiul Awwal, 705 A.H. The gate of the fort of Māndū was opened before them like the eye of fortune. Where, formerly, through secret magic and tricks that deceived the sight,[2] the *gabrs* had drawn a veil over the people's eyes with the dark sayings of infidelity, now true believers, under the 'brows' of the arches, bowed in thankfulness to the ground. The eyes of the angels were illuminated with the light of congregational prayers and Friday sermons. The four walls of the fort resounded at all the five prayers to the sound of the 'Opening Verses': '(All) Praise is due to Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds'. Malik 'Aīnul Mulk wrote down all this with the black of his pupil and sent it through his *ḥājib* to the Emperor to be placed before his august eyes. The wise king under the shadow of his canopy is like the 'Idea of Man'; for the 'Eye of God' is over him.[3] When this good news was brought to the Emperor, he bowed down in thankfulness and assigned the territory of Māndū also to 'Aīnul Mulk. *May God perfect the Empire of the Sulṭān and guard his perfection with the Perfect Eye.*[4]

[1] The word 'Deo' means 'god' in Sanskrit and 'demon' or 'giant' in Persian. Khusrau is very fond of playing upon its two meanings.

[2] '*Chashm bandī*'; apparently an allusion to the still prevalent belief that through the force of magic the eyes of the audience can be made to see things which do not really exist.

[3] An allusion to the Platonic Doctrine of Ideas.

[4] 'Next the Emperor resolved to conquer the countries of the southern *rāīs*. There was a warlike *wazīr*, named Kūkā, who had more influence in Mālwa than

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This is the account of the conquest of Chitor, which towers like the sky on the earth:—On Monday, the 8th Jamādius Ṣānī, 702 A.H. the Conqueror of the World, resolved on the conquest of Chitor, ordered his high-sounding drums to be beaten. The crescent-banner was moved forward from Delhī and the Imperial canopy was raised up to the smoky clouds; the sound of the drum reached the bowl of the sky and conveyed to it the good news of the Emperor's determination. Finally, the confines of Chitor were reached. The Imperial pavilion of which the clouds may be considered the lining, was pitched up in that territory between two rivers.[1] The enthusiasm of the army

the Rāī himself. He had forty thousand horsemen and foot beyond all computation. But ten thousand (horsemen) sent thither from the capital shattered Kūkā's army. The heads of the slain reached the Sultān in quick succession; new flags were put on the Imperial banner. He who does not come to pay obedience to the Emperor on his 'feet', is compelled to come on his 'head'! Away from Mahlik Deo, who had remained on his mountain, the Hindus were slain and captured in large numbers. But as the Sultān had determined that the light of Islām was to fully illuminate those parts, he motioned to 'Aīnul Mulk with his brows that he was to betake himself to Mālwa with speed. With the foresight he had, 'Aīnul Mulk obeyed the order with the pupils of his eyes, and started for Mālwa with his troops, who surrounded him as the eyelashes encircle the eyes. Though General 'Aīnul Mulk was a man of letters, he had also a reputation in the army for the strength of his dagger-thrusts. Supported by the good fortune of the Emperor, 'Aīnul Mulk first cut down the *rāīs* of the place and then for a time gave grass and water to his horses round the fort of Māndū. Cutting the thorns of the ground with his dagger, he battered at the fort with iron. But it was a strange fort, four *farsangs* in circumference and high enough to touch the mirror of the sky. 'Aīnul Mulk tried to find a path, but it was hard to find one that would lead them to the towers that rose as high as the moon. But an opening having been suddenly discovered, the army rushed to it from both sides of the fort. The Rāī was captured and slain near the Sār, and news of the victory was sent to the Emperor, who assigned the conquered territory to 'Aīnul Mulk'. (*Dawal Rānī*).

'Aīnul Mulk Multānī, one of the great *maliks*, was despatched with a large army to conquer the territories of Mālwa, Ujjain, Chanderī and Jālore. When 'Aīnul Mulk reached Mālwa, Kūkā, the raja (?) of the place, came out to meet him with forty thousand Rājput horse and a hundred thousand foot. A fierce battle took place between the two armies, and 'Aīnul Mulk was victorious. Having conquered Ujjain, Māndū, Dhāranagrī and Chanderī on the 10th Jamadiul Awwal, he sent a message of victory to the Emperor. In Delhī for seven days and nights drums were beaten in joy, and sugar was loaded in carts and distributed to the citizens. Katar Deo, ruler of the Jalore fort, was frightened at the conquest of Mālwa. He obtained a safe-conduct through the intermediation of 'Aīnul Mulk, presented himself before the Emperor and was enrolled among the allies.' (*Ferishta*).

[1] The Gambheri and the Berach. A map of Chitor has been published by the Survey Department of the Government of India.

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shook the two seashores like an earthquake, while the dust raised by the feet of the troops rendered the two deep rivers fordable. The two wings of the army were ordered to pitch their tents one after the other on the two sides of the fort. It seemed that water-laden clouds had alighted at the foot of the hill. For two months the flood of the swords went up to the 'waist' of the hill but could not rise any higher. Wonderful was the fort, which even hailstones were unable to strike! *For if the flood itself rushes from the summit, it will take a full day to reach the foot of the hill.*

Nevertheless, the celestial fort, which raised its head above the clouds, would have bowed to the ground at the strokes of the *maghrabī* stones. But Jesus from the *Bāitul Ma'mūr* (Mecca) sent the good news of the building of Moḥammad's Faith; consequently, the stones of the building remained intact and kept their secret to themselves.[1] On a hill, named Chatar-wāri, the Emperor raised his white canopy every day like the sun, and as is the custom of rulers, attended to the administration of the army. He ordered the eastern wrestlers (*pahlwāns*) to draw the westerners (*maghribīs*). Other warriors began to place heavy stones in the 'arm' (*palla*) of the *maghrabi*—for, except the arm of the *maghrabī*, nothing else could measure their strength. *Every warrior, as he raised the stone with his strength, made his hand a pillar for the hill that had no pillars.* The army of Solomon dealt strokes, like those of David, on the fort that reminded them of Seba. On Monday, 11 Muḥarram, A.H. 703, the Solomon of the age, seated on his aerial throne, went into the fort, to which birds were unable to fly. The servant (Amīr Khusrau), who is the bird of this Solomon, was also with him. They cried, 'Hudhud! Hudhud!' repeatedly. But I would not return; for I feared Sulṭān's wrath in case he inquired, 'How is it I see not Hudhud, or is he one of the absentees?' And what would be my excuse for my absence if he asked, 'Bring to me a clear plea'? *If the Emperor says in his anger, 'I will chastise him,' how can the poor bird have strength*

[1] Meaning that though the assault sword in hand had failed, it still lay in 'Alāuddīn's power to knock down the fort with his *maghrabīs*. But he refrained from the step owing to a spiritual message that the building would turn Muslim later. Its destruction, therefore, would have been highly impolitic. Further, the stones of the fort, being true Mussalmāns like all inanimate objects, kept close together as all Mussalmāns should. They knew the future but kept the secret to themselves, lest the Rājputs in disgust should pull down their treacherous fort.

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enough to bear it? [1] It was the rainy season when the white cloud of the ruler of land and sea appeared on the summit of this high hill. The Rāī, struck with the lightning of the Emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone-gate as fire springs out of stone; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the Imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. Wherever there is a brazen vessel, the Hindūs say, there lightning falls; and the Rāī's face had turned as yellow as brass through fear. *Surely he would not have been safe from the lightning of the arrow and the sword, if he had not come to the door of the royal pavilion.*

[2] On the day the yellow faced Rāī sought refuge in the red canopy from fear of the green swords, the great Emperor (May his prosperity continue!) was still crimson with rage. But when he saw the vegetarian Rāī trembling with fear, like the trampled and withered grass under the Imperial tent,—though the Rāī was a rebel, yet the breeze of royal mercy did not allow any hot wind to blow upon him. All the storm of the Emperor's wrath vented itself against the other rebels. He ordered that wherever a green Hindū was found, he was to be cut down like dry grass. Owing to this stern order, thirty thousand Hindūs were slain in one day. It seemed that the meadows of Khizrābād had grown men instead of grass. After the wind of Imperial wrath had uprooted all the *muqaddams*,[3] he rid the land of its two colours, and helped the *raīyats*, the cultivators of the land, among whom no thorn raises its head, to grow. The roots and branches of this azure edifice were assigned to the grand tree of the grand Empire, Khiẓr Khān and given the name of 'Khizrābād'. The red canopy was placed over Khiẓr Khān's head, like the red heaven over the blue sky. He wore a robe of honour ornamented with jewels, as the sky is inlaid with stars. Two banners, black and green, were raised so high above his threshold that the Saturn and the Sun were struck with melancholy and bile. Further, his court was adorned by a baton (*dūrbāsh*) of two colours, each of which seemed a tongue from the solar lamp. Thus by scattering rubies and diamonds and roses, the Emperor made the

[1] Referring to a well known story of the *Qurān*, chap. xxvii, sec. 2. *Hudhud* is the bird that brings the news of Balquis, queen of Seba, to Solomon. The famous Padminī is apparently responsible for the allusions to Solomon's Seba.

[2] *Allusions to colours.*

[3] The village headmen, who among the Rajputs were also officers of the army.

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existence of his son prosperous and honourable. Then freed from the affairs of Khiẓr Khān and Khiẓrābād, *he took hold of his successful bridle and brought his stirrups from the green meadows* (*of Khiẓrābād*) *to Sīrī*. [1] After the 10th of Muḥarram, the banner of the successor of the Prophet (May it rise higher and higher!), having wonderfully predominated over the head of the Hindūs, was ordered to be moved to the City of Islām, Delhī. He (the Emperor) made the killing of all Hindūs, who were out of the pale of Islām, such an obligation on his infidel-smiting sword (*Ẓulfiqār*), that should Muslim schismatics (*rāfiẓīs*) in these days even nominally demand their rights, the pure Sunnis would swear in the name this rightful Caliph of God.[2]

[1] *Allusions to the 10th of Muḥarram more pleasant than the 'Id.* 'Alāuddīn, Khusrau has said before, entered the fort of Chitor on the 11th of Muḥarram. Here it is stated that the army started for Delhi *after* the 10th of Muḥarram. There is really no inconsistency between the two statements, the 10th of Muḥarram having been introduced merely for the sake of allusions in the paragraph.

[2] 'Then he marched against Chitor in state and reduced it in a single expedition. There, also, was a Rāī with a large army, who, to speak the truth, was *the most exalted of all Hindū rulers*. But the Emperor did not waste much time; the fort was reduced in two months with such effect that Saturn became anxious about the safety of his own constellation. It was named Khizrābād and presented to Khizr Khān. Chitor, the paradise of the Hindūs, is a wonderful fort and has springs and meadows on every side.' (*Dawal Rānī*).

'Sultān 'Alāuddīn came out of the city with his army and marched to Chitor, which he invested and captured in a short time and then returned to Delhi.' (*Barnī*).

The story set afloat by Colonel James Tod will not bear a critical examination. The following is Ferishta's account of the famous Padminī and the later history of Chitor :—

'In the meantime Ratan Sen, Rāja of Chitor, had obtained his deliverance in a most unusual way. The details of the incident are these. After the Rāja had been in jail for some time, it came to the Emperor's ears that among the Rajā's women (*zanān*) there was one, Padminī—a woman of fine stature, with dark eyes and moon-like face, and adorned with all the accomplishments of a beauty. The Emperor sent the Rāja a message that his release would depend on his presenting her (to the Sultān). The Raja consented and sent messengers to call his family, who had taken refuge in inaccessible hill-tracts, so that the Emperor's chosen may be picked out of them. But the Rāja's Rājput relatives were shocked at the message. They reproached him severely and wished to mix a little poison in some food and send it to him ; he would take it and withdraw into the world of the dead without becoming notorious for his dishonour. The Rāja's daughter, however, who was famous for her intelligence among her tribe and kindred, disliked this proposal. 'I have thought of a plan,' she said, 'by which my father's life will be saved and yet his honour will not be lost. It is this. Despatch a large number of litters full of warriors with a body of horse and foot to Delhī and at the same time publish the news, that in obedience to the Emperor's order, the Rāja's women are

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In the second conquest of Deogīr, its Rāī was captured and then set free. [1] Rāī Rām Deo was a wild horse that had once before come within the halters of the Imperial officers and had been trained with the horse-breaker's whip, which disciplines a demon (*deo*). But then the Imperial horsemen had, with the greatest kindness, left him the desired meadows of his ancient Demon-land (*Deo-lākh*),[2] and like a well-fed horse he had forgotten the neck-breaking bridle and became headstrong and refractory. The Emperor of the celestial throne sent *the Malik Nāib Bār-bek*[3] (May God strengthen the whip of his authority!) to capture the runaway. With him were sent thirty thousand horse-breakers, scourge in hand, to train the haughty horses of the rebel army. They easily accomplished a march of three hundred *farsangs* without drawing their bridles and fell on that

coming to him. On reaching the suburbs, they are to enter the city at night and take the road to the Rāja's prison-house. On reaching there all the Rajpūts are to draw their swords, overpower anyone who stands in their way and enter the prison; then seating my father on a swift-footed horse, they are to take the way to their homes with speed.' The counsellors approved of the plan and acted upon it. A body of devoted warriors sat in the litters and came to Delhī. When a part of the night had passed, they entered the city. 'We have brought Padminī and all the relatives of the Rāja,' they cried. On nearing the prison, the Rājputs drew their swords, rushed out of their litters and quickly cut the guards to pieces; then they broke the Rāja's chains, mounted him on a horse and struggled out of the city like a bird out of its cage. Joined, next, by a body of Rājputs, who had been waiting for them, they took the way to their homes. The Emperor's horsemen pursued them on their journey and overtook them at several places; many Rājputs were slain in the skirmishes, but the Rāja, somehow or other, with great difficulty reached the hills, where his family was living. Rescued from the Emperor's torturing claws through the fortunate plan of his accomplished daughter, the Rāja began to plunder the territory round the Chitor Fort. 'Alāuddīn, however, in accordance with the demands of political expediency, took the fort from Khizr Khān and bestowed it on the Rāja's sister's son, Karīz Rāī, who was in the Emperor's service and had given many proofs of his loyalty. In a short time Kharīz Rāī strengthened himself wonderfully in the place; all the Rājputs were pleased with his government and joined him. He remained firmly loyal till the Emperor's death. Every year he came with presents from his land to kiss the threshold of the great conqueror, and was honoured with the gift of a horse and a special robe, after which he returned to his home. Whenever the Sultān's army went on an expedition, he appeared obediently with five thousand horse and ten thousand foot and exposed his life to many dangers.

[1] *Allusions to horses.*

[2] A play on the word *Deogir*, which may mean the place of a demon or of a god.

[3] The famous Malik Kāfūr Hazārdīnāri. He held the office of *Malik Nāib* or 'Regent of the State'.

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army of horses who had turned away from their head-stalls. On Saturday, the 19th of Ramaẓan, 706 A.H. the (Imperial) horsemen were ordered to lead their horses to the charge and to moisten their swords, which were cold as lilies, with blood from necks of the *gabrs*. The rebel army fled and its scattered ranks were torn by further differences. The Rāī's son ran away on his horse. Most of the Hindū soldiers, sewn together by shots of arrows and spears, fled to the regions of the under-world. The troops that survived were cut into two parts by the dividing sword. One half of them in excessive fear turned away their horses from the battle-field and fled with the Rāī's son, for their souls were flying away from their bodies as an unruly horse flies off from the rider's hands. The rest capitulated and gave up their horses to the *Qandkash* of the prisoners. The Muslim horsemen being victorious, the *Malik-i Sahkash*[1] ordered that such booty as was fit for the troopers should be given back to them, while things only suitable for the Sublime Court—fleet-footed horses that flew over the plain, hill-like elephants (whose feet) wore away the rocks, treasures which surpassed all imagination—were reviewed, recorded and then entrusted to the officers of (the royal) horse and elephant stables and the treasury.

[2] As the Emperor had ordered the 'tongue' of the sword to take as much care as possible of the Rāī and his relatives in the battle-field, the great Commander restricted his efforts to catching the refractory Rām Deo and most of his men alive. But as their heads had wavered from loyalty, first the yoke of Imperial authority, which is supreme over all its rivals, was placed on their criminal necks. *Yes, he put (the yoke) so tightly that their jugular veins nearly snapped asunder.* But the New Messiah, i.e., the rightly guided Sulṭān, knew in his forgiving heart that fear of his punishing sword had taken out all life from their bodies; so he blew his spirit into them and brought them to life again. When all these people had regained their life by the blowing of the Sulṭān's 'breath' (favour) upon them, the Malik Naib brought them to the *Baitul Ma'mūr* of Jesus (Delhi), that they may see the life-giving holy spirit with their own eyes. *And the holy spirit gave them*

[1] Malik Kāfūr, so called because he had, till then, led three expeditions to the Deccan.

[2] *Allusions to the sword.*

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the good news of an eternal existence. [1] As none but benevolent images are formed in the mirror of the Second Alexander, therefore in spite of the signs of rebellion he had seen in Rām Deo, he took the Rāī under the ramparts of his protection and forgiveness and considered the inverted images, which appeared in the latter's rusty iron heart, the refraction of a worthless looking-glass. And he raised the Rāī to such a high dignity, that owing to the strength of his good fortune, his face was never for a single moment away from the mirror on the knees (of the Second Alexander). The Rāī was indeed fortunate when the Hindī sword of the Emperor became a breast-plate for the protection of his honour. An order (*sharf-nāma*) of Alexander also made this clear. *When avenging fate ceased to hate the rebellion of the Hindū, the sword of the Alexander turned into a mirror before his eyes.* For full six months the fortunate Rāī remained in the rays of Imperial favour, as the crescent bends its back in the service of the Sun; day by day his honour and dignity increased, till in the course of time he attained to the orbit of his prosperity like the full moon. The Sun of the Empire honoured him with a blue canopy, and arrayed in all pomp, he moved to his own permanent constellation. *May God protect the Sulṭān, for he sustains his subjects, like the moon, with his benevolent rays.* [2]

Account of the conquest of Siwāna, which became Khairābād, by the Imperial sword (*May it be preserved for ever* !). [3] When the lions of the august threshold had subdued all surrounding animals with their powerful strokes, so that for five hundred *farsangs* from the royal garden no tiger was left, which the lions of the Imperial army need trouble their claws about, the Imperial horseman became tired of the inactivity and wished to let his swift-footed horses wander at will for a few days in the hunting-field. On Wednesday, the 11th Muḥarram, 710 A.H. the standards of the army were moved (out of Delhī) for the campaign; and *they shook as the heart of a wild beast beats when there is a sheep in the forest.* [4] It is the custom of the world-conquerer not to return from any of his flights without reducing the fort and overpowering its possessor. He raised his wings to fly from Imperial Delhī

[1] *Allusions to mirrors.*

[2] The authorities for the second conquest of Deogir are given in Appendix A along with the authorities on the other Deccan invasions.

[3] *Allusions to wild beasts.* [4] *Allusions to birds.*

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to Siwāna, a distance of one hundred *farsangs*, and besieged that fort which was an asylum of wild robbers. Upon the hill he saw a fort so high that the eagle could not reach its summit in ten flights. In it sat a *gabr*, named Satal Deo, like the Sīmurgh [1] on the Caucasus. Several thousand other *gabrs* sat on the top of the hill, like so many mountain-vultures, ready to have themselves torn. Like stone-eating birds they opened their mouths and waited till the *maghrabī*-stones began to fly to them from every side. Then some of them fell down like sparrows and their gizzards were broken into atoms, while others fluttered their wings and feet and gave up the ghost. The men of the army threw up their hats to catch these household birds and cut them to pieces. *How long could the game continue*? [2]Towards the east the Sun of the Earth[3] (May God elevate him to the constellation of the Lion !) sat on a throne with lion's feet and with tiger's eyes engraved over it. He ordered the swordsmen of the right wing to attack the southern side of the fort, while the lions of the left wing attacked it from the north. The *manjanīqs* on the west were entrusted to Malik Kamāluddīn Gurg (the wolf) ; *for he excelled in killing lions as much as the wolf excels in killing sheep.* The *maghrabīs* under the command of the ' wolf ' made a cave in the hill with every shot. Finally, the head of the *pāshīb* reached the summit of the hill. By the order of the Emperor, the heroes of the army marched over the elephantine *pāshīb* and fell on the animals within the fort. But as the besieged were brave and haughty, they did not fly though their heads were cut into pieces. Those who attempted to fly were chased and caught. Some were sent to sleep like hares with strokes of the hunter's spear ; others were ground down to flour under the *maghrabī* stones. The brave warriors of the (Imperial) army redoubled their shots at their enemies of *māsh*[4] to grind down the latter between two stones for their bread at dinner; others they minced into meat and gave a feast to animals of all kinds. On that day of battle, from the appearance of the false dawn to the last flicker of light *the infidels were slain and streams of blood were made to flow.* [5]Some Hindū birds, with many deceptions, fled away from the

[1] A fabulous bird of the *Shāhnāmah*.
[2] *Allusions to wild beasts.*
[3] i.e. the Sultān.
[4] A sort of vetch. Being enemies of the Emperor, they had to be soft as *māsh* and consequently the Imperial author proceeds to grind them between two *maghrabī* stones to provide the right kind of dinner-bread for an Imperial army.
[5] *Allusion to birds.*

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battle with their leader ; before the Mussalmāns could catch them, they sprang up from their nests and tried to fly to Jālore. But the swift-footed servants of the Emperor got news of this and laid an ambush for them, Some they prevented from proceeding further ; others they slew, *till the wild, black crow of darkness assumed a white colour, i.e. the night had been succeeded by the morning.* On the morning on Tuesday, the 23rd Rabīul Awwal, the dead body of Satal Deo was brought before the lions of the Imperial threshold. People were struck with wonder at the grandeur of the *Gurg* (wolf) and the terrific strength of his arrow-shot.

The campaign against the wild animals being over, the intrepid Emperor ordered his lion-hearted slave, Kamāluddīn Gurg, to hunt the beasts of the forest, and was confident that if the clouds rained sharp arrows instead of drops of water, the 'wolf' would not raise up his shield over his head, for he had known many such showers. The just protector of his subjects entrusted the cattle to the 'wolf', in order that he may guard the young she-goats from the thorns of the territory. In a single hunting excursion such a famous victory befell the Emperor. He moved his standard towards the 'Platform of the Lions' [1] (*chautra-i shīrān*) and the crescent banner was brought to the 'Constellation of the Lion (Delhī)'.[2]

[1] A plain or platform in Delhī.

[2] 'Next the Emperor started with his army for Siwāna. There, too, was a strong-armed Rāī, named Satal Deo, whose 'stone' had broken the balance of other Rāīs. He was powerful like Ahrman and all the *rawats* bowed to his authority. In his fort of stone, which was stronger than iron, there were many *gabrs* with hearts of steel. They had used their daggers and dispossessed other *rāīs* of their blankets. The Imperial army had been investing the fort for five or six years without being able to injure half-a-brick of the edifice. But in a single move, the Emperor took his army to Siwāna like a deluge, and Satal Deo, in spite of his elephantine stature, was sent to sleep like an elephant through the vigilance of the Emperor.' (*Dawal Rānī*).

'While the *Malik Nāīb* was in the Deccan, the Emperor marched against the fort of Siwāna, which is to the south of Delhī. The army of Delhī had been besieging it for some years without achieving anything. 'Alāuddīn encircled the fort and reduced the besieged to straits. Satal Deo, the Rāja of Siwāna, humbly sent a silver effigy of himself with golden cords round its neck, a hundred elephants, and other valuable presents to the Emperor and asked for his pardon. The Emperor took this in good humour, but said that it would do no good till Satal Deo came in person. The Rāja perforce came out of the fort and paid his respects to the Emperor. 'Alāuddīn took possession of all that the fort contained, even the knives and needles. Such articles as were of use to the government were assigned to the royal factories ; the rest were given over in

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CHAPTER V

CAMPAIGN OF ARANGAL

Now I will describe the conquest of Tilang in such a way, that the feet of imagination will become lame in following my pen! [1]After conquering many regions of the south, the brilliant judgment of the Sulṭān of East and West came to the conclusion that the swarms of Arangal must be trampled under the crescent horse-shoe of the army. On 25th Jamādiul Awwal, 709 A.H. the Nausherwān of the age ordered his Buzurchmehr[2], accompanied by the red canopy of the 'Shadow of God' and an army like the stars and planets of the sky, to lead his lucky horses to the south. The ruby canopy of the Sun of Sulṭāns, like a cloud that becomes red as the sun shines upon it, began to move towards the sea of Ma'bar. And as it commenced its

payment of their salaries to the troops and camp-followers. The territory was divided among the *amirs*. The empty fort was handed back to the Rāja.

'About the same time the fort of Jālore was also conquered. It is said that Kanīr Deo, Rāja of Jālore, came to pay his homage to the Emperor at Delhī. "There is no zamindar in Hindūstān to-day strong enough to challenge my troops," 'Alāuddīn declared on one occasion when Kanīr Deo was present in the *majlis*. "If I challenge and do not prevail," Kanīr blurted out in his excessive ignorance and folly, "I will know how to die." The Emperor was annoyed at these words, but said nothing, and permitted Kanīr Deo to return to his territory. When some two or three months had passed, the Emperor determined to show his strength. He ordered a slave-girl, named Gul-i Bihisht, to march against Jālore and reduce it by force. Gul-i Bihisht reached her destination, besieged the fort and displayed such wonderful courage that it never occurred to Kanīr Deo to come out and offer battle. The besieged were reduced to straits and the fort was about to fall when Gul-i Bihisht suddenly fell ill and died. Her son, Shāhīn, took the army in hand and tried to overpower the besieged like his mother. But Kanīr Deo now saw that the Emperor's anger was inevitable and determined to make a desperate struggle. He collected all his men, came out of the fort and gave battle. As chance would have it, Shāhīn and Kanīr Deo came face to face and Shāhīn was killed. The other *amīrs*, unable to continue the struggle, retreated a few stages. 'Alāuddīn was furious at the news and sent Kamāluddīn to lead the enterprise with a new army. Kamāluddīn showed great activity and courage. He reduced the fort, slew Kanīr Deo with his sons and followers and seized his treasure. When the message of victory reached Delhī, drums were beaten in joy.' (*Ferishta*).

Ferishta is mistaken in stating that Satal Deo was deprived of his wealth and allowed to live in his fort. Khusrau definitely states in both his works that Satal Deo was slain. Ferishta's mistake is due to the fact that he applies to Satal Deo the verses in which Khusrau has described the fate of the Rāī of Arangel.

[1] *Allusions to stars and the sky.*

[2] Nausherwān was the famous Persian Emperor in whose reign the Arabian Prophet was born; Buzurchmehr was his wise *wazīr*. The reference is to Alāuddīn and his '*nāib*' or 'regent', Malik Kāfūr.

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flight at the Emperor's order, you would think it was a cloud, which Mecca-going winds were carrying towards the sea. Following this sky tied with ropes, the stars and planets of the army moved on, stage after stage; after nine days the fortunate star of the state (i.e. the *wazīr* of the Empire) arrived at a propitious moment at Mas'ūdpūr. At this place, which is named after the son of the Emperor Mas'ūd, the foot of the standard remained stationery for two days. On Monday, the 6th Jamādīus Ṣānī, the crescent standard of the Empire, with the *maliks* and other 'stars', began to move rapidly forward. It was the first part of the month. Every night the moon enlarged its flame and raised it higher to help the night marches of the army. And though the sun, the 'Mecca' of the Hindūs, looked fiercely at the Mussalmāns, the feet of the army threw dust into its eye. *Yes, the eye that looks fiercely at such an army deserves no other antimony but black dust.* [1]The path before them was extremely uneven; there were innumerable clefts in it, such that if the wind passed through them, it would fall as water falls into a well, or if (flames of) fire ran over them, they would bow down their heads to the earth. Owing to the rapidity of the streams, the ground at the foot of the hills had broken into many fissures. Every mound had a hundred thousand pointed thorns stuck to its head; the very idea of cutting such rocks and thorns made the hair of a pair of scissors stand upon its body like thorns. Through such a forest the obedient army passed, file after file, as if that perfect wilderness were the 'straight path'. After six days of marching, the army crossed five rivers—Jūn, Chambal, Kunwārī, Binās, Bhojī [2]—at the fords and came to Sulṭānpūr, known as Irijpūr. *Here the army remained for* four days. [3]On the 19th Jamādīus Sānī, the Malik of the brilliant fortune[4] mounted his horse, and the 'stars' of the Empire began to move.

[1] *Allusions to uneven roads.*

[2] 'Binās may be read as Bambās. The Kunwārī is the Kuhari of the maps, and the Niyas (Binas) and Bashuji (Bhoji) must be the rivers now known as the Sind and Betwa.'—(*Elliot*).

[3] *Allusions to the stars.*

[4] i.e. the Malik Nāib Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī. He was the Regent of the Empire and Commander-in-Chief of the invading army. The author finds every kind of laudatory title for him. He is often referred to as the '*Sah-Kash*', winner of three campaigns and sometimes simply as 'the *Malik*'. He is not to be confused with Sirājuddīn, generally known as Khwāja Hājī, who accompanied the expeditionary force as '*Arīz-i Mumālik*' or Minister of War.

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The rider was above, the horse was below; it looked as if 'stars' were riding on the backs of the planets. [1] From *farsang* to *farsang* every stone on the way had its 'head' broken by the hoofs of the horses though nothing came out of its 'skull'. The movement of cloven-footed baggage bearers despoiled the earth of its bloom. The swift *pāīks* (footmen) rent the hills with their iron feet; indeed, as these pedestrians hurried over the ground with firmness and impetuosity, *on one side the stones pierced into the soles of their feet, while on the other, their feet removed the skin from the skulls of the stones.*

[2] After thirteen days, on the first of Rajab, the army arrived at Khanda. In such a wilderness the month of God [3] came forward to welcome the Muslim army, and showed great kindness to the pious men, who had travelled under the hot sun for three months. Here a muster of the holy warriors was held for fourteen days. The angels sent their blessings. The prayer for victory came to the 'ears' of Rajab, and it hurried forward with the joyful news of future victories like those of the past.

On this auspicious occasion all the *maliks*, officers and leading men of the army gathered together before the red canopy, and kept their days alive by hearing prayers for the Jesus-like Emperor; moreover by keeping the 'fast of Mary' (*rūza-i-Maryam*), they collected provisions for their future life. There can be no doubt that an extremely pious assembly had gathered round the sky-shadowing canopy; even the saints (*aūtād*) were present. They held fast to the 'strong cord', and no (differences) had any place amongst them. The august month of Rajab heard with solemnity and joy the prayers for the Emperor and for victory. [4]Next morning, after the 'fast of Mary', the army again advanced like a raging deluge. Through rivers and torrents it passed. Every day it came to a new land; in every land it came across a new river in which the quadrupeds rolled like five-footed animals. Though all the rivers were crossed, yet the Narbada looked like a remnant of the primeval deluge. As the miraculous power of the Emperor-Sulṭān was with the officers of the kingdom, the deep rivers became dry as the dust of the army approached them, and the

[1] *Allusions to quadrupeds.* [2] *Allusions to prayers for victory.*

[3] Rajab is known as the month of God while *Sha'ban*, the month which comes after it, is known as the month of the Prophet.

[4] *Allusions to rivers and streams.*

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Mussalmāns crossed them with ease. Eight days after crossing the Narbada, the army reached Nīlkanth. When these wide rivers make a way for the Imperial army to cross, *there would be nothing wonderful if it also forded through the Nile of Egypt and the Tigres of Baghdad.*

[1]As Nīlkanth was on the border of Deogīr, and the territories of the Rāī Rāyān, Ram Deo, had now been reached, the *wazīr*, acting according to the Emperor's orders, protected the country from being plundered by the troops, who were as innumerable as ants and locusts. No one dared touch the door or the wall of a building or take anything from the barns or fields of the peasant. *The stores of the ants did not become the food of the locusts.*[2] The drums, which sounded to march, were detained here for two days in order to make inquiries about the stages in advance. On Wednesday, the 26th Rajab, the movement of the army again shook the bowels of the earth, and the ground began to rise up and go down like the belly of a *Khafkhāna-blower.* Trampling the earth under their feet and splitting stones with force, the army defiled through such a dangerous path. In sixteen days the difficult road to Tilang was traversed. The ground was overlaid with hard rocks, which the Hindūs had often (vainly) attempted to cross ; yet these heavy rocks flew away like dust at the feet of the quadrupeds of the Muslim army. The eye of the sky gazed in wonder ; *for the road went up and down like the subtle wit of a clever cheat and was at the same time as long as a miser's greed. And in attempting to describe its hills and caverns, the intelligence of the panegyrist would bow its head in wonder.* [3]The path was narrower than a guitar string and darker than a beauty's locks. At times it was like a hole in a reed : when the wind attempted to pass through it, it came out reverberating. The river-banks were so steep that it would have been difficult for a duck, or even an eagle, to cross them. Pretending that they knew the way, nimble bodied men attempted to ascend the heights on either side ; but their feet slipped all of a sudden ; their attempts to catch hold of the steep sides were ineffectual; and rubbing their hands together, they fell down with innumerable wounds. The neighing horses, that danced in the air, would fall down in a moment owing to one false step. *Yes ! Many a dancing horse flew*

[1] *Allusions to the story of Solomon.*
[2] *Allusions to hills and desert.*
[3] *Allusions to musical instruments.*

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swift as the wind ; but once its foot slipped down the hillside, it tumbled and fell. [1]Furthermore, as the dark faced cloud brought forth its unfinished pearls to worry the people of the army, the wind struck it hard on the neck, and all its water was shed. Whenever the forked lightning laughed at the slipping feet of the army, the thunder roared so loudly at the latter that it immediately disappeared. You would have thought that the cloud was envious of the ocean like palm of the Emperor's hand, but being powerless to do anything at the Imperial Court, sought consolation by attacking the army. The lightning, on the other hand had been struck with fire by the Imperial sword ; but unable to display its impudence in the Emperor's presence had gone thither to reveal its burning heart. [2]Though the holy warriors met many obstacles in this journey, yet they had girded their loins sincerely for the sake of Allāh alone, and had their eyes on that final reward, the hope of which sustains the human heart. Consequently, they did not regard their sufferings as serious. In a thousand ways the assistance of Heaven, too, was with them. Good fortune accompanied young and old over hills and valleys, rocks and thorns, desert and forest, *even as victory accompanies the Muslim standard.*

[3]After passing with determination and rapidity through those hills and plains, they arrived at a *Doab* within the borders of Basīrāgarh[4]. It was enclosed by the two rivers, Yashar and Būjī[5]. A diamond mine was said to exist there. But as the power of Imperial sword, through the strength of which all the treasures of the *rāīs* have come into the hands of Muslim soldiers, had given strength to the officers of the state, they did not care to take handfuls of earth from the pits ; for it is easier for powerful swordsmen *to seize jewels with the sword than to dig them out of the earth with the spade.* [6]About this time the Malik, with the impetuosity of a dragon, left the difficulties of the winding path, and with some dare-devil horsemen, marched against the fort of Sarbar, which belonged to the kingdom of Tilang. The saddles were still stinging like scorpions on the backs of the horses, when he ordered the warriors to make a circle round the fort. The

[1] *Allusions to thunder, lightning and rain.* [2] *Allusions to war.*
[3] *Allusions to the sword.* [4] Elliot says Bijānagar.
[5] A *doab* is a piece of land between two rivers. Yashar may be read as Bishnahr or Yasnahr. Bujī is Baruji in Elliot's manuscript.
[6] *Allusions to creeping creatures.*

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archers shot their arrows from outside. 'Strike!' 'Strike!' cried the Hindūs from within. The *rāwats* of the Rāī were so bitten by the poisoned arrows, that they wished to take refuge in the holes of ants for protection, and like thousand-footed animals crept into every corner. The arrows had made snake-holes in the bodies of many and their lives were in danger. The movement of crocodile-like warriors shook the earth to the back of the Fish.[1] [2]When the swift arrows, with fiery flames at the end of their wood-pieces, began to fly forward to burn the houses of the infidels, their faces grew dark at the approach of this wall of fire. In the excess of their folly, they drew the fire on o themselves; i.e. all of them with their wives and children threw themselves into fire and went to hell. For fire is the reward of the enemies of Allāh! The exterior of the fort became bright owing to this illumination of the pit of hell. The bodies of the victors were like flints in armours of steel; they cast away their armours and jumped up from the rocks as a spark flies out of flint. At this moment the breeze of victory suddenly blew fast, and the flames inside the fort rose higher still. The impetuous soldiers of the Muslim army drew their swords like so many tongues of fire, climbed up the fort, and falling on the half-burnt mass, put to death with their Hind-steel those whom fire had spared. Matters having come to this, the remaining *muqaddams* of the fort also wished to sacrifice themselves in the same element. At this instant, the '*Arz-i Mumālik*, Sirājuddīn, saw that it was time to light the lamp of victory. Anānīr, the brother of the *muqaddam* of the fort, had hidden himself in the cultivated fields of that land. The '*Arz-i Mumālik* ordered him to be captured and given a severe chastisement. At first, allured with soft words, he was kept for being beheaded and burnt; but, next, this low-burning lamp of the Hindūs (i.e. Anānīr) was given a tongue (to ask) for his life, so that before morning the flame of insurrection might subside[3]. As the smoke of destruction rose

[1] On which the cow stands holding the earth on her horns.

[2] *Allusions to fire.*

[3] i. e. after being scolded (oiled) with the tongue and threatened with death, Anānīr had the fort restored to him on promise of obedience, so that 'the flame of insurrection might subside'. It was not a part of Alāuddīn's programme to establish his government over the conquered territory and, consequently, the legitimate successor of the late *muqaddam* had to be found, so that the required promise of obedience may be taken from him.

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from this fort to the sky, some refugees from the burning edifice, with their eyes full of water, fled to Rāī (Laddar Deo), and like moist wood, with weepings and wailings, gave vent to the inner sorrow of their hearts. The *Rāī*, who possessed elephants and troops, was also overcome by fear but he did not think it advisable to advertise it. So he bewailed his fate for a while and thus soothed his inner sadness. *But when the fire of misfortunes is lit, tears from the eyes burn in it like oil.*

[1]On Saturday, the 10th of Sha'bān, they marched from here determined to plant the tree of virtue in the land of Tilang and to uproot with the greatest force the tree of vice, that had fixed its roots there. On the 16th Sha'bān the true believers arrived at the village of Kūnarbal. While the pious standard was being planted, the *Malik Nāib*, commander of the army of heaven, ordered a thousand swift horsemen—and they were such that the crow of victory did not build its nest except on their bows !—to go forward and capture a few infidels, though the daggers of the latter may be as numerous as the leaves of a willow, in order to make inquiries from them about the condition of the country. When this force reached the gardens of Arangal, the iron of their horse-shoes turned green from walking over the grass. Two famous officers with forty mounted horsemen went forward and reached the summit of the Anamkanda Hill, from where they could see all the suburbs and gardens of Arangal.[2] On looking carefully from the hill, four swift Hindū horsemen came into sight. The Musalamāns drew their bows and ran after them. They succeeded in knocking down one of the four with a four-feathered arrow and sent him to the Commander-in-Chief. The latter took it as a good omen. 'Thus with my sword', he said, 'will I peel away the skin from the heads of such Hindūs as rebels'.

[3]When the army reached Arangal, the red canopy rubbed its head with the clouds. At midday the *Malīk Nāib*, accompanied by a few men, went to reconnoitre the fort (of Arangal). He saw a fort, the like of which is not to be found on the face of the earth. [4]Its wall, though of mud, was so hard that a spear of steel could make no impression upon it; if a *maghrabī*-stone were to strike it, it

[1] *Allusions to trees and branches.* [2] *Allusions to instruments of war.*
[3] *Allusions to sun and cloud.* [4] *Allusions to forts.*

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would rebound like a nut thrown by a child. Its earthen towers were stronger than Taurus, and the Orion only came up to its waist. Nevertheless, the standards of infidelity trembled on the top of all the towers in expectation of their downfall, while the *'irādas* of Hindūs wept from fear of being broken. The warlike *rawats*, with all their heavy stones, had thrown themselves into the sling of destruction; some of them were collecting stones for the *munjaniqs*; others, who had no stones, were busy in throwing bricks and javelins. That day the victorious *Malīk* carefully selected the ground for the army-camp and returned. *Next morning he intended to carry the battle forward, and in good news, to throw stones at the heads of the Hindūs.* [1]When morning dawned and the sun rose, the sky-towering standard of the eastern Empire was raised up and brought to Anamkanda. Once more the great *Malik* went round the fort to re-examine the ground for the army-camp. *The tents were to be pitched side by side, as the Aquarius lies in the neighbourhood of the Pisces.*

[2]It was the 15th of Sha'bān, when in the middle of the month of the Prophet, the ruby canopy was fixed so high that it over-topped the Ramaẓān crescent. On that night *Khwāja Nasīrul Mulk* Sirajuddoulah (May God illuminate the nights of his life!) personally arranged the troops with a lighted lamp. Every division was sent to its appointed place, in order to surround the fort and to protect the besiegers from the shots of the besieged *and from whatever compounds of air and fire the latter might bring forth to set fire to the external wall of bronze.* [3]When the august canopy had been fixed a *mil* from the gate of Arangal, the tents around the fort were pitched together so closely that the 'head' of a needle could not go between them. Inside the fort the Hindūs slept at ease, like reclining yard-measures; outside the watchmen of the Imperial army were wide awake. Every *tumān* was assigned one thousand two hundred yards of land; the total circumference of the fort, as enclosed by the tents, was twelve thousand five-hundred and forty-six yards.[4] *The land of infidelity was made to look like a cloth market owing to the innumerable tents.*

[1] *Allusions to stars and sky.*
[2] *Allusions to Sha'bān and Barāt.*
[3] *Allusions to the army.*
[4] A *tumān* is a body of ten thousand men. According to this calculation the besieging army was over a hundred thousand.

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[1]The victorious army drew into ranks like the teeth of a saw and the heart of the Hindūs was cut into two. Every soldier was ordered to erect a *Kāth-garh* (wooden defence) behind his tent. Immediately all hatchets became busy and every soldier was transformed into Ishāq, the wood-cutter. Trees that had never been molested by the stones of those who wished to eat their fruits, were now felled with iron axes in spite of their groans ; and the Hindūs, who worship trees, were unable to come to the rescue of their gods in their need. Every accursed tree in that land of infidelity was cut down to its roots. Clever carpenters sharpened their instruments on the tree-trunks and soon cut them into proper shape with their axes Finally, a wooden fence was built round the army. It was so strong, that if fire had rained from the sky, *the wooden fort would have been as safe from fire as Noah's ark was from water.*

[2] When the Hindū-faced evening had made a night-attack on the sun and sleep had closed the portals of the eyes and besieged the fort of the pupil[3], the watchmen, with their shields on their backs and their drawn swords in their hands, drew into a double row to keep guard over the Imperial camp and with the strokes of their eyelashes drove sleep out of their eyes. Near midnight, when the meteors had begun to shoot towards the besieged demons and the moon had brought forth its full shield, a thousand swift Hindū horsemen from the troops of Bānik Deo, the *muqaddam* of that country, made a night-attack on the Muslim army with demonish cries and the Hindī sword. *God forbid that such an army should fear such an attack !* [4]As a matter of fact, the crocodiles of the besieging army who had themselves been waiting in an ambush for this armoured fish caught the latter with their Hindī swords like fish in a net. From fear of the enemy's maces and clubs, the Hindūs drew their heads into their armours like tortoises. The heads of the *rāwats* rolled like crocodile-eggs on the fish-backed earth. In an instant many of these aquatic creatures had been drowned in a deluge of their own blood and lay like slaughtered fish. Those wounded by spears and arrows cried as frogs cry when caught by snakes. Others who tried to run away received wounds on

[1] *Allusions to carpentary.*
[2] *Allusions to the instruments of war.*
[3] i.e., when the night was far advanced.
[4] *Allusions to water animals.*

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their backs, which like cancer-sores opened a door for the entry of death. [1]Finally, most of the Hindūs were either killed, overpowered or driven away. Some of them cut off their horse-belts in order to fly more quickly, but the anvil-piercing holy warriors came out of their iron lines and pursued them, determined to strike the Hindī sword at infidel hearts. Every Hindu found in the neighbourhood was either slain with the Hindī sword and the Tatār-arrow or sent as a prisoner to the army.

Now some of the prisoners happened to declare that in the town of Dahdūm, six *farsangs* from Tilang, three elephants, such as could tear up the back of a hill with their iron teeth, had been secretly hidden. Immediately, at the order of the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial army, three thousand brave horsemen, led by Qarā Beg *Maisarah*, galloped away in that direction. But when they reached the said fort, the elephants had been carried further still and inevitably a further distance had to be traversed. Thanks to the unlimited good fortune of the Emperor, all the three elephants fell into the hands of his officers. The elephants, on their part, were busily pulling their chains in their anxiety to reach the Imperial Court. When they were brought to the army camp, the war-like *Malik* considered the acquisition of these three iron forts a great achievement and kept them, along with the other elephants, for the Imperial stables. *Indeed, he had seen all this in the mirror of his sword and without the help of any conjurer or fortune-teller.*

[2]As the Commander-in-Chief of the army, who was also the *Imperial Chamberlain*, was very fond of polo (*chaugān*), he ordered his enthusiastic men to go on playing the game against the *muqaddams* of Laddar Deo, day after day. He motioned to them with his brow, that wheresoever they came across a desperate *rāwat*, they were to take his head for a 'ball' and bring it to their camp. Having received this wide permission, the sportive horsemen considered it a great fun to separate the heads from the bodies of a very large number. Every horseman in the army whipped his animal and in several matches brought away the 'balls' of those desperate Hindū warriors; for you might consider their blood-smeared heads as coloured balls brought to the presence of the *chaugān-loving Malik*. Further,

[1] *Allusions to iron instruments.*
[2] *Allusions to 'Mīr Hājib' and 'chaugān'.*

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the *Malik* ordered stone-balls for the *maghrabis* to be collected all round the fort; *so that with the strokes of the balls the fort may be won and reduced to dust in another match.* [1]As the external *munjaniqs* drew their strength from the virtuous tree of faith, they did great damage to the infidel edifice, but the inner '*irādas*, being constructed from the tree of infidelity, naturally yielded before the impetuosity of Muslim stones. The stones of the Mussalmāns all flew high, owing to the power of 'the strong cable,' and hit the mark, while the balls of the Hindūs were shot feebly as from a Brahman's thread, *and consequently went wrong.*

[2]When the *sābāts* and *gargajes* were completed and rose so high that the garrison of the fort was placed suddenly on a lower elevation, the fort ditch began to talk of its great depth to the Muslim army. Though the latter looked sternly at it and took measure of its depth, it would not allow the army to cross; and opening wide its two lips, spoke of the security of the fort. Ultimately, the Mussalmans threw mud into its mouth, and filled it in so completly that its two lips were joined together. Of this there could be no doubt. Further, one wing of the fort-wall, for about the length of a hundred hands, was broken so thoroughly by the stroke of large stones, that it could not rise high enough to embrace the Hindūs below the arm-pits. On the other side, also, the havoc wrought by the *maghrabi* stones had created new doors in the gate-wall. All these doors of victory which Divine assistance had opened for the Imperial officers *Yes every crack in the enemy's wall is a door of victory for the friend.* [3]When owing to the continuous piling up of the earth, a mound had risen from the bottom of the ditch to the waist of the fort, and the mud wall of the fort had become a heap of dust from the strokes of the stone-balls, they desired to construct a *pāshib* so wide that files of hundred men abreast may ascend over it to the fort. But the construction of the *pāshib* would have taken a few days; and Victory, in her haste, was dancing on the sword's point. The rightly guided *Wazir* called the *Maliks* to a council of discussion, and their correct judgment was to the effect, 'that before the construction of the *pāshib, a hand-to-hand struggle should be attempted, and as Victory is on our side, may be she will come running.*'

[1] *Allusions to Munjanīq.*
[2] *Allusions to structures for reducing forts.*
[3] *Allusions to sieges.*

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[1] The night of Tuesday, the 11th Ramaẓān, was so bright that its shining moon imparted it the brilliance of *Lailatul Qadr*.[2] The *tarāwth* prayers asked for heavenly help with a loud voice. The blessing of the fasting day had collected the rewards of the victors, and Fortune used the lock of the night as her ladder for descending from heaven to earth. *The Pleiades had lifted their hand in prayer that key of victory may fall into them!* [3]The exalted *Wazir* ordered high ladders and all other requisites to be constructed in every division (*khail*) in the course of the night, whenever the drum beat to action, everyone was to come out of his entrenchment and carry the ladders to the fort, *so that the work of victory might be exalted step by step.* When in the morning the sun in Gemini had clothed the sky with a waist-band of light, the holy warriors ran towards water and took off their socks in order to put on their armour. [4]After performing their ablution—and every drop of ablution-water is a sharp arrow for Satan's heart, for ablution is a Mussalmān's armour!—they were ready for prayer and turned their faces towards God. The *Sah-kash* also bowed in the obligatory prayer, and raised his hands to ask Heaven for victory and success. He begged the 'King of Khaibar'[5] to plead before God, from whom all good originates, for the reduction of the fort, and instantly the keys of victory fell into his hands from the Unseen Gate. Some waiting was, however, still necessary, for everything has its appointed time.

[6] When the golden shield of the sun had risen a spear high, the *Malik Nāib* ordered his men to begin the attack *and the blood of the 'gabrs' was shed in the worthless fort even as the Censor of morals throws away carnation-coloured wine.* The beat of the leathern drum—'and the thunder declares His glory with His praise'—resounded through the vault of the sky. The trumpets of the holy warriors raised their voices on every side. 'Here! I am

[1] *Allusions to the month of Ramaẓān.*
[2] *Or the 'grand night', being the night on which the Quran was first revealed.*
[3] *Allusions to ladders.*
[4] *i.e.* to perform their ablution, which, as stated by the following sentence, is the Mussalmān's armour. The army first said its morning prayer; the attack did not commence till the sun was 'a spear high.'
[5] The Fourth Caliph, Hazrat 'Alī, who conquered the forts of Khaibar in Arabia.
[6] *Allusions to attack on the fort.*

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for you,' cried Victory as she came running. Bold men with scaling ropes began to jump up to the fort-wall like lions in the forest. The arrows fell thick like showers of the rainy season and pierced the breast of the Hindūs even as rain drops get into the mothers-of-pearl. Powerful diggers, with the greatest noise, sat down to open a way into the fort. One half of the earthen fort flew up like dust to the sky; the other half threw itself down to seek protection from the ground. The excellent bow of the Turks rubbed its sides with the sky and claimed to be the bow of Rustam, while their arrows, all flying together, looked like the cloud of Bahman. Others had applied their spades to the fort-wall; you would have thought they were 'arguing away' the foundations of the edifice with their eloquent tongues. Some had thrust their sword-points into the solidified earth as if determined to carve fine figures out of it. The wooden ladders raised their feet to the highest elevation from the greatest depth for the sake of Islām; and the earthen fort threw the Hindūs down from its height in order to degrade infidelity. The *maghribīs* outside exchanged shots with the *'irādas* inside the fort; it seemed as if young men and veiled brides were throwing loving stones at each other; for either side exercised the greatest attraction, and with unclosing eyes marked the thousand tricks of the other. If one ball was discharged from outside, it fell as two balls within; but if two balls were discharged from within, no misfortune befell the proclaimers of the one God. Praise be to God for his exaltation of the Muslim faith! There can be no doubt that stones are worshipped by the *gabrs*; but, as they were unable to give their worshippers any assistance, the *gabrs* threw them up to the sky and then down to the earth. *And it was proper that the stones should be struck against the ground.* Next some footmen of the Muslim army climbed with their hand-nails over the earthen fort; and having found the moon in the Taurus, they permanently purchased the land and buildings of that territory with the Alāī coin.[1] Though the fort had been so excellently constructed, that there was nothing on its walls that one could catch hold of or lay one's finger on, yet the besiegers clung to it with the edges of their nails; and even as a wise man overcomes a fool, they

[1] Meaning, as the following sentences suggest, that the footmen took possession of one wing of the fort and retained it in spite of all counter-attacks.

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boldly climbed to the summit of the fort. And God enabled them to bring one wing of the fort into their strong and powerful hands. *That night they established themselves there in force, and broke the legs of those who wanted to dislodge them.*

On Sunday, the 13th Ramaẓān—Sunday, being a day dedicated to the Sun—the sun had so illuminated the night, that it merged insensibly into the day, thus giving the holy warriors a greater time for action. As the moon withdrew its shield beyond the western horizon, the men of the army drew their swords and attacked the fort from the east. The drummers awakened the sleeping war-drum which leapt up from its sleep at their beats; and it seemed that the four elements of the sphere would dissolve into chaos at its noise. The war cries of the warriors, the sounds of 'Huzza! Huz!' and 'Khuzza! Khuz!' resounded through the world.[1] The assistance sent from the smoky sky for the Muslim army descended through the ethereal sphere; and bringing fire with it from there, fell on the *gabr's* places of refuge. And in its liberality with human life, the fire turned these stingy people into enormous heaps of ashes. When the tongues of fire had descended low, the standard of the Sulṭanate rose on the fort. All praises are for Allah who raised it so high!

[2]By Wednesday, a day dedicated to Mercury (Archer), the Emperor's fierce troops had as easily entered the mud fort as a warrior's arrow breaks through and upsets a bubble. The inner fort, which resembled the (Arabian) Khaibar, was invested. No Hindū was allowed to cross the line of the besiegers just as dogs had not been allowed to come out of Khaibar (by the Mussalmāns); if a Hindū had attempted to do so, his heart would have been cut open by the arrow that could pierce through seven plates of steel. When the Alexandrian lines had surrounded the inner fort by a wall of iron, they saw a building, the stones of which rose up to the sky; and even the sky had raised its mirror higher (lest it might break from contact) with the rocky towers. Its stones were joined so carefully together that the head of a needle could not get in between them; its walls were so smooth that a fly attempting to sit on them would have slipped down. Its stones and plaster had been welded so excellently together that the tongue of the

[1] 'An early eastern use of Huzza! huzza! The same exclamations occur in the *Miftāḥul Futūḥ*.'—(*Elliot.*)

[2] *Allusion to instruments of war.*

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spade was unable separate them. In addition to this, there was such a wonderful charm in its walls and buildings that no *maghrabī* had the heart to do them any wrong. You might say that the fort was a stiff spear, which the ant could not climb, or else that it was a flute, in which the wind lost itself as in a wooden pipe. Its towers stood upright in the air and ascended to the moon; its foundations sank deep in the earth, down to the Fish. The watchman on its towers bathed his head with the clouds; the digger at its foundations washed his feet with water.

[1] When the multitudinous army came to the lip of the ditch, they found its mouth full of water; if anyone talked to it about crossing to the other side, it tried to drag him down to the bottom. The swordsmen of the army, however, would not float any boat on the ditch but determined to swim through it together. They practised on the face of the water every rule of mensuration they knew, and, in a moment, crossed the ditch, file after file, more easily than a boat would have done. They determined to sum up all their resolution and to bore holes into the stomach (of the fort) as in a reed. With the passion of Farhād, they wished to knock down the edifice so completely that it may not be propped up by a thousand columns and to pull down its towers with such force that the 'heads' of the towers would come down while their 'feet' went up. In short, they resolved to seize the fort so effectively from the Hindūs that even its dust might not be left in the latter's hands. *Yes, Yes, Even the dust is reluctant to remain with the infidel.* [2] Rāī Laddar Deo sat inside the fort like a snake over buried treasure and called his people around him. His elephants pulled their chains in pride of the gold they bore; but the Rāī was thinking of his war with the golden scorpions and watery pearls trickled down his inner eye at the thought (of losing his enormous treasures). He wished to look into the future, but his eyes refused to obey him. He had been brave and courageous in the siege; yet whenever he reflected on the situation in which he was placed, his stout heart began to palpitate; and if he wished to remove the heaviness of his heart by saying farewell to all his treasures, his heart struck against his breast, and told him that it could not, at least,

[1] *Allusions to fort and ditch.*

[2] Allusions to treasures. Buried treasures, it is believed, are guarded by snakes.

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separate itself from so much gold as remains sticking to a black touch-stone.[1] He had fastened his hopes on being able to place before the invaders an obstacle, which would cause them to stumble and retrace their steps. But the Emperor's prestige overawed him ; all his courage melted away and he was left a broken man. In his helplessness, he first collected in heaps the treasure he had buried under stones more heavy than can be dragged from the hills, in order to provide for his ransom. Next he constructed a golden image of himself, and in acknowledgment of having become a tribute-payer, he placed a golden chain round its neck and sent it through ambassadors, whose honest word was more unchanging than the purest gold, to the Commander of the Imperial army.

'The opposition of the rice-made Hindū,' ran the Rāī's petition, 'to the iron bodies of the Mussalmāns is like a silver-faced beauty challenging Rustam to battle. This being the case the servant, Laddar Deo, has been forced to lay aside his own bronze body in a corner. Fear of the Emperor's Hindī sword has turned me pale, or, rather, my body of stone has become golden in the rays of the Imperial sun. Consequently, I have constructed an exact image of myself, which is being sent to promise tribute and obedience at the review. I hope the Imperial officers will intercede for me at the Court, and inform the Emperor that fear of him has rendered the broken body of this servant even more lifeless than this golden statue, and that I will only feel signs of life in myself on the day when the wind of Imperial favour blows over my dead body.

'If the good-will of the officers of the world-protecting Court is to be won by treasure and valuables, I have as much gold with me as will suffice to gild all the mountains of Hind. All this immense gold belongs to the Emperor and I will not turn my face to it again. But if the world-adorning Imperial will, as a favour to the weak, gives back a few gold coins to this unfortunate Hindū, it will exalt him (Laddar Deo) to a dignity superior to that of all other Rāīs. For the desire of gold is found in every heart. It is only the mirror (heart) of the Second Alexander that can turn its back towards this metal, for his sword has absorbed the gold of the whole world. Concerning his sword only can the proverb, that 'magnet draws iron and iron draws

[1] The Rāī desired to retain at least a part of his treasure.

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gold', be true. And if the Emperor really wants the gold possessed by a poor man like me, so much the better! For what principality is more fortunate than the one which draws the Emperor's heart towards itself. I will keep none of this gold-dust for myself, for my heart has been broken by the fear of Emperor's infidel-slaying sword. *And every one knows, that when an earthen vessel breaks, you cannot repair it with gold-dust.* [1]If precious stones, gems and pearls[2] are demanded, I have a stock of them such as the eyes of the mountains have not seen and the ears of the fish have not heard of. All these will be scattered on the path of the Imperial officers. *For if I do not scatter rubies on the road, over which the Emperor's army comes advancing through hill and plain, my blood will be soon shed there.*

[3]'Of horses, too, I have twenty thousand, being of the mountain and foreign (*baḥrī*) breed.[4] The foreign horse flies like wind on the surface of water, without even its feet becoming wet. And when the mountain-horse steps on a hill, the hill trembles like a Hindī sword.[5] All these horses will be handed over, along with the slaves, to the royal stables. Nevertheless, in the extremity of shame, 'the bride of self-possession' is slipping away from my hands, and I feel like using my shame as a horse and flying away upon it. *For it is improper for me to display my potsherds and amber in the company of the noble.* [6]There are also a hundred elephants, who will go to the Imperial Court with the greatest pleasure. They are the mad elephants of Ma'bar, not the vegetarian elephants of Bengal. Most of them are new born and young, and are growing their teeth. They have heard of the elephant-slaying warriors of the Imperial army and, their ears have been opened; they draw a deed on the ground with their trunks to the effect that henceforth they will never turn their faces towards the Ka'ba of Islām except in worship. They are coming with

[1] *Allusions to precious stones.*

[2] Or, literally, 'the nephews of showers, the sisters of raindrops, the orphans of pearls and the livers of mines.'

[3] *Allusions to stables.*

[4] The text says Kohī (mountain-horse or country-breed) and *bahri* (sea-horse or imported breed). As the latter variety was Arabian, its main feature was fleetness of foot.

[5] Various countries in medieval days were famous for different weapons; Persia for its bows, Tartary for its lance and India for its sword. Reference to the Indian or Hindi sword is often found in Persian literature.

[6] *Allusions to elephants.*

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their feet like pillars and their heads like the dome of the gate of obedience—so that, if the Imperial officers choose to be angry at them, the elephants will submit to it with the 'skirts' of their ears; and if order for the punishment of rebels is given, the elephants will execute it with their teeth. God has given them a forehead peculiarly fitted to render obedience at the Imperial Court. *They are now scattering dust over their heads before the Hindū's door, but in the Emperor's presence their foreheads will have the vermilion colour of good fortune.*

[1] 'In short, the servant, Laddar Deo, places all the treasures, elephants and horses he possesses in one scale of the balance and his life in the other. The servants of the Emperor can choose whichever they like. It is certain that life and property have the same weight as honour. If my wealth is taken and my life is left to me, I will be broken by the heavy anxiety of earning a livelihood; if my life is taken, the scale holding my wealth will sink to the ground. In either case the balance will be upset. This being the case, I consider myself a broken stirrup; it is for the just Emperor to set the balance right. If means of livelihood are left to me, I will collect all my 'leaves' and hand them over to the Emperor's officers at his command. If the forgiving Emperor (May the measure of his good deeds be heavy!) allows me to retain such wealth as is proportioned to my weightless life, after all I hold the stout heart of a Rāī and not the balance of a grocer. I will take the brave iron spear, which befits my hand, and measure myself against other Rāīs. I will seize treasures from them, and send to the Emperor such tribute as is fixed on me. *And if there is the slightest deficit in the tribute, I will send my own life as a make-weight.*' [2]

[3] When the messengers of the Rāī came before the red canopy, the honoured harbinger of victory and triumph, they rubbed their yellow

[1] *Allusions to weights and balances.*

[2] A curious quibble of which it is difficult to find the exact significance. Laddar Deo seems to have meant that if either his life or the whole of his property was taken away, the balance would be upset. If they took away his life, 'the scale holding my wealth would sink to the ground'—perhaps a veiled threat that in the last extremity he would subject his jewels to the hammer. What he desired was that the victor should leave him some part of his wealth, and take instead of it a portion of his prestige by subjecting him to a yearly tribute. When equals are taken from equals the remainders are equal; and Laddar Deo, left with a part of his prestige and a part of his wealth, would straight-away attack the other Rāīs and pay the Imperial tribute out of their pockets.

[3] *Allusions to jewels and treasures.*

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faces on the earth till the ground itself acquired their colour: next they drew out their tongues in eloquent Hindī, more sharp than the Hindī sword, and delivered the message of the Rāī. The idol-breaking *Malik* comprehended the gilding of the Hindūs and paid no regard to their glozing speech. He would not even look at the golden statue, which he wished to throw back at their faces. But he communicated to the army the command of the Second Alexander, which is more firm than seven walls of steel and the garden of Shaddād.[1] The Imperial officers swore by the head of Khiẓr Khān, the emerald in the ring of the kingdom, that they would accept the gold and raise the siege. As the mountain-rending troops were unable to violate the oath, and the coin of forgiveness had also been repeatedly issued from the Imperial Court, the decision arrived at was to the effect that they would subject the Rāī to a tribute, but as a charitable offering for the life of the forgiving Emperor, they would spare his life in exchange for the golden statue. They would take away and deliver at the Court all animals, vegetables and minerals which the Rāī's territory contained; and if there was the slightest deficit in handing over the treasures agreed upon, they would render the Rāī as lifeless as the golden image and reduce the fort to a heap of ashes like a goldsmith's forge. On this condition, the fort-conquering Malik stretched forth his right hand, placed his sword in its scabbard, and struck his open hand, by way of admonition, so forcibly on the backs of the ambassadors that they bent under the blow. Though the agreement was permanent and not provisional, yet the poor ambassadors trembled like quicksilver; and thus trembling and impatient, they hurried back to the fort. Their influence fell on the Rāī and he too began to shake like a gold-leaf. The ambassadors ornamented their speech, but the Rāī could not regain his stability, and wished to turn into mercury and run away. With some difficulty they ran this quicksilver into a vessel, and through soft speech put a little wax on its mouth[2]. *Next they busied themselves with alchemy in order to pay the gold they had promised.*

[1] Both Ferishta and Barnī state that 'Alāuddīn had ordered the Malik Nāib not to take any extreme measures against Laddar Deo and to remain content with seizing his treasures.

[2] The soft words of the ambassadors brought self-possession to the Rāī as closing the mouth of a vessel brings 'self-possession' to the mercury it contains.

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[1] The Rāī's council spent the night in collecting their precious stones and valuables in order to present them next morning to the Imperial officers. When next day the sun showed it face through the enamelled fort, the ambassadors proved their promises to be as truthful as the dawn. With their elephants, treasures and horses, they arrived before the red canopy which is the roof of the eastern sun. The *Malik* summoned the leaders of the army and took his seat at the high place to which he had been appointed by the Emperor; the other great officers took their seats according to their positions, while the nobles and commons collected round like stars. Then the ambassadors were called. They placed their heads on the ground before the canopy of the 'Shadow of God' and presented their elephants to the assembly.[2] *The 'Maliks' sat while the elephants passed; you would have thought the planets had become stationary while the constellations had begun to move.*

[3] The elephants were such as neither the brush of the artist can portray nor the pen of the panegyrist describe. Every one of them was a throne fit for a king, and an ivory factory inside. It moved without props and yet stood on four columns. Its back was adorned by a jewelled litter; it sometimes carried a litter and sometimes a load. Its banner (trunk) rose from its back like a spear into the air, while its feet cast their shields (foot-prints) on the ground. It wore a dress of living velvet. Its furious onslaught could uproot a tree. Its tusks came out of either side, and in spite of their strength, had been plaited over with gold. Contented to live on rice, in its anger it could, nevertheless, drink up a whole pond. It threw forward its trunk like a rope, while its eyes remained behind as if in ambush. It would sit down respectfully when its driver wished to climb to its back. Entrusting the guardianship of its eyes to its ears, it had surrounded its two lamps (eyes) with soft cartilage and fed them with a gentle breeze by the movement of its ears. Its teeth were set firmly inside; its tusks rose like ivory pillars surrounded by gold. A tall building on four columns, it raised its head into the air, while its nose came to the ground; there was a cresecent on its forehead, and its tail rested on its buttocks. It looked like a hill with a long sash

[1] *Allusions to stars.*

[2] The canopy was the symbol of Imperial authority, and people bowed before it even when the Emperor was not personally present.

[3] *Allusions to elephants.* I have not translated literally this paragraph which has no historical significance.

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for a nose, or else like a camel with a crocodile stuck to its front. It carried its wine-glass in its head, and liquor was distilled from its ears. Without any particular sorrow, it scattered dust over its head; without any weakness, its body felt heavy. It looked like a cloud arisen out of the sea-shore, wearing vermilion tulips on its forehead and green leaves in its ears. Every one of them had these qualities, and yet each was better than the other—for each was like the mountain and yet like the wind; soft to walk and firm to stand; Hindū-slayer and yet infidel property; baggage-carrier as well as warrior; it carried a load on its back and its face looked towards the Court, for if strong-necked, it was also obedient; the ebony-coloured manufacturer of ivory, it carried its head high and at the same time kissed the ground; a meet seat for the king, and a servant of the Court, its body was heavy and its paces were gentle; it could break the enemy-lines, and yet fight in ordered ranks. *And when they move together in a row, there is an earthquake of Fad! Fad! and Saf! Saf!*

[1] After the elephants had passed, the treasures they carried on their backs were displayed. The boxes were full of valuables and gems, the excellence of which *drove the onlookers mad.* Every emerald (*zabarjad*) sparkled in the light of the sun, or, rather, the sun reflected back the light of the emerald. The rubies (*yāqūt*) dazzled the eye of the sun and if a ray from them had fallen on a lamp of fire, the lamp would have burst into flames. The 'Cat's eye' (*'ainul hirrat*) was such that a lion after seeing it would have looked with contempt at the sun; and the 'Cock's eye' (*'ainud dīk*) were so brilliant that the 'Cat's eye' was afraid to look at it. The lustre of the rubies (*la'l*) illuminated the darkness of the night and *the mine, as you might light one lamp from another.* The emeralds had a fineness of water that could eclipse the lawn of paradise. The diamonds (*ilmās*) would have penetrated into an iron heart like an arrow of steel, and yet owing to their delicate nature, would have been shattered by the stroke of a hammer. The other stones were such that the sun blushed to look at them. *As for the pearls, you would not find the like of them, even if you kept diving into the sea through all eternity.* The gold was like the full moon of the twelfth night; it seemed that in order to ripen it, that *alchemist, the sun,*

[1] *Allusions to jewels.*

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had lighted its fire, and the morning had blown its breath, for years.

[1] When the horses were brought, the prestige of all that the ambassadors had previously displayed flew away like the wind. Lest the struggle should be further prolonged, every horse in the Rāī's palace and stables had been brought; even the wind of them was not left in his hands. The sight of these fleet-footed animals captivated every heart—*the heart of the Mussalmān was broken, and the soul of the Hindu flew away from his breast*; for the horses were such as their eyes had never seen.

[2] When the Rāī had sent through his clever ambassadors all that he had received by way of inheritance from his ancestors, *the 'Arīz-i Mumālik* went to examine the jewels. He divided them into 'genus' and 'species', 'class' after 'class', and had everything written down. He then stood up and turned to the ambassadors. It was clear to his perfect judgment that the wealth and property of the Rāī had been wholly confiscated, and that no jewel had been kept away from its proper place. Yet as a diplomatic formality, he propounded 'propositions' before the wise ambassadors, and ultimately unfolded to them the 'major' and the 'minor premises'. In an address, full of a variety of meaning, he put it to them: 'You are acquainted with every "species" (of this treasure). If on investigation a single item is found missing, though your life is "indivisible", yet will I destroy it; and with the stroke of the sword, I will divide your parts (limbs) into indivisible "atoms". Take care and state the true premises! Tell me, as all the gems of the Rāī are excellent, has he sent the best of them hither? How has he classified "talking" and "neighing animals" (men and horses) and what portion of them has he retained?'[3]

[1] *Allusions to horses.*

[2] *Allusions to philosophy that confound the understanding.*

[3] Khwāja Ḥājī's meaning is obvious. If the Rāī had failed to send any valuables, which by the agreement he was bound to, the ambassadors would be held responsible for the default, provided they were cognisant of it. As the Imperial army could not enter the fort, the only method of getting the agreement enforced was by superfluous threats. For the rest, Amir Khusrau's ornamentation may be ignored; such logical language would not be used even in the inter-university negotiations of to-day; and the Rai's ambassadors, with their eloquent Hindi, could not have used the logical terms put into their mouths.

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'By the God, who has created man, the finest of "substances"'! [1] swore the philosophic ambassadors, 'Each of these jewels is of a "kind" of which no man can calculate the value. And among them is a jewel, unparalleled in the whole world, though according to perfect philosophers such a substance cannot exist.[2] Before this time we had been advising the Rāī to send a part of the jewels, that had never been cut or divided,[3] to the Imperial Court. 'This jewel (treasure) is unique according to the opinion of all men,' and he would reply, 'Let him who wishes to cut and divide (share) it, attempt the task. It is impossible for such a jewel (treasure) to be divided; he who talks of doing so is in a great error'. Thus was he accustomed to speak, but then the sword of the Imperial officers began its lecture; the Rāī understood that its stroke would divide up those singular 'substances,' and has sent all his jewels to the Imperial muster. There is no stone left in the Rāī's treasury that can be considered 'precious'; nor is there any neighing creature in his stables that can be designated a 'horse'. As for the elephant, it is a famous 'body' and a large animal; if man is superior to it in dignity, he is also smaller in size. If there had been another 'species' of the same 'genus,' the Rāī, with the sense he possesses, would have sent it to the muster along with other 'varieties' and 'kinds'. The affair is as we have represented. For the rest, your exalted judgment is higher, and even wiser.'

(The *Malik*) saw from the propositions of their speech, that their logic was clear of all confusion. He applied to them such 'terms'[4]

[1] The Persian word '*jauhar*', which in common parlance means a precious stone, also means 'substance' in Arabian logic; the sense in which '*jauhar*' is used by Muslim scholars is the same in which 'substance', as distinguished from 'accident', is used by Western writers. Amīr Khusrau, in this paragraph, constantly plays on the two meanings of '*jauhar*'.

[2] This is the famous Koh-i-Nūr, which according to many later writers (including Khafī Khan) was brought by 'Alāuddīn's army from the Deccan. 'Though logicians', to put the ambassadors' words in a different form, 'declare that there is no such thing as a 'unique substance', except the Divine Being, yet the Koh-i-Nur diamond has no peer and stands in a class by itself. You cannot find a diamond to match it in the whole world'.

[3] That is, no one had overpowered the Rāī and divided up his treasure before and he imagined that it was one and indivisible like 'substance'. But the Imperial sword proved that it could cut and divide everything.

[4] Apparently of threats. The 'terms' really used by Khwāja Ḥājī were not to be found in the ancient logic of Aristotle.

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as had never been applied to them in ancient times, and that, too, in a way never to be forgotten. *But if any of their premises had been wrong, the conclusion would have been drawn with the sword.*

When the singular *Sah-kash* had fixed on the Hindū a tribute that surpassed all computation, the latter made a straight figure and put ten ciphers beside it,[1] and below it he wrote promising to send untold wealth to the treasury of the Emperor (May God preserve him to the Day of Reckoning !). When the account of the *jazia* had been settled, the '*Ariz-i Ḥāsib*[2] ordered the *Amīrs* and the *Kātib-i Moḥāsib*[3] to take the roll of those who were present in, or absent from, the army. On the 16th Shawwāl, the *Sah-kash*, having achieved his object, turned his horse towards the meadows of the Capital, and guided it in such a way that its feet went on making half-ciphers[4] on the ground. This figure indicated that in comparison to the spoils he was searching for, the untold treasures he had obtained were less than even half-a-cipher. *And since a cipher means absolute non-entity, you can well see how much less than non-entity half-a-cipher is.*[5] The month of Ẓil Ḥijjah was spent in crossing the extensive forest. On 11th Muḥarram, A.H. 710 the Imperial officers reached Delhi, the deputy of the sacred Mecca. 'And whoever enters it shall be secure.' On Tuesday, the 24th Muḥarram, a black pavilion was erected on the Chautra-i Nāṣirī, like the Ka'ba on the navel of the earth. The kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their places around it. The *Maliks*, who had been sent on the expedition from the Capital, came before the Emperor, and after moistening the ground with the sweat of their brows, presented the spoils. Elephants of the size of Marwa, Safā, Tūr and Bū Qabīs,[6] horses that raised a dust (cloud) out of the sea like western winds, and treasures under which a thousand camels would have groaned, were all displayed. The day looked like a second '*Id* for the people, when the pilgrims, after wandering through many

[1] He promised to pay 10,000,000,000—ten thousand millions only(?). The figure seems to be purely suppositious. But we are here dealing not with the revenues but the heirlooms of states.

[2] i.e., Khwāja Ḥājī, the '*Arīz-i-Mumālik*.

[3] Keeper of the Army Roll.

[4] Which is the shape of a horse-shoe.

[5] *Allusions to Holy Mecca.*

[6] All four are hills famous in Muslim traditions.

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valleys, had at last reached the sacred precincts of the Imperial Court, and their wishes, compared to which the ambitions of Ḥajjāj Yūsuf[1] were slavish longings, had been realized. The spectators went round and round the Court; everyone present was allowed, without any hindrance, to see the display and obtain the reward of his pilgrimage. But the reward, that could not have been obtained by the labour of a life-time, was that the Emperor's eyes should suddenly fall on one with favour.

[1]A famous governor of Persia, whose cousin Moḥammad bin Qāsim invaded Sindh.

(Translated by Prof. Mohammad Habib, Aligarh.)

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Reviews

'HINDU ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS'

BY

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Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras

[University of Madras, 1929; pp. xxv + 401; Price Rs. 6 or 8*sh.* 6*d.*]

THE Orient has for long been associated in Western imagination not with barbaric pearl and gold alone, but also with despotism, and that in the popular, not in the original, sense of mere mastery. This latter conception has been so widely entertained that even philosophers seeking to exemplify an absolute will with no respect for any laws, logical or moral, have instanced the Oriental despot. It has been said that God must not be thought of as an Oriental despot.[1] How far the Indian conception of God is that of a despot is a question to which the answer is not far to seek. A God who respects karma in His dispensation of good and evil endowments, who cannot annul karma except on its being worked out, albeit the continuance of karma causes suffering to His creatures and in a way to Himself, a God that does not (perhaps cannot) devise short cuts to the world's release, is very far removed indeed from being a despot; He is limited in as real a sense as the monarch of the most limited Western monarchies.[2] If the people who conceived of such a God drew on their knowledge of earthly kings, it is exceedingly unlikely that these kings were such despots as they are often thought to be.[3] One begins to suspect that, though we do not seem to know of democratic institutions and checks and balances as they are understood in the West to-day, there may yet have been very real limitations on the monarch, limitations which, perhaps, he could have set at nought in theory, but rarely, if ever, in

[1] Pringle-Pattison, *The Idea of God*, 403; also Ward, *The Realm of Ends*.

[2] See a paper on *Divine Omnipotence*, by the present reviewer; *Triveni*, March 1928.

[3] The argument is, of course, not conclusive. The benevolent God-conception may have arisen in reaction against the actual despotic monarch, as Christian slave-morality arose, according to Nietzsche, in the reaction to their persecution.

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practice. A study of Hindu administrative institutions becomes necessary at least to combat Western misconceptions which extend not merely to our political institutions but to the whole of the culture that lies at the back of them.

There is yet another call for the study. The vaunted democracy of the West has proved of late not to be as attractive or infallible as it was thought to be. The system of counting heads is not an infallible test of the soundness of a person or a policy. The party-system which proved to be successful in a measure only in one Western country (and that, they say, is due to historical accidents) is being decried by responsible thinkers in that very country. The man who takes thought for the future of India, cannot but realize that making the country fit for democracy and teaching the average man how to cast a vote intelligently may not be the highest goal for the country. He may be tempted to turn to the past and seek to know what, if any, were the ideals of government which appealed to the people of this country. That an urgent stimulus of this kind is acting on many cannot be gainsaid. The working of the newly granted democratic institutions, the corruptions and schisms, the moral fervour of a few which lacks direction, because there is nothing but the moral turpitude of the many on the other side, the ill-conceived social legislation that is rushed through the highest legislative bodies, all these make one pause and consider whether we are not hastening towards a catastrophe, because the future we seek is not rooted in the past and grown out of the past.[1]

These practical interests, combined with the pure love of research, have led to the appearance of many interesting and valuable volumes

[1] The extent to which the minds of the people are unsettled may be gathered from the expressions of opinion for and against the recent Child Marriage Restraint Act. The opponents based themselves mainly on the ground of religious neutrality promised to them by the Proclamation of 1857. They were countered with the argument that the Government was no longer foreign, that it was becoming their own government in an increasing measure, and that there was no sense in tying the hands of such a Government in respect of social legislation (See H. E. the Viceroy's reply to the Moslem deputation). The distinction between society and State, made clear in Mr. Dikshitar's work and more particularly in Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's learned introduction, would seem to show that in the past, the State, though not foreign, did not claim sovereignty over social questions that it was society which dictated to the State and not *vice versa*. The demand for religious neutrality would thus appear to be grounded on the *ethos* and the political sense of the people, not on any Queen's Proclamation.

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on ancient Indian polity, within the last decade and a half. The general trend of these works, which undoubtedly derived considerable stimulus from the discovery and publication of the *Kauṭalīya Artha-Śāstra* has been to show that the government of the country in ancient days was not irresponsible, that there was public opinion with recognized channels for the expression thereof, that that public opinion was respected in almost all cases by the powers, that it could grow at times even so powerful as to lead to the abdication or dethronement of the ruler, and so on. The institutions revealed by these studies have by some been called corporate, democratic, and representative. Some (like Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Dikshitar) would hold that there were definite elective representative assemblies, for the town and the country. However that may be, this much cannot be gainsaid that the king was nowhere near as absolute as he is imagined to have been, that he had very real limitations in the matter of legislation, that he had a minister or council of ministers responsive to public opinion, whose counsel he almost invariably took and mostly followed, and that his comparatively limited rights, went with correspondingly onerous obligations to the people.

The portions of Mr. Dikshitar's book dealing with these topics are interesting and informing reading. He draws not merely on his predecessors in the field and the material they used but also on ancient Tamil literature. In view of the practical issues involved, even a bare repetition of such fundamental ideas would not be uncalled for. When to the repetition there is combined a fresh (if at times naive) presentation and the utilization of new material, the book does more than justify its existence.

One cannot but feel, however, that Mr. Dikshitar's work stands, in a sense, on the border-line between adoration and appreciation, the tendency to find and stress Western parallels and the appraisement of what he finds on the basis of its independent worth. This is promising, in so far as it does not commit him finally to the former attitude; but one cannot help feeling curious as to the line he may follow in the future, so much of which lies before him. Reaction against Western misconceptions is very well in its place, but it may be overdone.[1]

[1] One may recall with amusement how a Madras audience was told by an eminent Professor (some fifteen years ago) that Maine was grievously wrong in having called Ranjit Singh a mere tax-gatherer, since Ranjit Singh had

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The taunt that India is unfit for self-government may not have been without its share of influence in the retort of earlier writers that we had democratic institutions long before they were dreamt of in the West. But surely the time has come when, with the impending grant of self-government in a fuller measure and the not very inspiring spectacle of democracies in the West, stock must be taken of our ancient institutions in a cooler spirit. It will no longer do to allow ourselves to be misled by considerations of mere etymology and nomenclature.

To take one or two cases in point. Mr. Dikshitar, following Mr. Jayaswal, holds that the *paura* and the *jānapada* were corporate representative institutions. Mr. Jayaswal's arguments have been very thoroughly examined by Dr. Law[1], who comes to the conclusion that the terms mean, in none of the instances cited, anything more than assemblages of the people of the town or the people of the country. The difference between an *assemblage* and an *assembly* is very vital, and is one of structure and organization. *Prima facie*, the words used like *paura* or *jānapada* or *samūha* would signify the more general concept. The burden of proof is on him who alleges the more specialized sense. And yet Mr. Dikshitar (who has relegated the topic to an Appendix) says that 'Dr. Law is rather dogmatic in his statements'.[2] But surely the charge of dogmatism lies on him who asserts, without meeting adequately the objections to his assertion! Mr. Dikshitar does little to meet Dr. Law except to urge one or two general considerations[3]. 'The audience of His Majesty by the people must not and could not be so

employed Pandits to compile the code known as the *Vivādārṇavasetu*. The allegation, if true would have been beside the point, as compiling a code is not necessarily the same as law-giving or legislating. It was shown later that the work in question was compiled at the instance of Warren Hastings and that the romantic association with the name of Ranjit Singh was a myth. Mr. Dikshitar, too, cannot help tilting at Maine and with as little profit. 'The theories of early writers like Maine' he says (on p. 190), 'who called the Hindu States "tax-collecting institutions" have little justification at any rate in regard to Mauryan times.' And this in a section where he shows not that the Mauryan State legislated for the people or even compiled codes, but that 'the principles of taxation were sound and the administration was efficient.' Surely, Maine had no quarrel with the principles of taxation whether of the Mauryas or of Ranjit Singh. His contention that the Hindu sovereign was not, like the Parliament, the supreme legislative body, has not been met. Nor is it likely to be met, if the contention about the Hindu distinction between society and the State is well-founded.

[1] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, II, 385–407, 638–650.

[2] p. 157.

[3] p. 158.

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cheap' he says, 'as Law would imagine.' This, of a country where accessibility to all has been lauded as almost the principal virtue of a King! The justest of South Indian monarchs (Maṇu-neṛi-kaṇḍa-Çoḷaṇ) is reputed to have granted audience to a cow! The reference to ஈகையும் ஈதும் is not any more helpful. What is more likely than that a poet should describe the entire town and country as flocking to witness a prince's festivities? Corporations have not a pre-eminent right to mention, in a poetic description, as against the peoples in general. The mention of the ஐம்பெருங்குழு and the எண் பேராயம் is not conclusive either. They would seem to represent either professional or caste guilds, as in the case of the ministers of religion and the physicians, or bodies of officials appointed by the king, such as account officers, officers of the treasury, and so on. It is not shown that the மாசனம் of the Tamil classics was a representative assembly any more than the Mahājana Sabhas of to-day.

A government not responsible in the modern sense is not necessarily a non-responsive government. One may note with interest, in this connection, an incident in the *Mahābhārata* (XV, 8, 9 and 10), where Dhṛtarāṣṭra takes leave of the inhabitants of Kurujaṅgala and retires to the forest. He wishes to make some gifts, 'inviting all the people' to his place. 'Many Brahmanas living in Kurujaṅgala, many Kshatriyas, many Vaishyas, and many Shudras also came to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's palace, with gratified hearts.' The old King addresses them, tells them of his resolve to retire to the forest and the permission given him by Vyāsa and Yudhiṣṭhira, and requests them to add their permission. He reminds them of the past services of his ancestors, of himself, and his son and of the present grief-stricken plight of himself and Gāndhāri, recommends them to cherish Yudhiṣṭhira, begs their pardon for any injury done them by his sons, and prays for permission to seek retirement. 'The citizens and inhabitants of the provinces' who were thus addressed began to weep. They settled among themselves what was to be said and charged a certain Brāhman to say it. That Brāhman praises the rule of the old King, his ancestors and his son, says that the frightful carnage was due to Destiny, not to Duryodhana or to any other individual, assures Dhṛtarāṣṭra of loyalty to the Pāṇḍavas, and gives the old couple the assent so eagerly sought for. Here we have the existence of public opinion and the seeking of public approval. With all that, however, we have

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but an *ad hoc* concourse of the inhabitants, not an assembly in any technical sense. There were no writs to the members, no election through which they were returned, no system of voting, nor even a permanent spokesman. Were these 'citizens and inhabitants of the provinces' an assembly ?[1]

Mr. Dikshitar suffers from a weakness for drawing conclusions from inadequate data. From an inscription, which, according to his translation, advises the ministers to act in such a manner as would secure the approval of the Jānapada assembly, he concludes[2] that the position of the ministers was secure so long as the sovereign assembly had confidence in them. This makes several assumptions, none of which is established, viz., that there was a sovereign assembly, that the king could not remove a minister who had the support of that assembly, and that the notion of an assembly having confidence in a minister was current in those times[3]. Again, he infers that ladies could take part in the assembly discussion 'from the fact that Maṇḍodari goes to Rāvaṇa's court after the death of Prahasta and dissuades him by several arguments to desist (*sic*) from fighting Rāma.'[4] A righteous, devoted and peace-loving wife pleading with her husband to desist from damning himself here and hereafter—does it prove anything more than that there was no purdah for Maṇḍodari to observe ? Or was she the first of the Dravidian women to have a vote ?

Mr. Dikshitar's arguments to show that there was trial by jury in ancient India are almost as weak as his assertion that cannon were used[5] in the warfare of those days. The instances cited from literature are the trial of Cārudatta in the Mṛçchakaṭikā and Draupadi's

[1] Quotations are from M. N. Dutt's translation. On the Kuḷu and the Āyam, see Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, 33.

[2] p. 145.

[3] One effect of such hasty conclusions is to rouse the sarcasm of the Westerner. See, for instance, the following words put by Aldous Huxley in the mouth of a notorious waster, whose literary activity was but a pretence for his amorous intrigues. 'There is a point about those wretched Indians' he explained, 'that I ryahly must clyahr up. I think I may find it in Pramathanatha Banerjea's book. . . . . or it may be dealt with by Radhakumud Mookerji.' He rolled out the names impressively, professionally. 'It is about local government in Maurya times. So democratic you know, in spite of the central despotism. For example. . .' (*Point Counterpoint*, 364–365.)

[4] p. 160.

[5] The assertion owes its plausibility almost wholly to a mistaken transliteration (Śatagni for śataghni ; p. 277)

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appeal for a judgment about the propriety of her husband gambling her away after having first lost his own independence. In the former case, the jury, we are told, consisted of the judge, the provost and the recorder or scribe.[1] What a Gilbertian jury! Was there even one who would not have been disqualified or challenged according to present-day notions? Could either the provost or the scribe claim to be a 'peer' of the rich Brāhmin merchant who stood in the dock? In Draupadi's case, again, which juror was there who was not a courtier at the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra? It says much for the moral sense of some of them like Vidura that they spoke up and pressed the claims of justice. But if that kind of concourse is to be taken as a jury, is it not, on the face of it, a packed jury? Mr. Dikshitar's literary instances are not very happy. In dealing with local administration, however, he cites a passage from Śukra, which indicates that there were separate forest-courts, warrior courts, and village courts.[2] This passage, if authentic, would give some support to the notions of trial in the venue and by one's peers, the two cardinal notions of trial by jury. One wishes Mr. Dikshitar had noted more fully the significance and importance of the passage.[3]

The book covers extensive ground and a variety of topics, each of which requires considerable further research. Mr. Dikshitar's preliminary survey of the ground, though necessarily imperfect because of the extent, is yet full of promise. There are many problems he casually mentions, which would repay a lifetime of investigation. He mentions, thus, the existence of both law and equity. What was the relation between the two? In Roman Law, law meant civil law, and equity the law formulated for the non-citizens, on the basis of a hypothetical Law of Nature. But in India law was dharma; and dharma played for us the same part as the Law of Nature in the West. Did law and equity, then, flow as twin streams of dharma? What was the occasion, if any, for the second stream? And what was the scope of rāja-śāsanas? Did they supplement the dharma or supplant it or interpret it? Was there any State legislation in the Western sense?

[1] p. 248.

[2] pp. 341, 347.

[3] On p. 347, Mr. Dikshitar says 'This has made B. K. Sarkar draw a parallel from modern English history where a peer was not subject to the ordinary Common Law court; and his case was to be decided by a body of peers.' But surely, trial by one's peers was the right of every citizen, not of a Peer of the Realm alone.

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If there were in India sovereign assemblies like the British Parliament, did they at any time claim or exercise the right to do everything except make a man or woman or *vice versa?* If they did not, what is the significance of the reservation? These and many other questions of interest await solution at the hands of disinterested and patient students of Indian history. Mr. Dikshitar, we feel sure, will be a welcome addition to their ranks.

S. S. S.

'THE MAKERS OF CIVILIZATION IN RACE AND HISTORY

BY

L. A. WADDELL, LL. D., C.B., C.I.E.

[London, Luzac & Co., 1929, pp. lvi + 646. Price Rs. 28 nett.]

THIS sumptuous volume belongs to a class of books which, while they impress the reader by the vast learning and labour that have gone to their making, fail to carry conviction to him and leave him with a sense of misdirected effort. Such books are the result of strong convictions firmly held by their authors who devote much time and effort to the task of accumulating all the evidence that can possibly be taken to support their views and presenting their theses in an attractive and popular form. In Col. Waddell's case, the strain of his very ambitious enterprise must have been very great indeed. Over twenty years ago he got a suspicion that the names of some of the Sumerian kings resemble some names of kings in the Indian Puranic lists and he sought the aid of one of the foremost of English Assyriologists in comparing the two lists of names, and the expert refused his assistance on the ground that such a comparison was not likely to lead to any results of value. This naturally did not satisfy Col. Waddell, and this is what he writes about the sequel: 'It now became a question of only two alternatives. Either I must give up all hope of comparing in detail the Indian king lists with the Sumerian, and abandon my long search for the lost Aryan origins, despite the innumerable clues I had elicited; or I must begin late in life the acquisition of another and extremely difficult new language, with a new and formidable hieroglyphic and cuneiform writing, in order personally to compare at first hand the Indian king lists of the early Aryan kings with the Sumerian. I chose the latter alternative, and leave the results to speak for themselves.' (p. 54).

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These results challenge all the established views of pre-historic archæology without exception, and anybody who reads the book with a working knowledge of the current ideas on the subject will find himself overwhelmed by an avalanche of strange surprises as he turns over section after section. According to the author's results, the Sumerians were themselves the celebrated Aryans, the makers of civilization in all lands. 'In short, the new evidence shows that civilization was essentially racial, and that it was Aryanization.' (p. 495)

This evidence is, for the most part, the comparison of the Indian and Sumerian king lists based on the author's own personal study of both. It may be of interest to the readers of this Journal to learn how the Indian lists have fared at the hands of the author. The 'solar' and the 'lunar' lines are, according to him, not different lines, but only different versions of the same line of kings and 'of these main-line lists the solar are the most complete.' (519) 'The later Indian Brahmans have taken great liberty with the Puru line'; 'the succession is usually gratuitously expressed in the modern MS. versions of the Puranas by the later Indian copyists as "son" even when a new dynasty appears' (520) 'And several of the so-called brothers are clearly merely different titles of the king himself arbitrarily separated out as brothers by the later copyists.' (521) For these reasons, the author feels justified in taking fresh liberties with the Puranic lists and he introduces arbitrary changes in the list as can be seen by a comparison of the table in Appendix I with the tables of either Wilson's *Vishnu Purana* (Hall) or Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.* And after all this bother, we are told, to take one out of several such instances, that Sargon is both Sakuni (not the notorious gambler of the Mahabharat, but a less-known grandson of Iksvaku, who becomes a world-emperor in our author's account) and also Sagara (Ch. XIII) who is identified, again in Appendix I, (p. 524–5) with another Sakuni of the Puranas.

It is not possible or necessary to discuss in a review all the new ideas put forward by the author. What has been said above is enough to give a general idea of the methods of the author and of the nature of his work. Whatever may be said about the author's main thesis, the book is packed with many facts of unusual interest.

K. A. N.

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'A SURVEY OF SOCIALISM'

BY

F. J. C. HEARNSHAW, M.A., LL.D.,

[University of London : Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London, 1928 : Price 15/ net.]

ONE of the few fascinating subjects of the period wherein we are living is the history of socialism. Perhaps the observations of the learned German economist L. Mises in '*Die Gemeinwirtschaft*' are not without truth : 'Socialism is the keyword of our day. The socialist idea at the present moment dominates the minds of men. The masses hang upon it ; it engrosses the thoughts and feelings of every one ; it gives to the age its distinctive character'. The movement towards socialism came into prominence in the early nineties, though its origin might be traced to much early times, commencing with communism of primitive man.

Professor Hearnshaw, who seems to have been attracted to the subject for nearly forty years, presents to us in the book under review an analytical study of the subject. No doubt there are ever so many books dealing with the various aspects of the socialist movements, its merits as well as defects. But still the subject is far from being understood in any satisfactory manner. In this elaborate survey Professor Hearnshaw has tried to present a clear and lucid picture of what one means by the term socialism, its history and its merits and defects. In fact the author has divided the book into three parts,—analytical, historical and critical. After explaining in the whole of the first chapter the meaning of the terms 'socialism' and 'socialist', we are introduced to the six essentials of socialism—exaltation of the community above the individual, equalising human conditions, elimination of the capitalist, expropriation of the landlord, extinction of private enterprise and also of competition.

The second part is more interesting and here there is a genuine attempt to study the evolution of the subject and trace the course of events connected with the movement by true historical methods. There is a useful chapter on ancient and mediæval communism including a section on early Christian communism. The story of the movement is continued in Chapter V where there is a good survey of early modern communism. The next chapter is devoted to an enquiry into

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the modern movements of socialism in different European countries such as France, England and Germany. These three countries have profoundly influenced the movement and modern socialism is what it is due to that influence. While France contributed the sociological element, England and Germany provided the economic and political elements respectively (p. 207). Then follows a long chapter devoted to the all important but much misunderstood subject of Marxian socialism.

The last and more useful part of the work constitutes Chapters IX and X where the merits of socialism and defects are examined with ability. We are not, however, sure whether the modern economists and thinkers will agree with Professor Hearnshaw in his views regarding the movement which has contributed to the elevation of the labouring classes and humanity generally. For example, there is the statement of the Professor: 'It is in the political and social, not in the economic, doctrines of socialism that such merits as it possesses reside (p. 332). He continues: 'These merits of course are not peculiar to socialism.' The learned author seems to feel that the contribution of the socialist movement is not much, and economically the movement has not benefited the community. In our view, though the capitalist is yet at the helm of the industrial world, and though competitive impulses sway the minds of business men, still the movement towards socialism has enabled the modern community to take a broad outlook on men and things in general, and has done much to promote the well-being of the manual workers and other members of the labouring classes. Towards this end its merits on the economic side are no less important.

V. R. R. D.

'A HISTORY OF INDIA: PART II—MUHAMMADAN INDIA'

BY

MESSRS. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI AND M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYANGAR.

[Published by Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 3.]

THIS handy volume is a continuation of a History of India projected to be published in three volumes by Professors C. S. Srinivasachari and M. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar. Like the first part, this part is an able survey of the history of the so-called Muhammadan India. The

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title 'Muhammadan India' like the title 'Buddhist India' is a misnomer. But there is nothing in the title of the book. The real importance of the work lies in the contents of the book which gives an intelligent summary of the modern works published on the subject. Professor Mohammad Habib, who has contributed a learned introduction, draws attention to the chief feature of the work, free from all religious and racial prepossessions so common in modern writers on the subject, and pays a tribute to the authors in the remark: 'The present work marks a healthy departure from the noxious text-books of the past.' We very much wish that some more space is devoted to the history of South India. The usefulness of the work is very much enhanced by a lengthy chronological table, a fairly good bibliography and five maps. We hope that the work will be popular among the students for whom it is primarily intended.

V. R. R. D.

'MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE'

Being a History of the Relation of the Portuguese and Malabar from 1500–1663

[Messrs. Taraporavalla, Sons & Co., Bombay.]

This is a work, the first comprehensive and connected history of the dealings of the Portuguese with the Indians on the West Coast of India. Mr. Panikkar deals with this subject from the first beginnings of the Portuguese connection to the final collapse of the Portuguese power. Mr. Panikkar had, in addition to the advantage of a knowledge of some of the sources for this topic of Indian history in his own mother-tongue, access to the records in Portugal itself. He has exploited the opportunity he had to purpose and has presented us with an account which is in many ways informing and exhibits an enterprise of the first European power, in no very lovely light. For this character of the account Mr. Panikkar is not exactly responsible. The work enjoys an introduction by that Doyen of Indian historical research, Sir Richard Temple. As was to be expected from him, Sir Richard brings out in ten pages the salient features of the history, perhaps mollifies to some extent the account as we find it in the book. The book confines itself, as Sir Richard takes care to point out, to one section of the Portuguese activities in the East, namely, the dealings

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with Malabar. This part of the subject presents them perhaps in a worse light than their transactions elsewhere. But, on the whole, even including the achievements in other fields there is a great deal to discount from the glorious character generally given to their achievements in the East. Greed and fanaticism seem to have dominated in their transaction in one form or another, the one based on an attempt at securing commercial dominance, and the other—assuming a charter from Heaven—the conversion of the whole world to Christianity. In the carrying out of these two objects they generally had no scruples as to the means they had employed.

Sir Richard takes care to point out in the introduction that their whole outlook was medieval and in that medievalism they were no better or no worse than their contemporaries in India. Mr. Panikkar's account indicates the balance the other way. The Portuguese came to India ostensibly for purposes of trade. They found others already in possession of it, particularly, the much-hated Moors of the West Coast. If it was perhaps a simple question of trade, they may not have experienced much difficulty in securing facilities for their trade. It immediately assumed the form of a monopoly of the trade. They tried to secure this monopoly in one way or other from the Indian princes who had their own obligations to discharge to the Mahomedan traders of the coast, of course from outside as well as those that had settled in the country. As is usual in such cases, such as, for example, the early Mahomedan invasions, they adopted a policy of terrorising and thus tried to secure mastery of the sea. In their prosecution of this enterprise they naturally came into hostility with the rulers of the coast and they did not shrink from breaking pledges and carrying on wars as they pleased against them. It is in their transactions with the coast powers that they managed to infuse the principle of fanaticism and made an effort as far as might be at Christianizing. They had some success on both sides at first; when they went beyond and attempted to carry it out systematically, they surrendered their judgment to a body of Jesuit priests who directed the policy of the state in this particular That brought them up against the Mahomedans as well as the Hindus, the latter of whom all the time were not unfriendly to peaceful missionary work.

They hardly came in sufficient number to make a community by themselves. They attempted to form a community by inter-marriages,

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which produced a community which could hardly be Portuguese, nor could they be exactly Indian. They had but a few forts on the coast of their own and had secured more or less the alliance of Cochin and Cannanore, which early threw them into hostility with the rest of the small states into which the whole of the West Coast had been divided. The chief antagonist against them was the ruler of Calicut, who was, as a matter of fact, the sovereign suzerain over all the petty states of the West Coast. So long as they had trade relations with the powerful states such as those of the empire Vijayanagar or the kingdom of Adilshah, their trade prospered to a considerable extent; but when these states declined, their trade also declined. With the decline of the trade synchronized the infusion of their religious fervour and an effort to uproot the Muhammadan horde. They could do neither.

The fact of the matter is that, although the Portuguese came to India not as a private company as that of the other European powers, and were sent over under the auspices of the Portuguese rulers directly, they came here with no definite idea as to what exactly they were to do. They had no well-understood policy either in regard to the one item or the other, except in the case of Albuquerque who wished to create a number of fortified bases on the coast and maintaining themselves on the sea. They would not carry it out systematically. Even in respect of the securing of the monopoly of trade, they might have done it easily even without the countenance of the country powers, if they had set about it in a systematic fashion and ceased from interfering in other matters. As Mr. Panikkar points out, the whole body of the Portuguese in India were not under one control, as it were, and could not therefore pursue a great policy. The tendency to private trade and the gaining of private profits dominated to the detriment of the more general interests, which interests the officials of the East India Company generally had an eye to even when they pursued their own selfish interests most unscrupulously. Having regard to the distance of their base and the states that they had to operate against, they could hardly succeed in this. They were able to achieve the success that they did in securing the control of the sea, and for a period of time even the monopoly of the sea-going trade, simply because the larger Indian powers neglected completely the development of the navy, and thus laid themselves at the mercy of anybody that had the means of securing this supremacy. The Arab-

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Muhammadans generally gradually superseded Indian enterprise in this direction, and they were able to hold their own only so long as they had the support of the civil power, and when this support failed for one reason or another, they found it impossible to hold their own as against the superior equipment and the far more unscrupulous treatment that the Portuguese accorded to the vanquished. The Portuguese succeeded ultimately in crippling the nautical power of the Muhammadans without establishing their own on a solid basis. When the next European companies came upon the scene, the Portuguese had nothing to fall back upon and disappeared rapidly, the Dutch being able to sweep them out of their position with comparative ease.

Mr. Panikar has done his work with creditable impartiality, although he has not succeeded in suppressing his own feelings as an Indian, and born in Malabar. Whether it was possible for the Portuguese to have done better may be a speculative question; but one may perhaps hazard it that, even in those circumstances, perhaps the officials of the English East India Company as a body might have achieved more success.

MANDU: THE 'CITY OF JOY'

BY

G. YAZDANI

[Published by the Oxford University Press for the Dhar State]

THIS is a work quite worthy of the 'City of Joy' and has been brought out not a whit too soon for those interested in the history and archæology of India. Mr. Yazdani claims to have written the book for the use of the ordinary visitor and seems almost to regret that it does not incorporate details, which might be of interest to the more initiated. He has succeeded in producing a book, however, which, while it serves the purpose of the ordinary reader, is not without information for the elect. He would refer the reader to two previous writers, whose works he commends as of value. We may almost say that this little book supersedes even those two others and is quite a handy book for those sufficiently interested to visit the 'City of Joy', as it was called by Muslim monarchs, who had a peculiar taste for the natural scenery. The book, it need hardly be said, is beautifully got up with forty illustrations including the frontispiece, the picture of the young Maharaja of Dhar, thirty-nine others

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representing the remnants of the buildings of the locality. There is also a plan of the approach to the city and a map of the parts which constituted the fort of Mandu.

Mandu rests on a plateau of the Vindhya mountains, rather an extensive plateau lying nestled in the hills which run in and out here rising gradually northwards from the valley of the Narmada through the comparatively extensive plains of Nimar on the northern side of the river. In the middle ages of Indian history, the trunk road from the south seems to have passed through it between the Dekhan, Burhanpur and the farther south, to Agra. Even now it is not very far from the Bombay Agra trunk road, though it does not actually pass through Mandu. The place is now reached easily from Indore by bus. One has first of all to pass through Dhar, associated with the name of Raja Bhoja, the scholar and patron of letters alike, and a comparatively easy drive of twenty-three miles in a motor car takes you through the Alamgir gate across to the Bhagwaniya gate by which one descends slowly down the plateau in the plains by a comparatively easy gradient. Much of what one has to see can be seen along this road making one or two short detours. As it is now, it consists of a number of buildings, mosques and tombs, the two generally going together, and the remnants of a few palaces. All of them bear the look on the surface of being Muhammadan structures. The city received its present form, and the large number of buildings given their present shape only during the period of the dynasty of Muhammadans, who set themselves up independently in Malva as a result of the confusion created by the invasion of Timur. And this history extends from A. D. 1400 to the conquest of Malva by Adham Khan for Akbar. Dilawar Khan was the first ruler who ruled from Dhar, and it was his successor, who made Mandu the capital. This is the famous Shah Hoshang, whose name lives in the mosque and tomb in Mandu and the town on the Narbada. The chief feature of the whole locality is the Sagar tank, a large spread of water almost in the middle of the plateau and two smaller ones called Munja Talao and Kapur Talao. There are three or four other tanks on the plateau and provide a comparatively full water supply. Of Shah Hoshang the great mosque and Hoshang's tomb equally are the characteristic buildings. The latter is set in a large courtyard surrounded by colonnaded halls of Hindu pillars, perhaps even the roofing, which Mr. Yazdani

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considers a later addition. Hoshang Shah having set the example, each succeeding ruler naturally thought it necessary to leave his own monuments excelling if possible those of his predecessor. So every ruler has his own building, generally a tomb with which went a mosque, and sometimes even a caravanserai. They are all well described and very good illustrations are given of them. Mr. Yazdani had spared no pains in explaining the peculiar features of each. He divides the buildings into three groups, those of Hoshang and his immediate successors. He calls the buildings purely Islamic, having been constructed by architects imported from Persia, the buildings thus partaking of the character of purely Muslim structures. Then according to Mr. Yazdani follows a period when Hindu workmen at any rate, were allowed to take part in these structures, having received apparently training from those that were imported. According to Mr. Yazdani, they were given the freedom to indulge their fancy to some extent in regard to the ornamentation of the structures that they were employed to construct. In this period, he regards the combination attempted to be brought about proved rather clumsy, the Hindu architects and workmen not understanding the real inwardness of the Islamic structures to make an effective combination of Hindu and Islamic work. The third period, according to him, is the last fifty years before the Mughal conquest and the period following under the Mughals, when the Hindus had assimilated sufficiently the spirit of Islamic architecture to combine elements Islamic in Hindu architectural principles to purpose. He may be correct in this classification; but the particular point that he makes out, as in the case of Hoshang's tomb, that the Hindu structure round the tomb itself is a later addition, as much as to say that wherever Hindu work does appear, it actually belongs to a period later than that of Shah Hoshang, when alone, according to him, Hindu workmen were allowed to participate in the work, seems to hit beyond the mark.

To the student of history the question actually arises whether Mandu was actually a place constructed by Muhammadans after the Muhammadan conquest, although it must be said in fairness to Mr. Yazdani, he does not say so. In the Khazainul Futuh of Amir Khusru a somewhat graphic description is given of Ala-ud-Din's campaign against Mahalak Dev of Mandu. Then the fort was considered a very strong one, and Ala-ud-Din exercised his ingenuity

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to select the best of his generals, and nominated no less a personage than Ain-ul-Mulk to conduct this expedition. He goes on naively to say that the fort could not be captured at all till a Hindu guide showed him a secret way into the fort. If a ruler like Mahalak Dev lived in the fort and could stand a siege for a considerable length of time to the despair of the first general of the age, it must have been a city of importance. Some few of the remnants of Hindu structures and one or two inscriptions, recently brought to light show that the fortified place did contain several of the elements that went to constitute a Hindu city. The question naturally would arise whether a structure like the colonnaded pavilion round the court of Shah Hoshang's tomb were not the colonnaded pavilions of a Hindu temple or a college, as in the case of the Kamaliya mosque in Dhar or the *Adai dinka Jhonpra* in Ajmer or the Quatul Islam mosque in Delhi. If this were so, it would mean that the Hindu work was the earlier of the two, and there is absolutely nothing novel in it. Hoshang Shah would simply have followed the example of his predecessors. There seems to be something like a tell-tale evidence in another case, the prayer hall and the mosque of Malik Mughith, of which an illustration is given to face page 86. There the colonnaded hall seems obviously to be a Hindu structure, and not originally intended to bear the three Islamic domes that are placed on the top of the roofing, and in this case perhaps it may well be said that it was a kind of Hindu building turned to Islamic use. The Jahas Mahal and the Hindola Mahal and such remnants of the palace as do remain to this day seem Hindu structures, not totally transformed, but rather partially transformed for Islamic purposes. The very principle of the structure and the structures in the interior part show them to be more or less Hindu in character made Islamic by outside additions and superficial veneer of brick and mortar. One could see in the compound wall of the Hindola Mahal stones with Hindu sculptures turned inside out, but occasionally laid sideways to tell the tale of this transformation.

While it would be hazardous to call into question the conclusions of an expert like Mr. Yazdani, he has done the work excellently and with thoughtful care, a more careful study may not be uncalled for to see how far this suggestion is possible. It is hard to believe that a city of such importance as Mandu did not contain Hindu structures, or

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that structures were completely destroyed by Muhammadan rulers of the place. There is enough left to show, even on the details given by Mr. Yazdani's work, that there were temples and places like that. But the existence of names like the Munja Talao associated with the name of Munja of the Paramara dynasty of rulers, and the name given to the fountain Nilakant, by which name perhaps the city was at one time known, would show that there must have been considerable structures in Hindu days partially transformed by the Muhammadans. A careful investigation perhaps might throw a little more light on this side of the question. Perhaps then we could understand more closely why the commingling of Hindu and Islamic work in some cases does not prove happy and in other cases actually does. We welcome the book as a necessary addition to that class of literature and congratulate the Durbar of Dhar and Mr. Yazdani for having produced it so well, both in regard to form and matter.

NOTE

Other reviews have to be held over owing to pressure on space. We expect to be able to allot more space for review in the next issue.

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Select Contents from the Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)

October, 1929—

L. D. BARNETT: 'Genius: a study in Indo-European Psychology.'

STEPHEN JANICSEK: 'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Bulghār: Is it a Fabrication?'

H. R. DIWEKAR: 'Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti'. Mr. Diwekar concludes this learned article with the remark that Bhāmaha must have lived before Bhaṭṭi and in a period between Diṅnāga and the visit of Hiuen Tsang.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XXIV, 1928, No. 3.

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Sitarami gold coins or medals.'

C. R. SINGHAL: 'Some more coins of the post-Mughal period from Ahmadabad.'

PRAYAG DAYAL: 'Rupees of Shāh Ālam II, Ujhāni—Āṣafābād and Ābdullanagar Pihāni.'

S. H. HODIVALA: 'The Chronology of the Zodiacal coins.'

C. R. SINGHAL: 'Bibliography of Indian coins.'

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New series)

VOL. XXIV, 1928, No. 4.

September, 1929—

SIR J. C. COYAJEE: 'Astronomy and Astrology in the Bahram Yasht.'

L. BOGDANOV: 'The Afghan Weights and Measures.'

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS: 'Lunar and Solar Eclipses in Hindu Astronomy.'

C. W. GURNER: 'Two notes on Bhavabhūti.' The first note aims to place 'literary criticism of the plays of Bhavabhūti on a fair basis, especially for the Western critic. The second draws attention to the phenomenon of verses repeated from one play in another which is so distinctive a feature of Bhavabhūti's text.'

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CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI: 'Date of the nīti section of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.' The nītisāra of the Garuḍa Purāṇa, it is concluded, cannot be earlier than the ninth or tenth century.

The Calcutta Review

October, 1929—

K. C.: 'The Permanent Settlement in Bengal and the Loss to the Exchequer.'

NARENDRA KRISHNA SINHA: 'Was the British Empire of India the Result of Design?'

November and December, 1929—

S. C. GHOSH: 'Paundravardhana to Karnasvarna.'

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

SATKARI MOOKERJEE: 'A critical estimate of the Mimāṁsā theory of Soul from the Buddhist standpoint.

SASHIBHUSAN CHAUDHURI: 'Popular Elements in the Purānas.

January, 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

PRIYARANJAN SEN: 'The Avestan Gathas.'

GOKULDAS DE: 'Original Nature of Jātakas.'

The Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. V, NO. 3

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA: 'Puṣyamitra and the Śanga Empire.'

N. N. LAW: 'The Machinery of Administration as depicted in the Kauṭaliya.'

N. K. SINHA: 'Ranjit Singh and the North-West Frontier Problem.

N. DUTT: 'The Doctrine of Kaya in Hinayana and Mahayana.'

K. P. JAIN: 'The Ādipurāna and Bṛhat Kathā.

The Indian Antiquary

August, 1929—

A. VENKATASUBBIAH: 'Vedic Studies.'

K. N. DANIEL: 'An Inscription of Iraya Chinka (Raja Simha) Perumal.'

September, 1929—

R. R. HALDER: 'An Inscription of the Time of Allata of Mewar.'

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P. C. NAHAR: 'A Note on the Svetambar and Digambar sects.'

J. N. SAMADDAR: 'Anusamyana'. Prof. Samaddar criticizes the explanation of the term—a system of transfer from one station to the other suggested by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal and explains it as 'tours of piety.'

November, 1929—

SIR AUREL STEIN: 'Note on Explorations in Makran and other parts of Southern Baluchistan.'

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI: 'The Early Development of the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George.'

K. P. JAYASWAL: 'Evidence of an Asokan Pillar at Bhuvanesvar in Orissa.'

Epigraphia Indica

VOL. XIX, PART VI

K. N. DIKSHIT AND D. B. DISKALKAR: 'Two Harsola copper-plate grants of the Paramara Siyaka of V. S. 1005.'

E. HERZFELD: 'A new Asokan Inscription from Taxila.' Herzfeld who deciphered this inscription holds that the word Priyadarçana stands here for Asoka, and asks: 'Who, unless Asoka himself, in his endeavourings to propagate the new faith, could have had any interest to employ, in India at that period, an occidental, the Aramaic script and language?'

V. RANGACHARYA: 'The Pulibumra plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Jayasimha I.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'Dhauli Cave Inscription of Santikara.'

Y. R. GUPTA: 'Kondedda Grant of Dharmaraja.'

R. D. BANERJI: 'A Note on the Vappaghoshavata Grant of Jayanaga.'

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras

VOL. III, PART IV

T. R. CHINTAMANI: 'The Works of Prabhākara.'

K. A. SUBRAMANIA AIYAR: 'Studies in the Imagery of the Ramayana.'

D. T. TATACHARYA: 'Definition of Poetry or Kavya.'

P. S. SUBRAMANYA SASTRI: 'A Note on the 102nd stanza in Purananuru.'

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Round Table

Summary of the Articles in the December Number

THE December number of *The Round Table* opens with an account of the Anglo-American naval negotiations in an article which sets out with force and clarity the difficulties which will have to be overcome if 'The London Conference' in January is to be a success. There follows a friendly appreciation of 'Mr. MacDonald in the United States' from an American pen, which gives a vivid account of the Prime Minister's personal triumph and the beneficial results which his visit should have on Anglo-American relations. The author also prints in full the joint statement issued by President Hoover and Mr. MacDonald, and discusses the London Conference from the American point of view.

In the next article, 'The Prerogative of Dissolution' is dealt with. The writer gives an historical account of the development of the Conventions of the Constitution and deals with the new situation created by the advent of the three-party system.

The article entitled 'India and 1930' is a timely account of the working of the Reforms inaugurated in 1919 and a re-statement of the facts which the Simon Commission will have to take into account in their Report. It also puts a number of questions to which the Commission may be expected to give an answer.

'The United States of Europe' is a lucid account of the political concept and the economic aspects of the idea which has been so much discussed at Geneva this autumn. It shows the difficulties in the way of the practical realization of such a scheme and indicates possible ways in which they might eventually be overcome.

An article on 'International Aspects of the Coal Problem' points out how far the conditions in the coal mining industry in this country are affected by those obtaining in other countries. The author gives the results of the inquiry recently held by the economic organization of the League of Nations which has just issued an interim report. Finally, he suggests certain forms which international action might take. The article is a most valuable addition to the literature on the coal problem.

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The Great Britain article this time deals with 'Labour's first six months'. It includes their achievements in foreign affairs, the excitement caused by the announcement of the Viceroy with regard to the future status of India, and finally Mr. Thomas' plans for coping with unemployment. The Irish correspondent gives his usual lively account of 'Events in the Free State' both from the political and economic standpoint. The Canadian article is particularly interesting in view of the conference now sitting in London on the operation of Dominion Legislation. It deals with the growth of 'Law and Custom in the Canadian Constitution' and makes some suggestions with regard to Appeals to the Privy Council. The Australian section gives a valuable summary of the 'Report of the Tariff Commission'. It also describes the events which led up to Mr. Bruce's defeat at the General Election. The South African contribution is an account of the 'Customs Conference with Rhodesia', in which the writer points out the far-reaching results which the failure to come to an agreement may have upon the future of the two countries. Another section describes the competition between railways and roads in the Union. New Zealand continues the account begun in the last issue of the political developments under the premiership of Sir Joseph Ward.

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OUR EXCHANGES

1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, 3, Mission Row, Calcutta.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
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24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
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26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom, Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
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33. *The Gackwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. *The Superintendent*, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. *'Tarikh' Kotlah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).

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OF

INDIAN HISTORY

(PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR)

Volume IX, Part II AUGUST, 1930 Serial No. 26

EDITOR

RAO BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
HONV. PH.D., F.R. HIST. S., etc.
Honorary Correspondent, Archæological Survey of India

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NOTE

In the article on 'Raja Desing of Gingee' in the *Journal of Indian History* for April 1930, one of the terms often used in its Tamil form was the term *Dainâti* as applied to one section of the forces under the command of the Killadhar of Gingee, and (2) more generally to the officials of Killadhari office at Gingee. In the Tamil form in which the term is used, I was not quite clear as to the actual form and the import of the term. I find now that that is the equivalent of the Persian term which has been used in the Âini Akbâri and literature bearing upon Mughal administration generally. The *Mansabdars* seem to have been divided under the Mughal administration into two classes, Ḥâẓir-i-Rikâb, that is, Mansab in attendance at court and *Tâ-i-nâtian*, those detailed for duty in the provinces. Troops as well as the civil officials attached to a particular *Mansabdari* seem to have been known by the name *Tâ-i-natian* as distinct from the other group, those that attended at court,[1] and that seems the general sense in which the term is used in the Tamil document relating to the history of Gingee. Comparatively small detail as this is, it gives to the manuscript document something of a realistic touch that the term should be known in the form in the distant Tamil south, and at a period when Muhammadan rule was practically at an end in the locality. Perhaps this would enhance the value of the source from which the author of the manuscript drew for his information.

S. K.

[1] See Mr. Abdul Aziz : *Article on Shah Jahan*, p. 33 post.

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Seven Days at Vijayanagara

BY

Rev. H. Heras, S.J.

I had been at Vijayanagara twice. But the wish of some of my postgraduate research students to visit those wonderful ruins of the ancient capital offered me a chance to see Vijayanagara again. They also were studying subjects more or less connected with Vijayanagara History. And we were going to spend eight days there! Such an opportunity could not be rejected.

At the end of the academic year, on the 26th of April, 1929, we left Bombay for the plains of Karṇāṭaka. Our party consisted of five research students: Mr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Mr. R. N. Saletore, B.A., Mr. James D'Silva, B.A., Mr. S. J. R. Ramdas, B.A., B.T. and Mr. Earnest Alvares, B.A., and their Professor, the present writer.

After a short stay at Belgaum, Khanapur and Gadag, where we saw the ancient monuments of these cities, we arrived at Vijayanagara on April 28, at about 5 p.m.

April 28

On the evening of our arrival we paid a short visit to the monuments near the P.W.D. Bungalow:—

Well.—A beautiful structure just outside the wall of the royal enclosure. It is well preserved and contains some carvings.

Chandra Sēkara Temple.—This is a small temple, but it contains good carvings on the pillars and on the outer walls. Elsewhere I have affirmed that 'the style and the good state of preservation show

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that the building belongs to the latest period of Vijayanagara.'[1] Indeed the carved pillars and the sculptures on the walls are similar to those of Achyuta Rāya's temple.

Octogonal Bath.—This is a building of purely Hindu style. On account of its plain appearance one is forced to assign the structure to an early period. In the centre of the bath there is still an octagonal island on which a pavilion was erected. The sockets for the pillars of this pavilion are still to be seen.

Pattabhi Rāma Temple.—This is, as noted by Longhurst, 'the largest temple among the ruins' of Vijayanagara.[2] It was built by Achyuta Dēva Rāya. The above author states that it 'is remarkable for little but its size;' yet one cannot but notice the beauty of its proportions. It was undoubtedly one of the most beautiful temples of the city, when it was finished. The lofty *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple and the side *maṇḍapa* are specially remarkable. In the former *maṇḍapa* there are several mutilated statues of gods. One nevertheless seems to be a statue of a king totally similar to those at Tirupati. The statue unfortunately is beheaded. Most likely it was a statue of Achyuta Rāya.

There are similar mutilated statues in other Vijayanagara temples:—

Vitthalaswami Temple.—When entering through the south gateway, in the *maṇḍapa* to the left, there are a headless statue of a king broken into three portions, and a similarly headless statue of a queen, both with clasped hands. They were most likely Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and his main queen. The statue of the queen is very beautiful. (Plate I. 1.)

Achyuta Rāya's Temple.—In the second *prakara* next to the northern gate there is the torso of another statue of a king with clasped hands, probably Achyuta Dēva Rāya.

It seems to have been customary among the later Vijayanagara Emperors to place such statues in the temples as permanent votive images to the deity, a usage also imitated by the Nāyaks of Madura.[3]

[1] Heras, *Historical Carvings at Vijayanagara*, *Q.J.M.S.*, xvii, p. 87, note.
[2] Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 137.
[3] Cf. Heras, *The Statues of the Nāyaks of Madura in the Pudu Mandapam*, *Q.J.M.S.*, xv, pp. 209–18.

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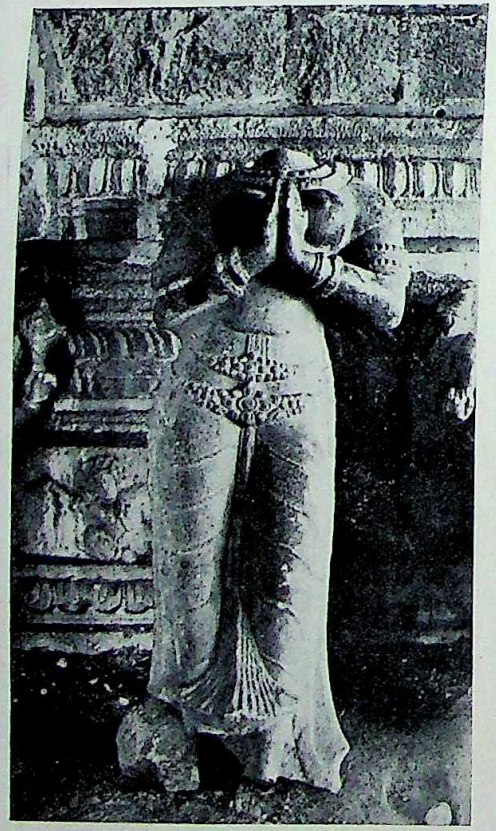
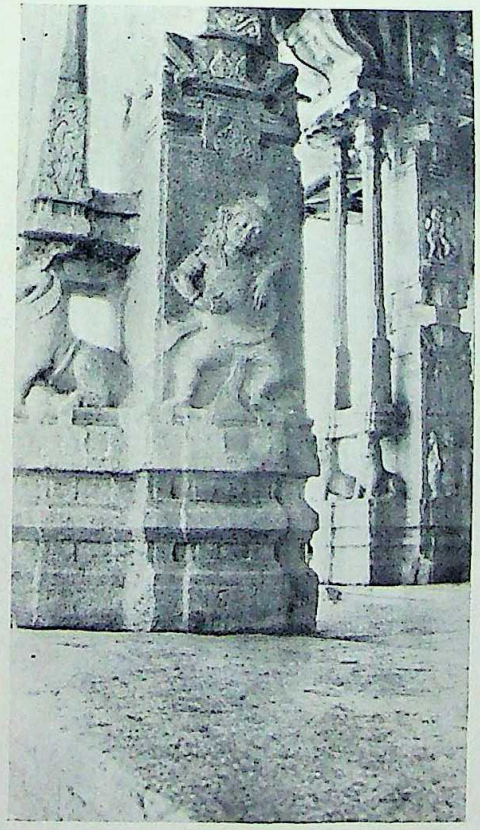


Vijayanagara

Headless statue of a Queen, probably of Krishna Deva Raya, in the Vitthalaswami temple.



Vijayanagara

Vitthalaswami temple. Carvings on a pillar of the Kalyana mandapa: a musician.

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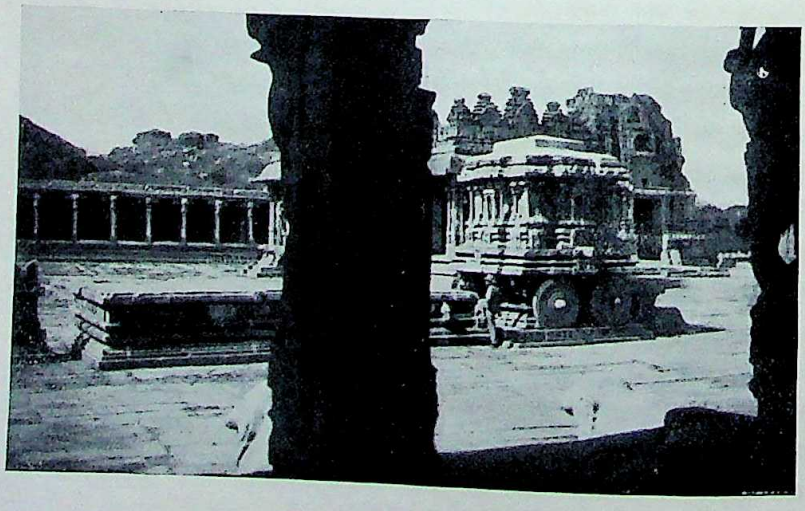
Vijayanagara
Roofless navaranga of the Vitthalaswami temple.



Vijayanagara
Vitthalaswami temple. The stone car and partial view of the prakara,

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April 29

We devoted this day to the study of *Vitthalaswami temple* and its surroundings.

Half a mile before reaching the temple where the road branching off leads to Talarigaṭṭu, the tourist finds a small *maṇḍapa* with a throne in the centre, probably used to place an image on public festivals or during a procession. It is almost opposite to the bazaar. To the left, there is a small temple, the shrine of which is totally gone. It must have been built at the same time as the temple of Vitthalaswami, as the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* evidently prove. To the right of Vitthalaswami temple, reckoning from the blocked eastern gateway, there is another bazaar leading to another temple which is the northernmost building of Vijayanagara. The board placed at the entrance of the temple, as well as a local printed guide and plan prepared by Rao Bahadur C. Hanumantha Gowda, state that this is a temple of Śiva; but according to Mr. Longhurst it is a Vishṇu temple.[1] When was this temple built? Comparing its ornamentation with that of Vitthalaswami temple, the former seems to point to an earlier period; yet two inscriptions found in the walls of this temple belonging to Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya may perhaps be a proof of its being built in the reign of this Emperor.[2] Even in this case the simplicity of style may be easily explained if one remembers the state of the Empire during the reign of this Emperor. The decay of the time Sadāśiva Rāya did not allow the lavishness of the time of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, specially when Sadāśiva himself was apparently still finishing the marvellous temple of Vitthalaswami.

As regards this temple, which was the object of our study for the rest of the day, it has often been said that it was commenced by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, continued by Achyuta Dēva Rāya and Sadāśiva Rāya and never finished.[3] One fails nevertheless to see the grounds for this statement. Certainly the main portion of the *navaraṅga* is now roofless. But there are evident traces of the roof over the cornice running round; hence we may safely conclude that the roof once existed. Similarly the stucco remains on the roofs of the

[1] Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 132.
[2] *S.I.I.*, iv, Nos. 279 and 288. The inscriptions nevertheless do not refer to the foundation of the temple.
[3] Cf. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 163; Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 121.

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different buildings, as well as the *stūpi* that crowns the central shrine, clearly show that these were already finished when the Muhammadan invasion took place.

The first thing that strikes the curiosity of the archæologist when visiting Vijayanagara is the difference between the style of Vijayanagara and the previous styles in Karṇāṭaka. In particular the Vijayanagara rulers, although the racial and political successors of the Hoysaḷas, developed a style totally different from the Hoysaḷa style. The lofty *gopurams* over the doorways are never seen in the ancient Mysorean temples. Similarly the stone *vimana* of the temples built by Vishnuvardhana was in Vijayanagara converted into a round *stūpi* or unto the vaulted pavilion so common in Pallava architecture, from which (according to Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil) the round *stūpi* has finally developed.[1] Even the material itself used in Vijayanagara is not the same as that of the ancient Hoysaḷa temples. For the *gopurams*, and for these decorations on the roof of the temples the Vijayanagara architects used brick-work covered with stucco, these materials being perhaps cheaper than stone, and certainly not so heavy as a stone structure. This stucco-work was so beautifully done that it could vie with the stone sculptures of Haḷebiḍ and Somanathapur. Even now one may sometimes see brick-work figures totally detached from the stuccoed parapet.[2]

All these reflexions will naturally occur to the archæologist who spares a few hours within the enclosure of Vitthalaswami temple. Yet one may forget that the great temple we now see at Vijayanagara was a manifestation of the later architectonical development of the time of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya and his successors. What was the link between the Hoysaḷa style and that of the palmy days of Vijayanagara it is difficult to say, for there seem to be very few temples of the time of the Saṅgama Emperors. In the course of our stay at Vijayanagara we could trace some of them.

The *garbhagṛha* of the Vitthalaswami temple has moreover a feature not to be found, as far as I remember in the Hoysaḷa temples. I refer to the *pradakshiṇa*, imported undoubtedly from the Chalukya

[1] Cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 47.

[2] Sometimes small pieces of wood were inlaid in the stucco, as a skeleton of the whole work. Such pieces appear for instance in the *Kalyana Maṇḍapa* of the Vitthalaswami temple.

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temples.[1] That of the temple of Vitthalaswami is much lower than the floor of the *sukanāsi* and *garbhagṛha*; and it would be in absolute darkness but for one or two holes in the ceiling. The two entrances to this *pradakshiṇa*, placed at right angles to the entrance of the *garbhagṛha* itself, lead to a flight of four steps descending to the *pradakshiṇa*. The two *dvārapālas* that once stood next to the *garbhagṛha* door are now removed; but one of them, mercilessly beheaded perhaps by a Muslim iconoclast, is found in the *navaraṅga* next to the south door. It is of huge size, differing from the ordinary type of the ancient Hindu temples. It is a male figure, armed with a huge mace, with one leg bent and resting upon a stool. Similar *dvārapālas*, but not of the same size, are also found in other Vijayanagara temples of the same period—for instance in the compound of Hazara Rāma's temple.

Longhurst rightly states that the *Kalyana Maṇḍapa*, destined for the annual festival of the wedding of the god, is the most ornamented of all the buildings within the Vitthalaswami enclosure. The pillars are gorgeously carved; several of them have horsemen. Some of these, on account of their features, beard and dress, are easily recognized as Mussulman soldiers a fact that confirms the statement of Frederick about the existence of Muhammadan regiments at Vijayanagara.[2] The lower part of the projecting roof running round these buildings is beautifully carved in imitation of wooden panels and beams. One may trace such beautiful work to some of the Hoysaḷa temples; for instance the Siddhēśvara temple at Hāveri, Dharwar District, and the Hoysalēśvara temple at Haḷebid, Belūr Taluka. This *maṇḍapa* has still portions of the painting that covered all the carvings and figures of ceiling and pillars; some beautiful designs in red and green may be seen, specially in the former. This custom of painting the interior and the exterior of the stone-built temples, was also inherited by Vijayanagara from the Hoysaḷas. Some of the beautiful figures of the Hoysalēśvara temple at Haḷebiḍ have also retained portions of red colouring.[3] (Plate I. 2.)

[1] The *pradakshiṇa* round the *garbhagṛha* is also a common feature in Pallava temples. Yet the geographical position of Vijayanagara has inclined me to trace the genesis of the Vijayanagara *pradakshiṇa* to the Chalukya buildings.

[2] Purchas, *His Pilgrims*, x, p. 92.

[3] The *Mahāmaṇḍapa*, called also *Kalyana Maṇḍapa*, of the Vaikunta Perumāḷ temple at Little Conjeevaram, also built by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, seems even more gorgeous than this one of the Vitthalaswami temple.

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Opposite the *Kalyana Maṇḍapa* on the north side there is another similar *maṇḍapa* but not so richly decorated. There is also a throne-platform in the centre. The purpose of this building is not known; yet the fact that the carvings running as a freeze round the base of the temple are all representations of musicians and dancing girls, may perhaps suggest that the building was for dancing before the King. Some of the carvings represent a king, probably Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, seated on his throne, witnessing the clever dancing of some of the girls. These friezes of the carvings, running round the bases of those buildings, as well as some of those carvings on the pillars of this temple, are of great importance for the history of the social life of Vijayanagara. Elsewhere I have already emphasized their historical importance, when identifying the Portuguese merchants leading horses to Vijayanagara in the carving of the main building of the Vitthalaswami enclosure.[1] (Plate III. 1 and 2.)

Before leaving this enclosure it is worth while comparing the sculpture of Vijayanagara with the Hoysaḷa sculpture, as we have previously compared the architecture of both Empires. Certainly the Vitthalaswami temple marks the apogee of the Vijayanagara sculpture; but prescinding from the gorgeousness of its whole appearance, the Hoysaḷa sculpture is far superior in minuteness of detail and in perfection of execution. Indeed the delicate filigree of the *dvārapalas*, or of the figures at the back of the shrines in the Hoysalēśvara temple at Haḷebiḍ, cannot be compared with the figures of the Vitthalaswami temple—not even with those of a dancing girl and a drummer which are real statues attached to two pillars of the *navaraṅga* of the Vitthalaswami temple. (Plate II. 1.) Perhaps the cause of this difference was the kind of stone used at Vijayanagara. It seems to be much harder than that of the Hoysaḷa sculptures.

April 30

This day we visited some of the buildings of the royal enclosure and its neighbourhood.

Underground Temple.—This is a temple of Śiva with a *pradakshiṇa* round the *garbhagṛha* altogether similar to that of Vitthalaswami temple. One doubts whether the temple was originally underground.

[1] *Q.J.M.S.*, xvii, pp. 87–8.

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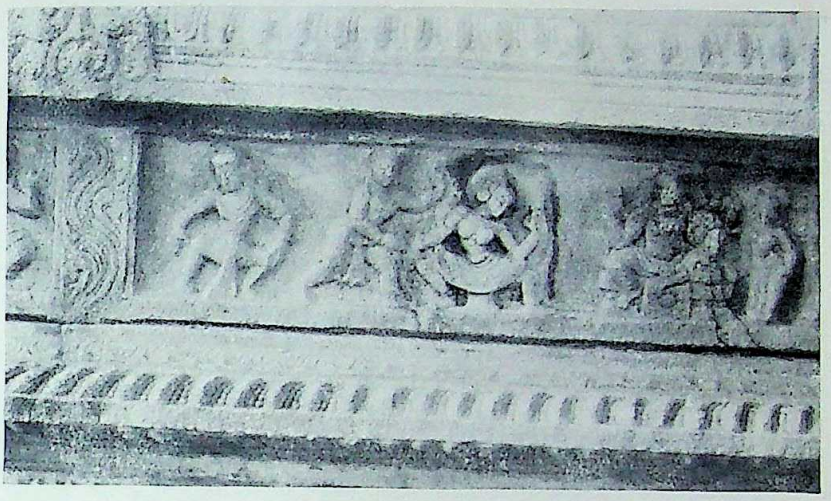
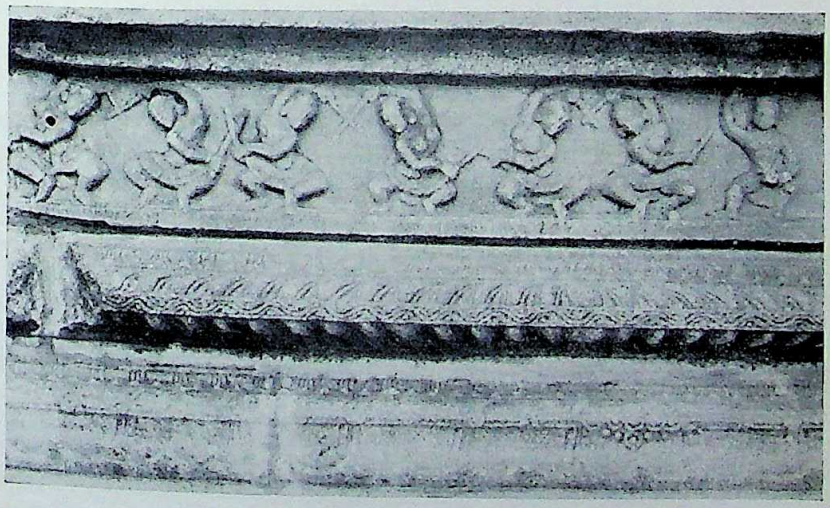


Vijayanagara

Vitthalaswami temple. A dancing girl before the Emperor.



Vijayanagara

Vitthalaswami temple. Dancing girls carved on the mandapa that is supposed to be for dancing.

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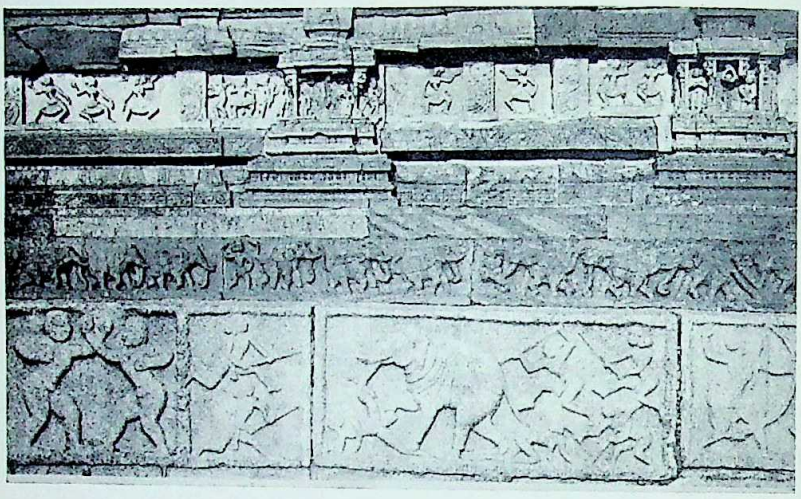
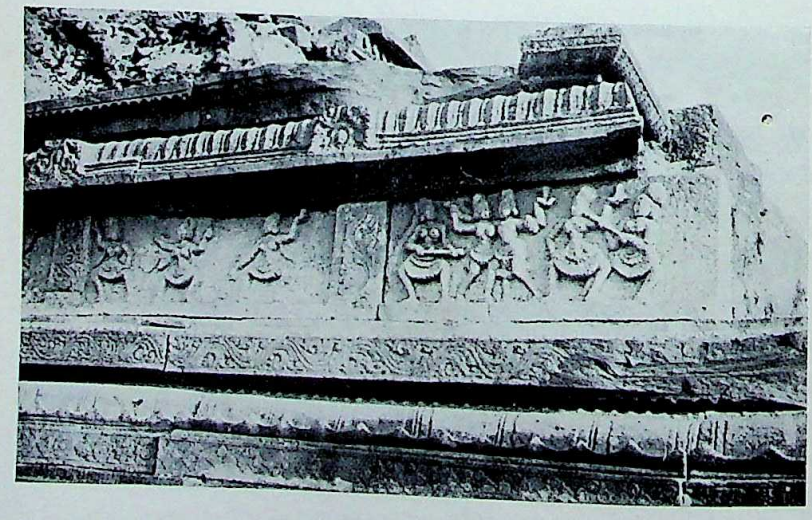


Vijayanagara

House of Victory. Photo showing the old granite carvings below, and the encasement of dark green chlorite stone above.



Vijayanagara

House of Victory. Dancing girls and the Holi Festival.

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It was certainly built on a low level and that is the reason why in the time of the decay of the city the whole pit came to be covered with rubbish. The temple was built in a pit in order to have the linga always surrounded with water. A small canal, branching out of another one near the road to Hampi, surrounds the whole temple and actually enters it so that the linga could be 'bathed' continuously. This is the reason why the temple seems to have been known as *Prasanna Virūpāksha*, i.e. delighted Virūpākshå.

Hindu-Muslim Buildings.—In my history of *The Āraviḍu Dyanasty* I advanced the theory that these buildings had been built by the Muhammadan conquerors during their occupation of Vijayanagara.[1] Yet this statement was perhaps a little hasty. One of the buildings in Hindu-Muslim style is, for instance, the so-called *Lotus Mahal* in the *Zenana* enclosure. This building has several Hindu figures in the interior of the cupola or tower, which would never have been put there by any Mussulman builder. Moreover I discovered numerous *Kirtti-mukhas* crowning the arches of the ground floor.

Accordingly one feels bound to infer that these buildings were constructed by the Hindu sovereigns, most likely after the splendour of the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya; for the style is totally different from the style of the buildings of that great monarch, and they are much better preserved. Such buildings are the following :—

Queen's bath.
Octagonal pavilion.
Lotus Mahal.
Three Watch Towers in the so-called *Zenana.*
Low house in the corner of so-called *Zenana.*
Upper portion of gate before reaching Talarigaṭṭu.
Upper portion of a house to the right of the same road after passing the said gate.
Elephant Stable.
Building that looks like a mosque near the Danaik's enclosure.
Square building to the west of Kṛishṇa's temple.

The style of the palace of Chandragiri, most likely built by Veṅkaṭa II, is the same as that of all these buildings. Perhaps we may give this style the denomination of Āraviḍu Dynasty style.

[1] Cf. Heras, *The Āraviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, pp. 227–8.

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Hazara Rāma's Temple.—This temple, built by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya,[1] has beautiful carvings which ought to be studied by the historian as precious documents for the internal history of Vijayanagara. Even the outer wall is covered with such carvings. Many of them represent dancing girls. By comparing these carvings with those of other buildings (specially those of the so-called *House of Victory* and of the Vitthalaswami temple), we conclude that there were these classes of dancing girls, as far as their dress is concerned:—

1. Dancing girls wearing trousers under the skirts.
2. Dancing girls wearing skirts without trousers.
3. Dancing girls absolutely nude (these are found on the top row of the outer wall of Hazara Rāma's temple near the gateway, and in a few carvings on the pillars of the temples). Running above the wall round the *prākāra* of this temple there was a series of merlon-like decorations that have all fallen away, and are lying within the *prākāra*. In some of them there are beautiful carvings. In no other temple of Vijayanagara I have seen such ornamentations; but the wall surrounding the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrisailam, Kurnul District, has similar beautiful sculptures on top.[2]

House of Victory.—As noted by Longhurst, it was 'originally faced with carved granite blocks and slabs, which have subsequently been partly refaced with dark green chlorite stone on the front or west side of the platform.'[3]

This facade was in fact encased within a cover of black stone, the carvings of which are smaller but more delicate than those of the previous facade. When and where was this black cover added to the *House of Victory*? This is a puzzle which has not so far been solved. Certainly this dark green chlorite stone seems to have been imported from somewhere else, for in Vijayanagara and its surroundings there is no other stone than granite blocks.

MAY 1

This day we continued our exploration of ancient buildings along the road to Hampi and along the way from Hampi to Achyuta Rāya's temple. (Plate VI.)

[1] Cf. *Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Southern Circle, 1917–18, p. ii.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 57.

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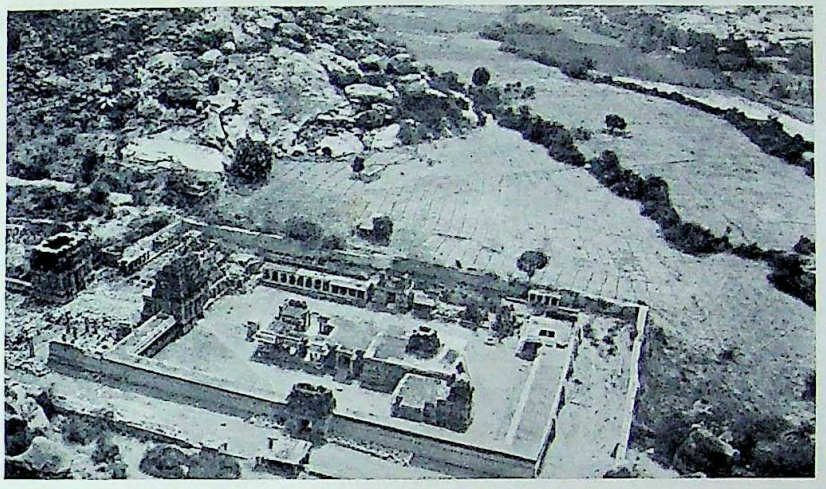
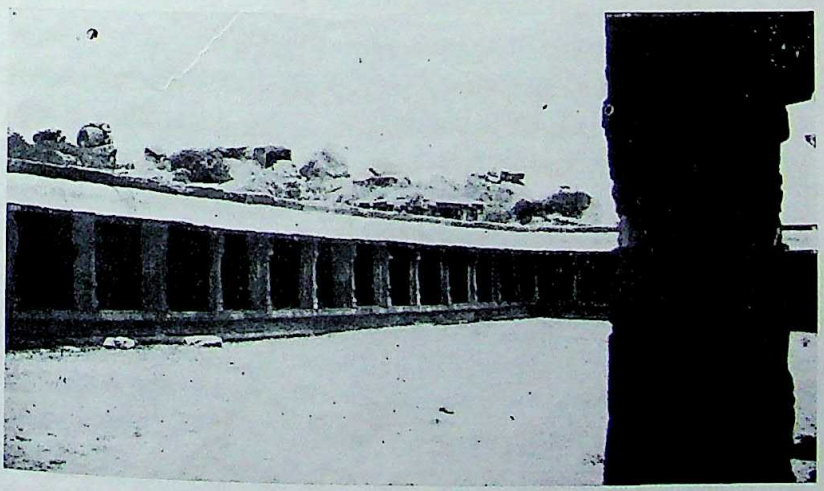


Vijayanagara

Achyuta Raya's temple. Bird's-eye-view from the top of Matunga Parvatam.



Vijayanagara

Achyuta Raya's temple. A corner of the inner prakara.

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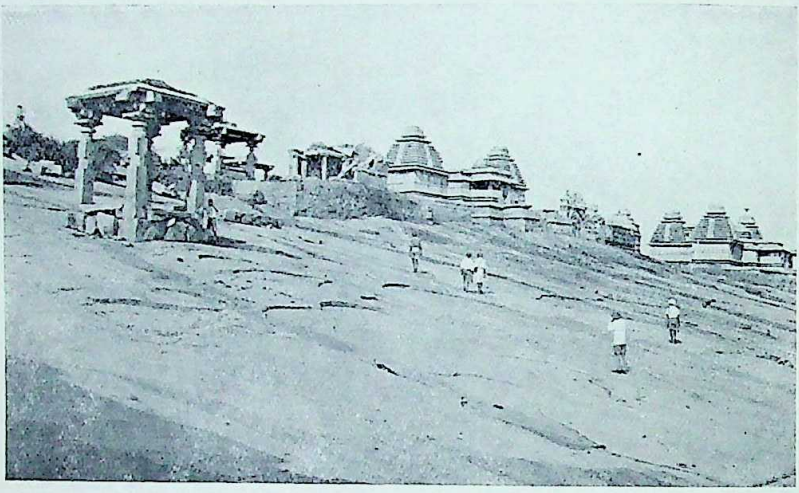
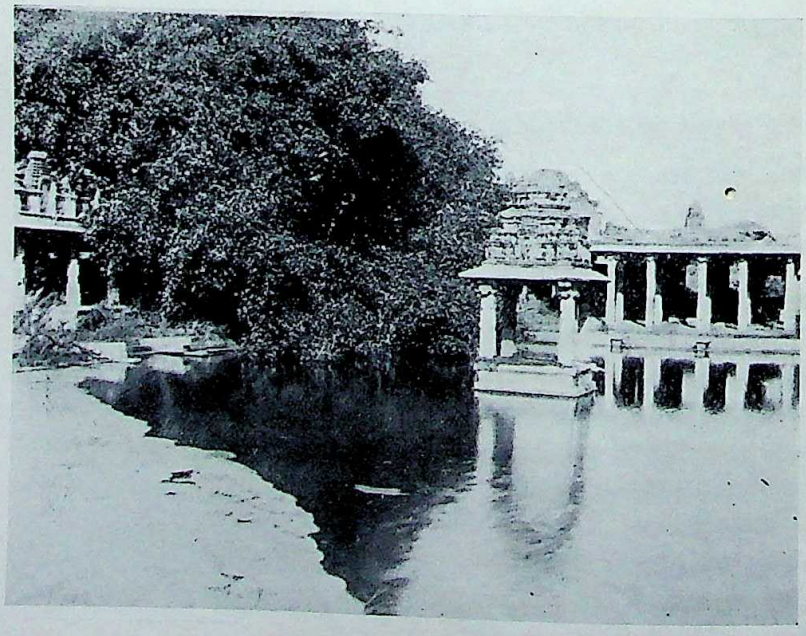


Vijayanagara

So-called Jaina temples on the Hemakuta hill, built in Kadamba style, influenced by the styles of Northern India.



Vijayanagara

Dancing girls' bath near the bazaar in front of Krishna's temple.

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Uddana Vīrabhādra Temple.—Opposite this temple towards the west there is a strange construction totally overlooked by Longhurst. In the map of the Survey of India it is marked as 'Mantapa,' yet it seems really to be a covered bazaar. There are at least two roofed streets with shops on both sides.

Vishṇupada Temple.—This small temple is one of the oldest in Vijayanagara. The plain pillars and the flat roof reveal a very early date.

Sasivekālu Maṇḍapa.—One is bound to say the same about this building, covering a huge statue of Ganesha. Probably all the buildings of the Hemakuta hill belong to a very early date, since it was one of the famous spots of the town from the time of Bukka I. [1]

Jaina Bastis.—This is a very interesting group of buildings on the northern slope of Hemakuta, overlooking the Vīrūpāksha or Pampāpati temple. They evidently belong to an early date, most likely to the reign of Harihara II or Bukka II, when Jaina influence was great at the court of Vijayanagara. The *vimānas* and the whole appearance of the temple remind one of the ancient Kadamba temples, of which there are many specimens in Karṇāṭaka.[2] Nevertheless there is here a feature evidently imported from the north, namely the vertical plain zone in the centre of each face of the *vimāna*. South Indian *vimānas* show horizontal lines by preference. (Plate V. 1.)

Virūpāksha Temple.—Beyond the front *prākāra* this temple cannot be seen by non-Hindu visitors. Close to the entrance there is a Nandi with three heads. To the left of the *gopuram*, outside, there is a large inscription on a slab partly buried in a heap of dirt and rubbish. It is pitiful to see how the trustees of this and other temples in South India neglect such ancient monuments and precious historical documents. Similarly we were informed that underneath the linga worshipped at the temple there are numerous sets of copper-plates—probably those recording the grants made to the temple—which are daily spoiled by the water or oil used in the *puja* falling over them.

Hampi Bazaar.—This is the best specimen among the four big bazaars that are still clearly seen at Vijayanagara. It is half a mile long. Those in front of Achyuta Rāya's, Kṛishṇa's and Vitthalaswami

[1] Cf. *Ep. Carn.*, v., Cn, 256.
[2] Cf. Heras, *A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, *J.B.H.S.*, II, pp. 97–142.

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temples have a beautiful tank with a handsome pavilion in the centre. But the houses are almost totally destroyed. The houses of the Hampi bazaar are still well preserved. Some of them have a very high verandah, corresponding to two storeys of the house.

Nandi.—At the foot of Matanga Parvatam close by the first steps leading to the top there is a huge Nandi. The roughness of the sculpture as well as the simplicity of the pillars show that it belongs to an early period—probably earlier than Bukka I, the real founder of the city to the South of the Tuṅgabhadra.

Achyuta Rāya's Temple.—This temple has two *prākāras*. The style of the whole temple is the same as that of Vitthalaswami temple, though without the gorgeousness of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's time. Some of the carvings of the pillars are very well made, and are excellent documents for studying the social life of the Empire. The small temple at the right is specially worth seeing; some of the carvings of the pillars are exceedingly fine. The cloister-like *maṇḍapa* running round the second *prākāra* is as beautiful as it is interesting. The scenes represented in the fascia along the base of this *maṇḍapa* show elephants, cows, camels, horses, tigers, etc. Among them, and next to a loaded camel, there is the representation of a Chinese merchant. (Plate VI. 1 and 2.)

Jaina temple near the river.—Such is the name given to this temple by Longhurst, only on account of its style.[1] But this supposition is totally wrong for there are in Karṇāṭaka many Hindu temples built in the same style. In fact this is the style commonly used by the Kadamba monarchs.[2] This building examined at present was evidently a Hindu temple as the image of Gajalakshmi on the dedication stone and other images of gods clearly disclose. The *vimāna* of this temple is purely southern, as no vertical lines appear on it. Consequently this temple seems to be older than those of Hemakuta.

MAY 2

We visited the *Zenana* and buildings close to it.

Zenana.—We cannot convince ourselves that this was the *Zenana*. The number of women mentioned by the two Portuguese chroniclers as forming the *Zenana* of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya could not move within the

[1] Longhurst, op. cit., p. 118.

[2] Cf. Heras, *A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents*, *J.B.H.S.*, op. cit., II, pp. 98–9,

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walls of this relatively small place. What was therefore the purpose of this walled spot with at least three watch towers? The style of these three towers suggest that they had been built in the latest times of Vijayanagara. This circumstance reminds us of an event we have discussed at length in our history of *The Āraviḍu Dynasty*. Sadāśiva Rāya, the lawful emperor, was imprisoned and superseded by his regent Rāma Rāya. The puppet sovereign was in the beginning shown to the people once a year, but even this practice ceased later on. Several times in my wanderings through the ruins I had asked myself; where was the poor Emperor imprisoned? In the end I have come to the conclusion that this enclosure was most likely the prison of the puppet king. The three towers were probably built by Rāma Rāya—as their style suggests—and served splendidly for the purpose of watching the surroundings and of showing the King to his subjects, as recorded by Frederick.[1] Within the same enclosure there are two other buildings constructed in the same Hindu-Muslim style—so that there is only one building that looks older, viz. the basement of the central palace. One of the two buildings referred to above, the so-called *Lotus Mahal*, is most suggestive. This edifice is built in a pit that could at times be filled up with water, for the platform of the building itself is as high as the surrounding level. Hence the building formed a sort of island in the centre of a small lake. Could this be the palace constructed by Rāma Rāya for himself, 'surrounded by extensive gardens adorned with statues, which contained cool tanks abounding with swans' as we read in the *Svaramēlakalānidhi*?[2] To this palace he seems to have retired at times, while he was acting as Emperor, to discuss literary and artistic subjects.[3]

Raṅga's Temple.—This building, on the south side of the so-called *Zenana*, seems to be a very early structure. The pillars look like those of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the main Jain basti at Tiruparuttikunram, near Conjeevaram, built in the time of Bukka II. On one of the walls there is an inscription of the Emperor Sadāśiva, inscribed in later times. The only thing of interest in the temple is a colossal stone image of Hanuman, nine feet high. (Plate VIII. 1.)

[1] Cf. Heras, *The Āraviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* I, pp. 31-7; Canto VI, p. 383, expressly says that the prison of Sadāśiva was surrounded by sentries.
[2] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 190.
[3] *Ibid.*

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Mandapa.—This is next to Ranga's temple. It is profusely decorated; but unfortunately the whole building is in a pitifully ruinous state. The pillars with horses attached to them are like those of the Vitthalaswami temple. The ceiling presents some new and interesting features. There are two stone beams, one above the other, separated by a frieze of beautiful carvings. The second beam is supported by lions.

Behind the Elephant Stable.—These buildings are not usually visited by tourists, though some of them are worth studying by the archæologist. We find:—

1. A small temple in ruins.

2. A pretty big Jaina basti. A nude squatting Tirthankara appears carved on the dedication stone of the lintel at the entrance of the temple and in the door to the *garbhagṛha*, which is now empty. The whole basti is very plain, and unfortunately partly buried.

3. Not far from this a *mandapa* (also half buried). The pillars are like those of the *Kalyana Mandapa*. The carvings on the pillars are high class. One of the carvings represents a nude dancing girl.

4. Next to this a much ornamented temple. Ceiling similar to the one described a little while ago. There is a *pradakshina* round the *garbhagṛha*. The building seems to belong to a later period. The carvings on the pillars are most interesting.

5. Just near this temple there is one of the monumental gateways of the Vijayanagara walls, probably of the palace enclosure. This gate opens to the east. It seems that there used to be two doors between which is a large square. On each side of the second door one may see two sentry boxes. Next to this at the foot of the jambs of the monumental door is a life-size figure of a Mussulman soldier. Does this figure represent the sentry or *dvārapala* of the gateway?

Water Pipes.—While returning home we discovered numerous fragments of a water pipe conduit. By comparing this with others we came across on the previous days, we may affirm that there were at least five kinds of water conduits:—

1. Stone aquaducts, elevated and uncovered.
2. Ditto, not elevated and covered.
3. Round canals made of mortar.
4. Square canals with mortar bed and stone walls.
5. Clay pipes under a bed of mortar. Many different branches of these may be seen near the octagonal pavilion on the way to Hampi.

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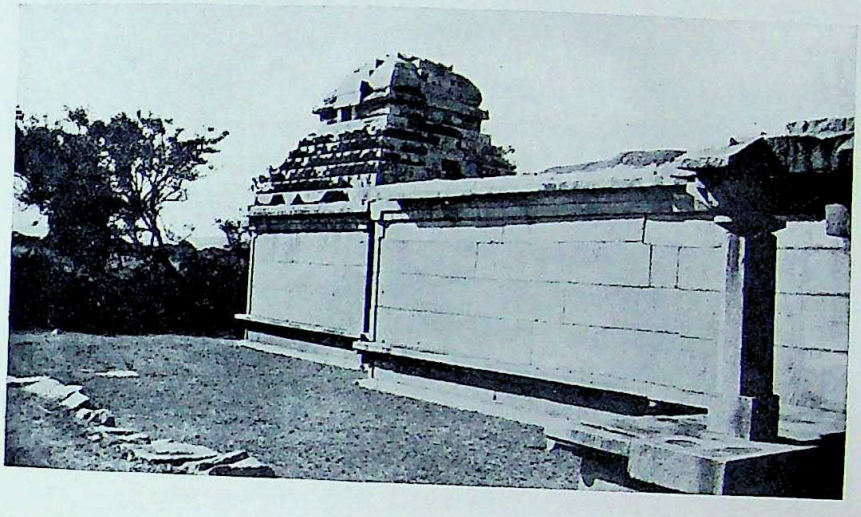

Vijayanagara
The Ganigitti temple in early Karnataka style.

Anegondi
A small temple in early Karnataka style in front of the gateway to Anegondi.

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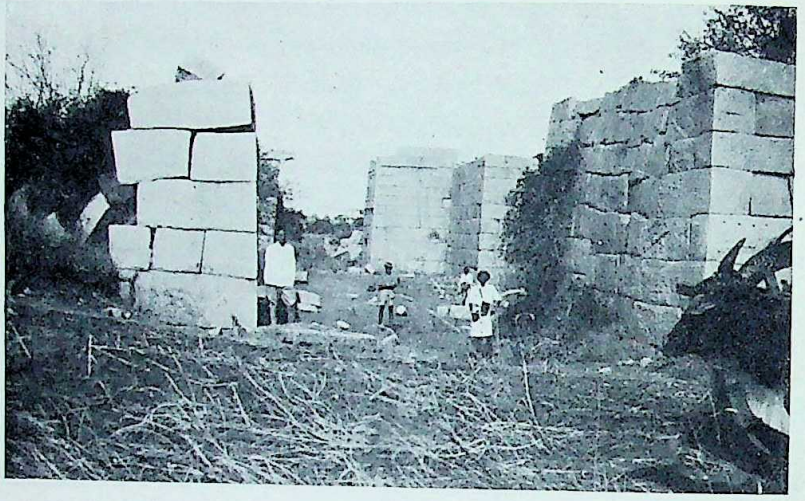

Vijayanagara
A gateway of the royal enclosure.

Vijayanagara
A temple in early Karnataka style at the foot of Matunga Parvatam.

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MAY 3

This day was reserved for an excursion to *Matunga Parvatam*. The following buildings were found on the way :—

1. A small temple built on a boulder near the so-called *Zenana*. It is very difficult to climb to the summit. The temple seems to be inhabited by monkeys.

2. Several temples in ruins in front of Hazara Rāma's temple.

3. Several guddies half buried in the fields.

4. A very primitive temple with *vimāna*, almost at the foot of Matunga Parvatam. The slabs forming this *vimāna* are each smaller than the preceding one without any ornamentation. This seems to be the primitive *vimāna* of the Karnāṭaka temples which was somewhat decorated by the Kadambas. There are no inscriptions, carvings or images inside or outside the temple. This seems to be one of the oldest buildings in Vijayanagara, evidently much earlier than the Saṅgama Dynasty. The primitive shrine of the Ganigitti temple belongs to the same period, though some structures have been added in front of it in later times. Another similar shrine is found near the landing place at Ānegondi, in front of the gateway, though this perhaps is not so old. (Plate IX. 2.)

5. A very old *maṇḍapa*, very plain, built in front of a rock where an image of Vishṇu has been carved. In front of the *maṇḍapa*, there are two rather large slabs with images of Garuḍa and Māruti. These are still being worshipped. (Plate XII. 2.)

6. *Turuthu Canal*.—Over it there is an old bridge, all made of stone.

7. A small, plain, apparently very ancient temple with a small Nandi; *garbhagṛha* empty. The dedication stone on the door lintel bears a Nandi to the left.

8. The steps leading to the top of Matunga Parvatam are well and solidly constructed.

9. The temple on the top and the *maṇḍapas* near the temple are very ancient, some of them probably earlier than the Saṅgama Dynasty. Longhurst assigns them to the fourteenth century.[1] People say that the image of the god is Vīrabhadra; but it is evident, (as already noted by Longhurst) that the image represents Vishṇu.

[1] Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 115.

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Longhurst says that next to the god's image there is an image of his consort.[1] This might have been so when he visited the hill; but this second image has now disappeared. Vishṇu is widowed. Strange to say, in front of this image of Vishṇu there is a Nandi, an image only found in temples to Śiva; and if this is not enough, there are two other Nandis outside the door to the *sukanāsi*. Moreover there is a loose carving representing another Nandi in front of a linga. This is not mentioned by Longhurst.

The dwarfs supporting the abacus of the door to the *sukanāsi*—which are unfortunately covered by several coats of white-wash—seem similar to those one finds in Chalukya or Hoysaḷa architecture. May not this be a clue to the probable date of the building?

From the terrace above the temple one discovers a fine view of the whole city of Vijayanagara, of the Tuṅgabhadra and of the city of Ānegondi beyond the river. Specially the three broad bazaars in front of the Pampāpati, Kṛishṇa's and Achyuta's temples attract the interest of visitors. A bird's-eye-view of the latter temple is specially useful for realizing the most common plan of the Vijayanagara temples.

May 4

This last day of our stay at Vijayanagara was devoted to Ānegondi, the cradle of the great Empire.[2]

Gate.—Opposite the landing place there is a beautiful gate, preserved intact; and next to it the walls may be discovered.

Tomb of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.—Opposite Ānegondi where the river turns towards the north and therefore impossible to see from the present site of the Vijayanagara ruins, there is the funeral monument of the great Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, built in the centre of the Tuṅgabhadra. It consists in a plain *maṇḍapa*, supported by sixty-four equally plain pillars. There is a small pit in the centre of the edifice. That was most likely the place where the corpse of the great monarch was committed to the flames. A similar monument is found in front of Vitthalaswami temple, in the centre of the river, with sixty pillars only. This is pointed out as the funeral monument of the

[1] Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 116.
[2] Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 127–32.

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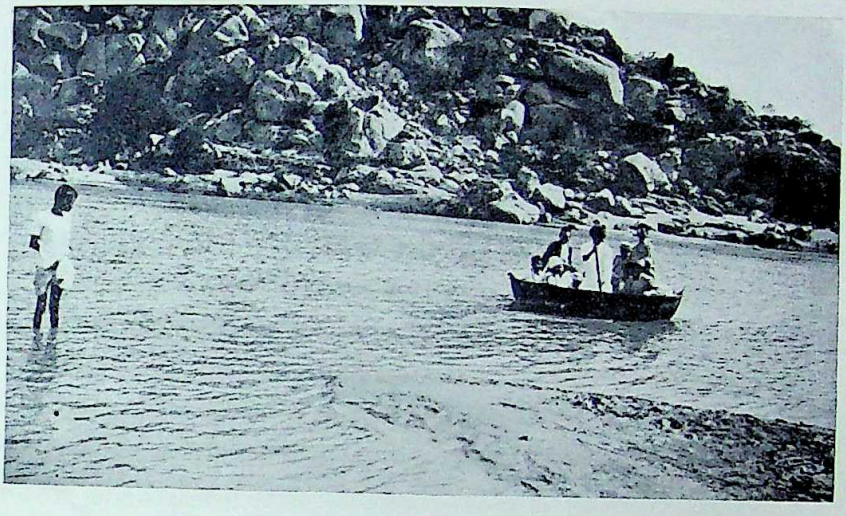

Vijayanagara
Crossing the Tungabhadra on a basket boat.

Anegondi
Funeral monument of Krishna Deva Raya in the centre of the Tungabhadra. In the foreground, ruins of the Palace of the Rajas of Tanjore.

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Vijayanagara

One of the mandapas on the top of Matunga Parvatam.

Anegondi

Durga, as Mahishasuramardhini, carved on a boulder in the premises of the Chintamani temple.

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Achyuta Dēva Rāya. This confirms the statement of Nuniz that Ānegondi was the 'burying-place of the kings'.[1]

Palace of the Rājas of Tanjore.—In front of the mausoleum of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya there are the ruins of a big building with steps still leading to the river in front of it. This is the building said by local tradition to be the palace of the Tanjore Rājas. Unfortunately only huge slabs and pillars are scattered here and there. These Rājas of Tanjore undoubtedly were not the Maratha Rājas, but the Nāyak Rājas of the family of Śivapa Nāyaka, who were feudatories to the Vijayanagara Emperors and even related to the Tuḷuva Dynasty.[2] (Plate XI. 2.)

Gagana Mahal.—An old palace, said to be for the ladies, on the north-eastern side of the town. The style of this building is the same as the one of the so-called *Lotus Mahal* and of the Chandragiri Palace.

Chintāmani Temple.—On the river side. A small *maṇḍapa* at the entrance. When entering the compound of the temple to the left there is a beautiful image of Durga as Mahiśasuramardhini, and next to it a beautiful *dīpastambha* with some Kanarese characters inscribed on it. The image of Durga in the *garbhagṛha* is much defaced with oil and painting. The people say that this image once spoke to Rāma Rāya. Further on there is a large natural cave formed by several big boulders, and called Rāma's cave. It contains a small carved figure of Rāma. (Plate XII. 2.)

Three-storied Temple.—Also overlooking the river. The third storey has been spoiled by building two small rooms for occasional guests. The temple is unique at Vijayanagara.

Ranganathaswami Temple.—This is the largest temple at Ānegondi. Originally there was one *prākāra* only; but in recent times a new wall and entrance were built, parallel to the main entrance, and now there are apparently two *prākāras*. In first *prākāra* there are two *maṇḍapas*, one on each side. The one to the left is totally in ruins. The two *maṇḍapas* as well as the whole covered cloister running round the original *prākāra*, are evidently of the time of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya or Achyuta Dēva Rāya, as the pillars and carvings show. The temple itself seems to be somewhat older. The

[1] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 295.
[2] Cf. Heras, *The Āravīḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 173.

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beautiful cloister-like *maṇḍapa* is mercilessly spoiled by building walls between pillar and pillar. Several black pillars are lying in a corner of the first *prākāra*. They evidently belong to an older temple, probably occupying the same site. Their style is purely Hoysaḷa. One of these pillars, more ornamented than the others, and its beautifully carved capital, have lately been presented by Mahārani Kuppamma, Rani Saheba of Ānegondi, to the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It is now in the museum of the same Institute. (Plate VIII.)

The whole day we were entertained under orders of the said Rāni, by her private Secretary Mr. Hanumantappa, by the late Raja's brother Śrimant Sadāśiva Kumāra Raj and by the heir-apparent Śri Kṛishṇa Dēva Rayālugāru. The latter is a very congenial youth, sixteen years old, at present studying in the Jagirdar's College, Hyderabad. He is the descendant of the old Emperors of the Āraviḍu Dynasty of Vijayanagara. It is a pleasant duty to thank Mahārani Kuppamma and the gentlemen who attended us, for their kindness and hospitality.

On the following morning, Sunday, May 5, we left Vijayanagara for Hospet, always carrying away a grand impression of those ruins that witnessed the glory of the greatest and most glorious Empire in Southern India and a desire some time to visit them again.[1]

[1] It is with great regret that I record here the state of neglect in which some of those monuments are. There may be a watchman in charge of the ruins, but we did not come across him during our seven days' visit. Some of the carvings on the walls of Hazara Rāma's temple and on the House of Victory, which were in good condition at the time of my earlier visits have now disappeared, being chipped off by some unscrupulous visitors. Here and there we read the usual notices about fines or imprisonments to be inflicted upon those who destroy or deface the monuments. But some of them are continuously being defaced by visitors who wish to perpetuate their (not creditable) names, by inscribing them on the plaster. Thus the walls of the beautiful *Lotus Mahal* are disgracefully spoilt. I took a fancy to copy in my note-book the following recent writing which appears on the wall of the first floor of this building, deeply inscribed on the plaster on the same day we had left Bombay. The letters are two inches high.

J. V.
S. S. Achar.
G. H. R.
26-4-29.
Kampli.

I think that this falls under the denomination 'defacing monuments.' These three visitors could be easily found since they have given their address. Is the Archæological Department going to take any steps?

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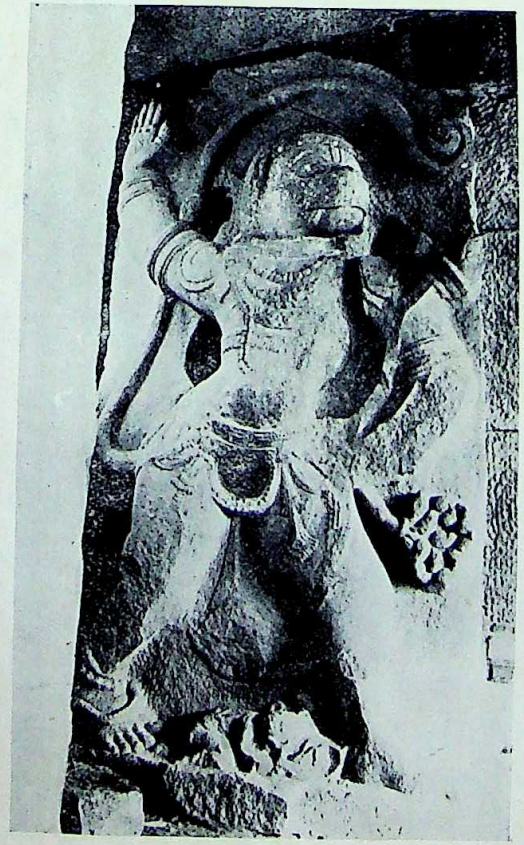
Vijayanagara
Figure of an old man carved on a pillar in the mandapa next to Ranga's temple.



Vijayanagara
Colossal statue of Hanuman in Ranga's temple.

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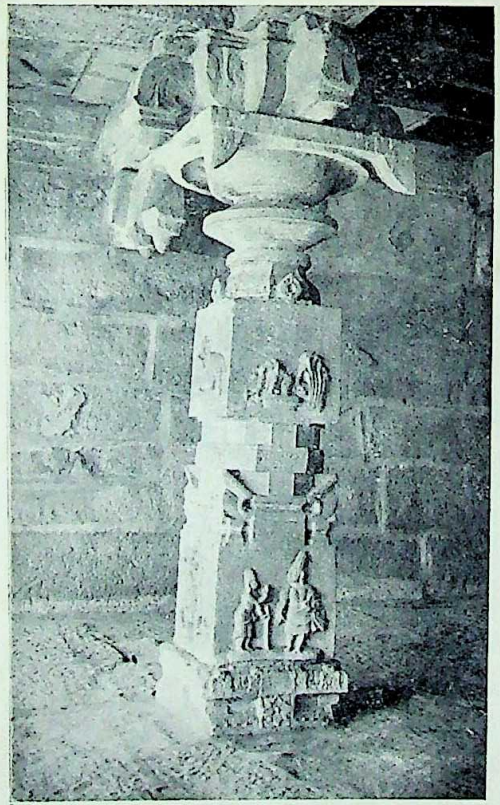

Vijayanagara

A pillar in the small temple to the right of Achyuta Raya's temple.

Vijayanagara

A carving on the pillar represented in the opposite plate.

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Gleanings from Sanskrit Literature

BY

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(2) RĀJAŚEKHARA'S WORKS

THE importance of Rājaśekhara's Works—Moral degeneration, superstition, religious disunion and the rigidity of caste in the so-called 'ideal period' of Indian History—Ornaments, dress, toilet, and accomplishments of women—Fairs and festivals—Some miscellaneous information—The Agnikula myth—Purely political information.

1. The works of Rājaśekhara, the court-poet of the Pratihāra Kings Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla, form an invaluable source of information for the ninth and tenth centuries. They supplement admirably the accounts left by the Arab travellers of the period, and, containing as they do the observations of a man on the spot who had every opportunity of studying at first hand the conditions of India, are far more valuable and authoritative than the descriptions left by casual observers, travellers and traders. They further enable us to dispense with the unreliable information of the Smritis and to rectify the wrong notions made current by their cursory reading and surface study. On all topics, religious, social or economic Rājaśekhara is a safe guide. In fact, with his works at our disposal, we need not complain like Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya that 'we have unfortunately no native writer like Bāṇa to assist us in this period,' or even assert 'that on the point of dress our informants are the Arab travellers alone; for we have no other material to rely upon except sculpture on ancient temples which it is difficult to interpret.'

2. In the first place, the reading of this 'native writer's works' who might in some respects be likened to Bāṇa, makes it clear that the tenth century was far from being that ideal period which it is made out to be by the learned author of the *History of Medieval India*. The loss of moral balance and superstition to which he ascribes the fall of Hindu India in the twelfth century existed in full measure in the

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tenth and were undermining slowly but surely the strength of the country. The audiences and courts, that allowed the production of plays which begin with salutations to Kāmadeva and Rati, and descriptions of the sexual act,[1] must have been utterly insensible to the indecency of such proceedings; the period in which the heroes could describe their love by speaking of night pollutions[2] they had, and the Vidūshakas could speak out things which are too indecent to quote, must have cherished no high ideal of love. The century, in which men of culture and wide reputation could propound theories justifying such descriptions, and support them by means of quotations from the scriptures,[3] must have been given to gross voluptuousness, and must have forgotten wholly the high literary standard set by rhetoricians like Dandin. In fact this decadence of morals which set in with the decline of the early puritanic Buddhist religion, and made itself increasingly manifest with the lapse of time in the works of Kālidasa, Bhāravi and Māgha, seems to have reached its climax in the writings of poets like Rājaśekhara, Harsha, and a host of other minor writers.

If any further proof of the laxity of morals in the tenth century be needed, it would be found in the popularity of the Kaula system. How or when this system arose hardly concerns our enquiry. But the fact is that by the early decades of the tenth century it was being believed in and practised by the people. In the provinces about Kanauj, in particular, it seems to have enjoyed a good vogue, for in the whole of *Karpūramañjarī*, there is not a single word which might be constituted as dispraise of the Kaulas or Bhairavānanda, the boozy exponent of the cult in the drama. In spite of the repulsive doctrines he holds and advocates, the King respects him, the Queen makes him her spiritual teacher, and the other dramatis personæ speak wonderingly of his supernatural powers.

Karpūramañjarī gives in brief the main details of this system. Exaggerated and repulsive as these might appear to modern readers, they are faithfully represented in the drama, for every word regarding these can be certified as correct by reference to works of recognized authority on the Tantrik cult. Salvation was indeed, as with others too, the final goal with the followers of this system also. But the Kaula teachers did not prescribe knowledge, asceticism, sacrifices or

[1] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 2 and 3. [2] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, I, 15.
[3] *Kāvyamimānsa*, pp. 27-8.

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meritorious deeds for its attainment. The way they showed was far easier to tread, because it combined pleasure with salvation, religion with indulgence in wine and women, and repute for piety with the most unrestricted sensuality.[1] Wine, women, flesh, fish, and *Mudrās* were, according to the *Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the five *Tatvas* without which men could not attain salvation.[2] In *Bhairavī Chakra* or the circle of *Bhairavī*, where the Kaulas gathered to worship Śakti, all castes were admitted,[3] meat of every sort excepting perhaps beef was allowed, and every worshipper was required to contract a marriage which was to last to the end of the gathering.[4] If anyone showed the least repulsion towards these things, he was driven out of the community, and threatened with the punishment of hell in the next world.[5] Young widows, dancing women, wives of barbers, washer-women, and women of some other castes were specially welcomed at such meetings, and dishonoured with the title of '*Kulānganā*'.[6]

Such are the chief details of this repulsive system. Can we after knowing that such a system, not merely existed but was popular on all sides, assert with R. B., C. V. Vaidya, that a high moral tone pervaded the society of the ninth and tenth centuries? Perhaps the Arab traveller, Ibn Khurdabā knew better, and referred to the existence of some such cult when he wrote that the people of Hind regarded fornication lawful.[7]

It is no wonder that, in such a period of degeneration, all classes were bound down by gross superstition. People believed in ghosts, fairies, and elves of the forest, and Brahmans and others who could pretend to drive them out must have been highly rewarded for their services. Astrology and magic were fairly honoured professions. In the court of Kanauj, says Abu Zaid, 'there were among the Brahmans

[1] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 22 and 24
'*Yatrāsti bhogabāhulyam,*
Tatra yogasya kā kathā,
Yogepi bhogavirahah
Kaulastūbhayamaśnute.'
Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Tantra, IV, 9.
[2] *Mahā-Parinirvāṇa Tantra*, V, 22. [3] *Ibid.*, XIV, 184; VIII, 179–80.
[4] *Ibid.*, VIII, 177; IX, 268–9.
[5] Quoted from *Bhairava-tantra* in *Mantra-Mahārṇava*, p. 391.
[6] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 23.
Mantra-Mahārṇava, pp. 390–91.
[7] Ibn Khurdabā quoted in Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya's '*History of Medieval India*, vol. ii, p. 185.

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many diviners and jugglers who could perform most astonishing feats.'[1] Evening was the time when ghosts were supposed to wander about and trouble people.[2] They spoke with a nasal twang which at once convinced the person hearing that a ghost was near by.[3] They could, however, it was believed, not harm those people who learnt the right formulae from the old women in the house,[4] or who had recourse to a Brahman knowing the Vedas and other scriptures.[5] Tying the *śikha*, or curl of hair which is found on the crown of almost every Hindu's head, was also one of the ways of keeping away these evil spirits.[6] Among the ghosts again some sort of classification seems to have been introduced by popular imagination. While other kinds of ghosts were generally thought to be malevolent, the *Brahma-rākshasa* was generally believed to be the spirit of some learned Pandit which delighted in learned conversations and occupied temples and schools. Charms were however believed to be efficacious against all of them. Some of these charms were thought to be so very effective that the common people had an idea that they could avert death even, if rightly performed.[7]

The other causes too which led to the fall of Hindu India existed in full measure in this century of India. Internecine warfare was as rampant as in the twelfth century and religious disunion was far from being unknown. The Kaulas looked down on Vaishnavas and others for the path of morality they preached,[8] and must have been in their turn looked down upon by those sects. Jainas were strong in the south, and the Bauddhas still flourished in Bengal. Śaivas and Panchrātras were certainly strong sects at the time inasmuch as their theories are called by the name of *Samaya-Vidya*[9] or 'current theories' by our poet. The followers of *Sānkhya*, *Vaiśeshika*, *Nyāya* and other philosophies too, seem to have wrangled at the time about such ideas as God, and the world.[10] The unity which can be brought about by language too had ceased to exist in the ninth and tenth centuries. As Al-Masudi, 'an acute writer of A.D. 953' remarked, 'there prevailed in India of the tenth century a difference of language and religion,

[1] *History of Medieval India*, vol. ii, p. 181.
[2] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā* (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition), p. 72.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 81–2.
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[8] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 24.
[9] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 38.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–7.

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and the diverse kingdoms into which the country was divided were frequently at war with one another.' [1]

The caste system also, to the rigidity of which R. B. Vaidya ascribes all the misfortunes of India,[2] was far from being very fluid. The arguments that he brings to prove that it was so in the ninth and tenth centuries are extremely weak and can be refuted point by point. In the first place, we can prove that subdivisions existed among Brahmanas and Khsatriyas, and were a matter of much pride with them. Rājaśekhara did not call himself a Bhāradvāja or Vāśishṭha, but a Yāyāvara, and cited all his opinions under that name. Among the Khsatriyas too, *kula* itself had, as R. B. Vaidya admits, begun to be called *gotra*.[3]

In the second place, the Brahmans, being the highest class, and the recipients of many favours which others could not enjoy, were surely objects of envy. When a Vaiśya might have seen a Brahman marrying women from all the three castes, and himself confined to one, he might have cursed the gods who made him a Vaiśya. In this respect, the situation is better now when the four castes need not at least envy one another in this respect. Further this envy is not a mere matter of conjecture. Speaking about the illiterate Brahmana, Kapinjala, the maid-servant is made to say in *Karpūramañjarī*, 'There's no rivalling you, for you though unlettered as the iron beam of a goldsmith's balance, are employed as part of a balance for weighing jewels, while I though lettered like a (common) balance am not employed in the weighing of gold.'[4] This as the commentator Pandit Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara rightly remarks, means that Kapinjala being a Brahmana was respected by the people, while she, though much more learned than he, was not, because she was a maid-servant.[5] That Brahmans regarded themselves entitled to certain privileges will be also evident from Kapinjala's exclaiming, 'commend me to such a royal court as this, when it's a devil of a way off, a (court) where a slave-girl sets up a rivalry with a Brahmana.' [6]

[1] C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval India*, vol. ii, p. 165.
Compare with this the account of Al-Idrisi quoted on p. 196 of the same book.
[2] C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval India*, vol. iii, p. 363.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 177.
[4] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 18 (H.O.S.)
[5] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 28 (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition).
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 19 (H.O.S.).

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In the third place, the Brahmanas did not dine with Śudras, though R. B. Vaidya thinks they did, and is so sure of the position he takes up that he remarks that his statement though it might startle many a reader cannot be gainsaid. The *ślokas*, however, he relies on cannot give the meanings he assigns them. The first *śloka*, he gives in support of his theory is from the *Vyāsa Smriti*, and runs as follows :—

Nāpitānvaya-mitrārdhasīriṇo dāsa-gopakāh
Śūdrāṇām-apyamīshām tu bhuktvānnam na dushyati.

This according to the Rao Bahadur means that a Brahman taking food with a barber, a friend of the family, a coparcener in cultivation, a servant, a cowherd, even though these be Sūdrās incurs no sin. In translating thus he is certainly wrong, for the words are *Śūdrāṇām annam bhuktvā* (eating the food of Sudras) and not *Śūdreṇa saha annam bhuktvā* as they should have been to bear the meaning given to them by the learned writer. Moreover this *śloka* occurs almost verbatim in the *Manu Smriti*, a book whose bias against Śūdras is well known, and has been translated in the sense given by me by the late eminent orientalist G. Buhler.[1]

The Rao Bahadur's second quotation too suffers from the same defect of misinterpretation. It is from the *Atri Smriti* and runs as follows :—

Śudropi dvi-vidho jñēyo
Śrāddhi Chaivētara-s-tathā,
Śrāddhi bhojya-s-tayo-r-ukto
Hyabhojya-s-tvitarah smṛtah.

According to the Rao Bahadur it means 'The Śūdra is of two classes, one who can perform Śrāddha, and the other who cannot. The first class of Śūdra, viz., Śrāddhi is fit to be dined with, though the other is not.' But the translation, as already pointed out is wrong. The word *bhojya* instead of meaning 'one to be dined with' means the same thing as the word *bhojyānna* of Manu's *śloka* referred to by us; and *bhojyānna* is a *bahubrīhi* compound meaning 'one whose food can be eaten' and not 'one who is to be dined with.'

[1] Chapter IV, 253.

The occurrence of the *śloka* in *Manu Smriti* which has never been suspected of having liberal views about Śudras should in my opinion be argument enough to prove that the *śloka* quoted does not carry the sense given to it by the Rao Bahadur.

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That interdining was out of question on account of the ideas prevailing would again be clear by reference to the *Pārāśara* and *Vyāsa Smritis* which the Rao Bahadur regards as specially representative of the social conditions existing in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the twelfth chapter of his book, Pārāśara declares that he did not know to what births those were consigned who accepted food from Śūdras.[1] Similarly the *Vyāsa Smriti* too from which the Rao Bahadur's first quotation comes seems to go hard against the poor Śūdras and the theory of interdining, when it asserts that a Brahman, accepting food from a Vaiśaya became a Śūdra, and one accepting food from a Śūdra was to go to hell.[2] Such quotations from many other later Smritis can be easily given here. But these alone, I think, should suffice to show that Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya is wrong in ascribing interdining with Śudras to the Brahmanas of the ninth and tenth centuries.

3. For our information about dress, ornaments and other things of that sort too, we need not always look to the Arab travellers as our only source of information. To show the nature of information supplied by Rājaśēkhara on these points we just quote a passage from *Karpūramañjarī* after omitting the comparisons instituted by a fond lover.

'Vichakshaṇā.—They made her toilet, sire, and decorated her with her sectarial mark and ornaments, and entertained her.

King.—How so?

Vichakshaṇā.—Her firm limbs were annointed with *paste of saffron-essence* until they were yellow. Her companions put on her feet *a pair of emerald anklets*. She was arrayed in *a couple of silken garments* as blue as the tail-feathers of a king-parrot. Over the expanse of her loins was placed *a girdle bejewelled with rubies*. Upon her two fore-arms—as it were, the stalks of her lotus-like hands—were put *rows of bracelets*. A choice *necklace of monster-pearls* was placed on her neck, and *a pair of ear-rings, studded with gems*, was put on her ears. With *native collyrium* they adorned her eyes. The wreath of curly locks that fringes the crescent of her forehead was arranged. Upon the temple of the bright-eyed maid they heaped the *flowers* her tressy burden hid.

[1] *Slokās*, 34, 35.

[2] IV, 66.

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Thus the queen adorned the girl with decorations to her heart's content.'[1]

In his *Kāvyamimānsa* Rājaśekhara supplements the account given above by describing the *nēpathya* (dress, hair, etc.) of women in the east, north, west and south of India. In the east, women used the *agaru* perfume and had their 'garments kissing the parting line of the hair'.[2] This shows that the custom of covering the head was common enough in the tenth century, and did not, as R. B. Vaidya thinks originate with the coming of the Muslims to India. In the north, women used two garments, the lower one of these completely encircled the waist and reached as far as the ankles.[3] In the south the women were fond of curly locks,[4] and in the west the style used was a combination of the northern and southern styles.[5] Bodice seems to have been used in all the parts of India. Men used two pieces of cloth, one the upper and the other the lower.[6]

In winter women used bees-wax for their lips, saffron ointment for their faces, and fragrant oil for the hair which was generally arranged into braids.[7] In summer they smeared their breasts with sandal mixed with camphor, put on moistened garments, had cool liquor with their husbands in the evening, and songs on flutes, 'tremulous as it were with koil notes,' at night.[8] In spring they wore fine clothes, put *sindūra* in the line made by parting the hair,[9] and in other seasons too passed their time in comfort and ease.

Rājaśekhara has also something to say about the position and accomplishments of women. In spite of all the evils of polygamy and purdah which certainly existed in a more intensified form, in the tenth century, than they do now, the lot of women was perhaps a little better than that of women in this century. They were, if nothing more, at least better educated and accomplished. They learnt dancing and singing to increase their personal attractiveness,[10] and could play on instruments like the drum, flute and huḍukka.[11] Some were good

[1] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 12, 22.
The translation given is by Prof. Lanman.
[2] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 32 (H.O.S.).
[7] *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 13.
Kāvyamimānsa, p. 102.
[8] *Karpūramañjarī*, IV, 6.
[9] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 105.
[10] *Karpūramañjarī*, III, 14.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-1 (H.O.S.).

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painters whose work could be distinguished from that of men by connoisseurs.[1] Some were even poets and writers on rhetoric and other sciences. In the *Viddhaśālabhanjika* and *Karpūramañjarī* the heroines are represented as composing poems and writing letters to their lovers.[2] In royal harems the queens have besides their usual paraphernalia of chowryholders, bath-keepers, betel-box bearers and ladies in waiting, some women who recite *subhāshitas* or witty sayings.[3] In actual life again we have Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājaśekhara, who is not merely fond of having dramas staged,[4] but can also write books good enough to be quoted by her admiring husband.[5] Rājaśekhara's own opinion on female education is worth quoting. 'Women too,' writes Rājaśekhara, 'may become poets like men. Accomplishment is intimately connected with the soul, but does not depend upon the distinction of the sex. There are heard and seen daughters of kings and prime ministers, courtesans, and wives of jesters who are well versed in sciences and poetesses too.'[6]

4. Besides the above details about the character of the period and the toilet and position of women, we have in Rājśēkhara's works an account of many fairs and festivals in which sometimes one and sometimes both the sexes had a share. In spring, the season when nature was at its best, and everything assumed a new freshness, the people delighted by the verdure all around, and stimulated to jollity and merry-making by the passing of the dreary winter, worshipped Kāmadeva the God of Love, and Gauri, the Goddess of *Saubhāgya*. On the third of the bright half of Chaitra the image of Pārvatī was set up, women kept a fast in day-time, had a vigil at night and on the next day began their swinging season after breaking the fast. The festival which began thus seems to have lasted some days for we are old that *Karpūramañjarī* was to be put in the swing in front of the image of Pārvatī on the fourth day of the swing festival. During the time it continued, or more correctly throughout the season, women spent a large part of their time in swinging,

[1] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, I, 35.
[2] *Karpūramañjarī*, III, 34 ; II, 9. *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, pp. 109–10.
[3] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 79 (H.O.S.).
[4] *Ibid.*, I, 11.
[5] *Kāvyamimānsa*, pp. 20, 46, 57.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

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singing, dancing, and celebrating the deeds of Gauri.[1] Of these recreations again swinging which has inspired Rājaśēkhara to his highest flights of music and poetry seems to have been specially popular.

The next festival mentioned, and the one of which we find the best account in Rājaśekhara's works is the Vaṭa Sāvitrī Vrata which falls on the 15th of the bright half of *Jyeshṭha*, and is even now observed in Northern India, though without those merry-makings which characterized it in the tenth century. On that day the women of Rājaśekhara's time enjoyed *challī*, *daṇḍarāsa* and various other dances, and threw water at one another, as they do now at the time of Holi, by means of jewelled cups and shower and sprays.[2] Some tried to please the people by parading as mountaineers, some wearing the masks of night-wandering ogresses enacted a cemetery-scene, and some set the people a-laughing by wearing dark dresses, and receding, bowing and laughing themselves. On the whole the night of *Jyēshṭha Pūrṇima* seems to have been one of the most joyous ones passed by women in the ninth and tenth centuries.[3]

Rājaśekhara does not speak of festivals in the rainy and winter seasons. In autumn, however, when the rain ceased, and the roads became passable, and the rivers fordable, there were two great festivals of the Kshatriya community. On *Mahānavamī*, which fell on the 9th of the bright half of *Āśvin*, all the weapons were worshipped, and the horses, warriors, and elephants purified and shown respect by means of the *Nīrājanā* ceremony.[4] On the day of Dīpamālikā, the 15th of the dark half of *Kārttika*, which has now come generally to be associated with the Vaiśya community, the Kshatriya Kings of the tenth century made ready for conquest, and before starting from their capitals indulged in various sports, pastimes, and merry-makings.[5]

5. Much other material from Rājaśekhara can be put under the heading 'Miscellaneous Information'. According to the Arab travellers, as well as *Karpūramañjarī* where Rājaśekhara is spoken of as the husband of a Chauhan princess, intermarriage seems to have prevailed

[1] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 105.
[2] *Karpūramañjarī*, IV, 9.
[3] *Karpūramañjarī*, IV, 10–19.
[4] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 101.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

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in the sense that higher castes could marry girls from classes lower than theirs. Child-marriage too was not unknown, for in *Karpūramañjarī* we hear of *bāla raṇḍās* (young widows) who lived like dispossessed chieftains on the sweets of their wishes.[1] Prostitution had its recognized place in society. Marriage was as now a sacred ceremony. Persons marrying put on red dress, wore red threads on their wrists, and went about the holy fire before being declared man and wife.[2] Joking with a friend's relatives from the wife's or husband's side was common enough, and the modern Hindi saying that a brother-in-law's wife is half a wife had its currency as far back as the tenth century.[3]

Rich persons lived in spacious buildings which had large verandahs, and gardens all around. In the evening *agaru* was burnt, and lamps lit on all sides.[4] Parrots, starlings and pigeons were the chief birds tamed. Jewellery of all sorts was profusely used, and pearls which mostly came from the mouths of the River Tāmraparṇī were highly prized and sought after.[5]

Rich women most probably passed their time in ease and luxury. The wives of farmers, however, worked hard at their houses, and were in autumn busy with the cleaning of rice, and the consequent use of mortar and pestle.[6]

The chief weapons used were sword and shield, bows and arrows, and lances.[7]

Materials for writing were 'a box, a board with chalk, leaves of the *Tādi* tree, or barks of the *Bhūrja* tree with iron nails and well-rubbed plates.'[8]

Sanskrit was popular in Bengal and Behar, the people of Lāṭa liked Prākrit, the Mārwāris, the Ṭakkas, and the Bhadānakas used Apabhraṁśa, residents of Avanti, Pariyātra, and Dashapura employed Bhūtabhāshā in their compositions, and the poets living in Pānchāla could equally use all these languages.[9]

6. Rājaśekhara sheds some interesting light on the Agnikula-myth. In fact if Rājaśekhara's works could have been studied with the

[1] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 75 (H.O.S.).
[2] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, p. 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[4] *Karpūramañjarī*, III, 27.
[5] *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 71 (H.O.S.)
[6] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 102.
[7] *Karpūramañjarī*, pp. 97–9.
[8] *Kāvyamimānsa*, p. 51.
[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–4.

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same zest as the Chanda Raso, the myth would perhaps have never taken its rise. In the prologues of both the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā* and *Karpūramañjarī*, Mahēndrapala, the Pratīhāra emperor has been called Raghukula-Chūḍāmaṇi or the crest-jewel of the Raghu family.[1] This in addition to the Bhoj inscription of Gwalior, should be evidence enough to prove that the Pratihāras represented themselves and were believed by the people to be the descendants of Raghu, the great grandfather of the solar king Rama.

7. Last of all we come to the purely political information which can be gathered from the works of Rājaśekhara. In the *Viddhaśālabhanjikā* which was staged at the court of Kēyūravarsha Yuvarājadeva, we find some interesting details about the extent of the Chedi kingdom in the tenth century. King Kēyūravarsha, the lord of Karachulis, and the king of Tripurā, who, though mostly disguised under the name Vidyādharamalla, is the real hero of the piece, has been called more than once the king of Trikalinga.[2] If Trikalinga means Odra, Kalinga, and Āndhra, as believed by some, the Chedis must have ruled over a large empire in Rājaśekhara's time. In the time of Kokalladeva, the grandfather of Kēyūravarsha too, the country was in the hands of the Chedis, and we are, therefore, not to wonder if we find Kēyūravarsha ruling over the country fifty years later. Another interesting detail is furnished by the king's being called the lord of Ujjain.[3] If this appellation is as true as the others in the book, Western Malwa including Ujjain must have been in the hands of the Chedis in the earlier decades of the century, and passed on later into the hands of the Paramāras. One of the *ślokas* again speaks of a victory gained by the Chedis over the Kuntala army when they put one of their nominees on the throne by defeating a southern confederacy on the banks of the river Payoshni.[4] If the *śloka* refers to some actual event, it perhaps does so to the accession of Amoghavarsha III, the son-in-law of Kēyūravarsha, with the help of the Chedi army which might have joined hands with the feudatories who are said to have called the

[1] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, I, 6.
Karpūramañjarī, I, 5.
[2] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, pp. 43, 139.
That Kēyūravarsha is the real hero will be clear from IV, 1 and 18.
[3] *Viddhaśālabhanjikā*, p. 10, first line.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

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successor of Govinda IV to the throne.[1] Some other facts too of this kind can, I think, be gathered, if some one more experienced than myself in the ways of historical research undertakes the task of going carefully through the works of Rājaśekhara. The labour spent will not be great, and will be amply repaid by the new facts supplied for a faithful representation of India in the tenth century.

[1] See the Wardhā grant and Wardhā plates quoted on pp. 149-50 of Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya's *History of Medieval India*, vol. ii.

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History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

BY

ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*

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Book II

Mughal Court and Camp

HISTORY, in many respects, presents the widest field for achievement open to an author. Its scope is co-extensive with life. It covers not only the whole field of action and of thought, but also takes account of the half-conscious and sub-conscious tendencies and beliefs, which often more effectively mould the destiny of a nation. The history of a nation is, or ought to be, a mirror in which is reflected its temper, its characteristics, its behaviour under various conditions and at crises, its ambitions and achievement, its intellectual and moral level, its contribution towards civilization and progress.

While the historian's ambition is the highest, his limitations are the severest, for neither the speculative flight of the philosopher nor the imaginative freedom of the creative artist is open to him. There is no star to which he can hitch his wagon.

No wonder then that of all departments of human knowledge and inquiry, history has perhaps been worst handled. Not that it has not obtained its proportionate share of the world's talent. Perhaps it has had more than its share. The historian's handicap lies rather in the fact that the personal equation plays a larger part in history than in any other field of research; so that twenty different writers may write about the same incontestable event, with an equal degree of merit or plausibility, and yet their interpretations of the event or their standpoints may differ radically. And, what is more, instead of this being considered as a defect, a 'history' is very often judged by the value

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of this personal element, whether you call it the author's perspective or his art.

The explanation lies in the fact that the writing of history is a composite process : History is, on the one hand, an even and colourless narrative of events, unrelieved by perspective or personal preference, dispassionate, impersonal, mechanical ; and, on the other, it is an interpretation, rather than an account, of events, phenomena, and movements, a study of their inner relations and significance, an analysis of problems, situations, motives, and causes. In a manner, the former is the science, and the latter the art, of history. Which of these two factors predominates in a certain treatment depends entirely on the historian's temperament, training or ways of thought. The historian's art lies obviously in the harmonious reconciliation of these somewhat contradictory elements. The facts should ever be the groundwork, and the manipulation of them should be fair ; yet the expression of the historian's personality, principles, and ideals should find scope in his way of dealing with the characters and problems that fall under his treatment. A healthy balance should be kept between these opposite tendencies. History should not degenerate into a jejune narrative of superficial events, stodgy with dates and names, conventional, journalistic ; any more than it should become purely architectonic, or evaporate into a study in principles, a theory of life —an alembic of fancy, in fact !

About the 'theoretical' part of history-writing we have not much to say. As our insight into life deepens, and our outlook on it extends, the historian will naturally find new and more effective ways of studying and presenting the past history of the human race. The scope for achievement of genius and the future possibilities of treatment and research in this field are almost infinite. It is, therefore, not only impossible but also presumptuous to prescribe the lines on which future development can proceed.

We propose, however, to make a suggestion about the method of presenting facts. Everybody agrees that the necessary details should be dressed up in a readable form. We all know how much a story often loses in the telling.

But there is something more. It is a matter of daily experience that nothing strikes us so much as a picture, a piece acted before us, a sound actually heard, whether produced or reproduced. The

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impression received is vivid, and the effort it costs is minimal. An ideal 'history', therefore, is history not written or read, but seen or heard, or both seen and heard.

This will be readily understood when we note that it is the *mise en scène* which makes a picture convincing, the background that lends it the quality of reality, and makes the illusion complete. Much of what passes as history is a catalogue of events: we are often fed on formulæ without being told what they stand for. Who can hesitate when the choice lies between *words* and *things*?

We are reminded of one of the many forecasts of future marvels of science made by Mr. H. G. Wells (*When the Sleeper Wakes*, pp. 60-3), which describes an instrument reducing the history of the future to a mere stage-and-screen panorama. The idea may strike the serious scholar as wild and perhaps as somewhat flippant, but the possibility of the historical past being stored for the happier generations of the future not in dry-as-dust books but in a contrivance in which are synthesized the phonograph, the cinema and the stage, certainly embodies a great ambition of cultured humanity, somewhat fantastic, perhaps, at our present stage of evolution, but by no means beyond the pale of possibility. In any case the value of such a contrivance is incontestable as an ideal.

The day is yet distant when history will be reduced to picture-play, or become a magic mirror of the kind adumbrated above. Meanwhile we can think of as close an approximation to it as is vouchsafed to us.

Pictorial representation of the past, which is the best and the easiest way to teach and learn history, is at present possible only in a partial and fragmentary sort of way, e.g., in classical paintings of historical scenes, episodes or passages from history, more or less accurately adapted and mounted on the stage or displayed on the screen, etc. The value of the histrionic and the cinematographic art (at present the monopoly of the pleasure-seeker) for the teaching of history at school, is, in the opinion of the present writer, very high indeed. But until these are so thoroughly adapted to educational needs as to become the normal and universal method of teaching history to young and old, we can only treat it as an ambition.[1]

[1] Recent efforts of the Educational Cinematographic Institute in Rome are interesting in this connection.

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But we can learn a lesson from these more or less utopian ideas.—Where a whole history cannot be written in a series of tableaux, the next best thing is to present a pen-and-ink picture.

These remarks apply the more forcibly to Mughal Indian history, partly because this section of history has not yet been fully worked, and partly because social history of the period—which is real history—is yet a thing of the future. Again, in the Mughal period in general and in Shāh Jahān's reign in particular there was so much that appealed to the eye that when we miss the visual imagery we miss everything.

Fortunately a great step has been taken of recent years in the direction advocated here. Quite a number of books have been published of late which embody carefully executed reproductions of paintings and sketches of the best period portraying Mughal court and life, and treating of a wide range of subjects. F. R. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, and E. Kühnel and H. Goetz, *Indian Book Painting* are only a few of the typical examples. A large number of pictures have also been reproduced in an occasional and miscellaneous sort of manner by writers dealing with various aspects of Mughal history and Mughal life.

The accessibility to the public of these new treasures of the art-world has not unnaturally raised the ambitions both of the historian and of the reader. Who is there who has not, sometimes, felt his veins tingle at the sight of some noble Mughal edifice, or seen some dim visions of vanished glory rise before him on witnessing a choice work of art, be it a picture, an illuminated manuscript in brilliant gold and blue, some knick-knack of rare workmanship, or a mere decorative detail? Just because these are isolated bits—we might say, cut-glass facets—of a life that once was lived, it is not possible for us easily to reconstruct the *milieu* in which this art flourished, and with which it was organically connected. Only bits have survived—fossils now embedded in an alien matrix. It requires an effort to inspire these dead bones of history with life. For life atmosphere is essential, and the atmosphere for art can only be re-created by reproducing the social conditions which created it: human intercourse and the culture

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which inspired it, houses, furniture and decoration, costumes, drapery and ornament, which surrounded it, the whole pomp and pageantry of state so interpenetrated with artistic motifs, the very etiquette and solemnities of the royal court, where the moral and aesthetic ideals of the age coalesced.

In view of the considerations set forth in the preceding pages we propose to devote the whole of Book II to descriptive details of the kind referred to above.

Easily the most conspicuous object in the whole range of Mughal life is the Imperial Court. One would like to have as adequate a mental picture of it as the material at our disposal would allow. But a court is composed chiefly of courtiers ; and if we know nothing definite about the courtiers the picture will resemble a Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. We should begin, therefore, with the *umarā* and the constitution of their order. Intimately connected with the *manṣabdārī* system is the Mughal army. The army and the system of its recruitment will, therefore, form the subject of the chapter next following.

We shall still, however, not be qualified to take up the Royal Court ; for even a cursory glance over a painting of the full durbar will reveal certain minor features of the Royal Court which require an explanation. A whole miscellany dealing with such subjects as the Music Gallery (*Naubat khāna* or *Naqqār khāna*), the Palace Guard (*Kishk* or *Chauk.*), the *Qūr*, the court ceremonial and practice, etc., will have to be dealt with in some detail.

These preparatory details being touched in the canvas is ready for the centre-piece—the Imperial Durbar. The historiographers and the contemporary travellers have each his own story to tell of the gorgeous spectacle.

When we have witnessed the Emperor in audience, public and private, even watched the full-dress celebration of a festival or two, and surveyed the Emperor in his daily routine of private life and official work, we have made some progress. But the picture still lacks the background which would relieve the principal figures in it. This background is furnished by the Imperial Household and the Haram. The former comprised the various treasuries, a number of offices and departments (technically known as *kār-khānajāt* or workshops) concerned with industry and manufacture, storing and supply, of articles

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for consumption at court, and with the maintenance of establishments of animals. The Haram, technically a part of the Household, is important enough to call for independent treatment. While the Imperial Household constituted the machinery which regulated and controlled the industrial and economic working of the huge establishment, the Haram shows the Emperor in the midst of domestic relations, in a complete undress of private life.

The glare of history does not fall on the Haram, which naturally was a privileged place, with which no Persian historian has dared to tamper. There are, however, a few prying, audacious, gossiping travellers who have left accounts of the Imperial Seraglio, which we propose to share with our readers, offering here and there a word of advice where the authors appear to overstep the bounds of delicacy and good judgment.

But the Emperor was not always in the metropolis. When he was on tour, whether it was a campaign to the Deccan or a pleasure-trip to Kashmir, he was often for long periods out of station, owing partly to defective modes of communication and conveyance of the time and partly to the luxuriously leisurely pace at which the Royal Court moved. From Akbar's time on the Imperial Camp was a marvel of the age, a model of rigid discipline and neat orderliness. It will take us a whole chapter to study in detail the disposition of the Royal Camp and its main features.

In some respects even more impressive than either the Court or the Camp is the Emperor's Progress. Luckily we possess one or two eye-witness accounts of the Emperor's march from one camp to another. The royal *lashkar* on the move, with its elaborate appointments and a rigid order of precedence, gives a better idea of the magnitude and of the infinite resources of the empire than even the daily pomp and pageantry at Agra or Delhi.

To a reader who can make it convenient to visit the buildings and remains of buildings still standing at Agra and Fatehpur Sīkri, Delhi, Lahore, and elsewhere, and who is sufficiently interested in the subject to study carefully the pictures of Mughal Court life now available in print—to such a reader, it is expected, the descriptive accounts by contemporary observers brought together in the following pages will help to give a tolerable idea of the gilded scenes of three hundred years ago.

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CHAPTER I

THE *MANṢABDĀRĪ* SYSTEM OR THE 'MILITARY ARISTOCRACY'

The institution of the Army and the *Manṣabdārī* System interpenetrate each other, so that the one is unintelligible without the other. These two, again, have a far-reaching effect on the texture of Mughal Indian society, since the only aristocracy in the land was the military peerage graded according to the *manṣab*, and more than half the population in a court town or a camp was composed of soldiers, their dependants, and the camp-followers—i.e., the 'army'. This will go to show the great importance of the army from the political as well as the social standpoint.

Again, it is an important feature of the Mughal administration that all civil officers, high and low, were chosen from the holders of the military rank, i.e., the *manṣabdārs*. So we find that the *manṣabdārī* system is the army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one. The *manṣab*, although primarily a military rank, really constituted the terms in which official hierarchy, and incidentally social status, was expressed. A *manṣab* did not by itself imply any particular office. Sometimes the conferment of a *manṣab* was equivalent to mere grant of a source of income to a person by way of recognition, it may be, of purely professional services or skill (as those of a physician or a poet).

In a sense the history of the Mughal army is the history of the *manṣabdārī* system; and yet the latter system covers a much wider field than the army, while some portions of the army were not under *manṣabdārs*.

Before we deal, therefore, with the composition of the army, it is necessary to form a tolerably clear idea of the graduated organization, at once military, official and aristocratic, known as the *manṣabdārī* system, and its incidents and implications.

The *manṣab* is a somewhat unique institution. The idea conveyed by a *manṣab* in Mughal times was a complex one. Generally it defined the recipient's order of precedence, or position in society or public service—rank, in a general sense.

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A full *manṣab* is expressed thus: *Chahār hazārī ẕāt wa sih hazār suwār*, or more briefly, *Chahār hazārī sih hazār suwār*, which means 4000 personal and 3000 horse rank. We have always denoted it thus: 4000/3000. Or, if the *ẕāt* and *suwār* ranks were equal: (1) *Chahār hazārī ẕāt wa chahār hazār suwār*, (2) *Chahār hazārī ẕāt wa suwār*, or (3) *Chahār hazārī chahār hazār suwār*; i.e., 4000 personal and 4000 horse, or 4000/4000 according to our notation.

A few peculiarities may be noticed first: (1) The *ẕāt*, i.e., personal, rank is always either equal to, or higher than, the *suwār*, i.e., horse, rank.[1] (2) The order in the lists and consequently the order of precedence follows the *ẕāt* and not the *suwār* rank; the former being presumably more important, so that 4000/2000 was considered higher than 3000/3000. Further, in some lists, such as Abū'l-Faẓl's in *Ā'īn*, only the *ẕāt* rank is given. (3) There may be a *ẕāt* rank without any *suwār* rank, though it is rare; but there never is a *suwār* rank without a *ẕāt* rank.

Now, what exactly is meant by 4000 personal and 3000 horse rank?

Probably no one except Abū'l-Faẓl thoroughly understood this question, and Abū'l-Faẓl has not cared to explain it. The contemporary European travellers (some of whom observed the actual working of the system in practice for years) did not pay sufficient attention to this subject, and some, like Manucci, only succeed in making it obscurer. Among modern writers only William Irvine (*Army*) and Dr. Paul Horn (*Das Heer und Kriegswesen der gross Moghuls*, Leiden, 1894) have made the Mughal army their special study; and they are far from offering even a working explanation. Yet their efforts, as far as they go, are helpful.

Let us, for the sake of simplicity, take a rare case: 500/0, i.e., 500 *ẕāt* with no horse rank—there are only two such examples in the list of *manṣabdārs* at the end of *B.N.*, I (which includes rank-holders down to 500 *ẕāt*). We ask the natural question, what is the individual or the article for which the number 500 stands? It does not stand for rupees, as Manucci assumes (*Storia*, II, 369–74). Does it stand for horsemen, as Irvine, the editor, says, correcting him (*ibid.*, 369, f. n. 1)?

[1] This is the theory; though in case of a *du aspa sih aspa* rank (see below) the *suwār* rank is in fact doubled, and would thus sometimes exceed the *ẕāt* rank.

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Let us, before deciding, survey the results arrived at by previous workers. Dr. Paul Horn, presumably misled by Blochmann (who, in the list on pp. 248–9, translates *dah hazārī*, etc. as the 'commander' of 10,000, etc.) assumes throughout his discussion (pp. 11–21) that the *ẕāt* rank, which alone is given in Abū'l-Faẓl's list, is not only the same as *suwār* rank but represents the number of horsemen actually entertained by the officer. This misapprehension, at once so obvious and so fundamental, not only vitiates Dr. Horn's whole account of the *manṣabdārī* system (pp. 11–21), but also renders totally invalid all the calculations by which he tries to square the rank of an officer with the unit or units found under his command in a battle-field (pp. 67–8).

Irvine corrects Blochmann's error and makes it sufficiently clear in his list on p. 8, and again on the following page, that the rank mentioned is the *ẕāt* and not the *suwār* rank; but goes on to say that from the cash salary of his *ẕāt* rank 'the officer had to maintain his transport, his household, *and some horsemen*' (italics ours). Hence Irvine, on p. 5, speaks of the *suwār* rank as 'a number of extra horsemen'—a phrase repeated by other writers like V. A. Smith (*Akbar*, 364). Still, so far one would think that Irvine is on the right track, and 'some horsemen' looks like an oversight that might perhaps be overlooked. But his interpretation becomes clear when we read the following :—

'Indeed, if the totals of all the personal (*ẕāt*) *manṣabs* in existence at one time were added together, we should arrive at so huge an army that it would have been impossible for the country, however heavily taxed, to meet such an expense. . . . The inference I wish to draw is, that from the grant of rank it does not follow that the soldiers implied by such rank were really added to the army. The system required that a man's rank should be stated in terms of so many soldiers; but there is abundant testimony in the later historians that *manṣab* and the number of men in the ranks of the army had ceased to have any close correspondence.' (*Army*, 58–9).

From the above, and from the succeeding paragraph (p. 59) there is hardly a doubt that Irvine substantially agrees with Horn in that the *ẕāt* rank somehow stands, or in any case once stood, for horsemen.

It must be admitted that these authors offer no help towards an explanation. We can, therefore, only fall back on the *Ā'īn*. From

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the *Ā'īn-i-manṣabdār* (Text, I, 179; Blochmann, 238) we know that a holder of the rank 500/0 belongs to the third class. And on reference to the list in *Ā'īn* (Text, I, 180–85; Blochmann, 248–9),[1] we find that such a rank-holder drew Rs. 2,100 *p.m.* as his cash salary and had to maintain horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts belonging to the emperor detailed there. It should be carefully noted that this list in *Ā'īn* gives only the *ẕāt* ranks, and has nothing to do with the *suwār* rank. Blochmann has, by an unlucky oversight, translated *dah hazārī*, etc., as the 'commander of 10,000', etc. It is only an oversight, since Blochmann, we know, fully understands the distinction between the *ẕāt* and *suwār* rank (see p. 528). But the slip has proved rather serious, since it has misled later writers on the subject.

It follows from the above that an officer without a *suwār* rank would be under no obligation to maintain any horsemen. Again, it is not quite correct to describe the *ẕāt* rank as a brevet rank, as Blochmann does (pp. 241 and 246); since the former, although it carries no command with it, carries a fixed salary, while the brevet rank usually carries neither.

After a careful perusal of the list, however, we are not in a position to say what substantive the cardinal numeral 500, e.g., qualifies. All we know is that a man holding the *ẕāt* rank of 500 with no *suwār* rank draws a certain salary and has to maintain some animals and a certain amount of transport. The figure 500 is, therefore, no better than a formula, by which salary and the obligations of the *manṣabdār* could be definitely ascertained from the schedule.

The *manṣab* is called *ẕāt*, i.e., self, because it regulates the allowance for himself (and his household) as distinguished from that for the cavalry enlisted by him.

A *ẕāt* rank without any *suwār* was, however, as we have said above, exceedingly rare. Usually an officer with a personal rank had also a horse rank, equal or smaller. This brings us to the earlier question, what is meant by 4000/3000?

We know now what 4000 *ẕāt* stands for. The question remains, what are we to understand by 3000 horse? Well, it means that the *manṣabdār* with 3000 horse rank had to maintain a number of horsemen, not indeed 3000, but a fixed proportion of it. This proportion

[1] Given below.

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possibly varied from period to period and from occasion to occasion. In Shāh Jahān's time, for instance, the usual practice was that where a *manṣabdār* held *jāgīr* in the province in which he served he had to present for the *dāgh* horsemen equivalent in number to one-third of his horse rank; e.g., an officer with the rank 3000/3000 had in such a case to brand 1000 horse. If, however, he was told off to serve in a province of the Empire other than that in which his *jāgīr* was situated, he had to present only one-fourth of his horse rank; so that a 4000/4000 officer branded in this case only 1000 horse. At the time of the despatch of an expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān (*Rabī'* II, 1056 *A.H.*), in view of the difficulties and of the distance of the seat of operations, a further concession was made, and it was decided that during that campaign officers need only brand one-fifth: an amir with 5000/5000 branded on that occasion only 1000 horse. (*B.N.*, II, 506).

So, in a sense, both figures in the term 4000/3000 are nominal, that of the *ẕāt* rank because there is no definite thing we know of for which the number 4000 may be said to stand, that of the *suwār* rank because at no time was such a rank-holder required to furnish 3000 horsemen.

Now we are in a position to consider in detail the conditions and obligations of the *ẕāt* and the *suwār* rank respectively:

First as regards the *ẕāt* rank:—Before we proceed further, we must know that all *manṣabdārs* at a given time fell into three classes. Thus Abū'l-Faẓl:

و درخور سوار [و از کما بیشی سوار] در ماهواره دگرگونگی رفت * هرکرا سوار موافق منصب باشد اولین پایه‌داد ونیمه وزیاده را دوم وکمتر ازان را سوم برساخت چنانچه جدول باز گوید *

(Text, 179).

Translation: The monthly [*ẕāt* rank] salary of the *manṣabdār* varies with his *suwār* rank. An officer with equal *ẕāt* and *suwār* rank was placed in the first class, one with a lower *suwār* rank down to half the *ẕāt* rank got a second class, while another with a yet lower *suwār* rank belonged to the third; as is shown in the table.

In the table on Text, I, 180–85 (Blochmann, 248–9), which follows, the *manṣabdārs* above 5,000 personal are not thus classified, as they all belong to the first class. For the other ranks, the monthly cash salary

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of each of the three classes is given. Blochmann thinks (p. 241) that the classes of salaries in the table do not refer to the three classes described in the quotation from Abū'l-Faẓl given above, on the ground that the difference in the salaries of the three classes is inappreciable; and Dr. Paul Horn follows in his footsteps (p. 16). But there is no other classification to which these different salaries can correspond. Besides, the last words of the text quoted above, where the table is clearly referred to, place the matter beyond doubt.

Out of these emoluments were to be maintained horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts belonging to the state, the number and specification of each being given in the table. This was technically known as the *khurāk-i-dawābb*. Out of the balance the *manṣabdār* had to maintain his household.

This maintenance charge was calculated according to the following scale, given in *Ā'īn*, Book II, *Ā'īn* 2 (B. I. Text, I, 177–8):—

Horses:	*Dams.*
'Irāqī	680
Mujannas	560
Turkī	480
Yābū	400
Tāzī	320
Jangla	240

Elephants:	
Shergīr	1,100
Sāda	800
Manjhola	600
Karha	420
Phandurkiya	300

Beasts of Burden and Carts:	
Camels	240
Mules	240
Carts	600

It is now time to give the table so often referred to above:—

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ESTABLISHMENTS AND SALARIES CORRESPONDING TO THE *ZĀT* RANK

No.	*Zāt* Rank	Horses						Elephants					Beasts of Burden and Carts			Monthly Salary in Rupees		
																Classes		
		'Irāqī	*Mujannas*	*Turkī*	*Yābū*	*Tāzī*	*Jangla*	*Shergīr*	*Sāda*	*Manjhola*	*Karha*	*Phandurkiya*	*Qiṭārs*[1] of camels	*Qiṭārs*[1] of mules	Carts	I	II	III
1	10000	68	68	136	136	136	136	40	60	40	40	20	160	40	320	60,000	...	...
2	8000	54	54	108	108	108	108	35	50	36	34	15	130	34	260	50,000	...	...
3	7000	49	49	98	98	98	98	30	42	29	27	12	110	27	220	45,000	...	...
4	5000	34	34	68	68	68	68	20	30	20	20	10	80	20	160	30,000	29,000	28,000
5	4900	33	33	67	67	67	67	20	30	19	19	10	77	19 4/5	157	27,600	27,400	27,300[2]
6	4800	32	32	66	66	65	65	20	29	19	19	9	77	19 2/5	152	27,600	27,400	27,300[2]
7	4700	31	31	65	65	63	63	19	29	19	18	9	75	19 1/5	151	26,800	26,600	26,500
8	4600	31	31	63	63	62	62	18	28	19	18	9	74	18 4/5	148	26,400	26,200	26,100
9	4500	31	30	61	61	61	61	18	28	19	17	8	72 3/5	18 3/5	145	26,000	25,800	25,700
10	4400	30	29	60	60	59	59	18	28	19	16	7	71	18 1/5	142	25,200	25,000	24,800
11	4300	29	28	59	59	58	58	17	27	19	16	7	69 3/5	18	139	24,400	24,200	24,000
12	4200	28	27	58	58	57	56	16	26	19	16	7	68	17 3/5	136	23,600	23,400	23,200
13	4100	27	27	56	56	56	55	16	26	18	16	6	68	17 2/5	133	22,800	22,600	22,400
14	4000	27	27	54	54	54	54	16	25	18	15	6	65	17	130	22,000	21,800	21,600
15	3900	26	26	53	53	52	52	16	24	18	15	6	63 3/5	16 4/5	127	21,400	21,200	21,100
16	3800	26	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	16 2/5	124	20,800	20,600	20,500
17	3700	25	25	50	50	50	49	16	23	17	15	6	60 4/5	16 1/5	122	20,200	20,000	19,900

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16	3800	26	26	51	51	51	51	16	23	18	15	6	62	16 2/5	124	20,800	20,600	20,500
17	3700	25	25	50	50	50	49	16	23	17	15	6	60 3/5	16 1/5	121	20,200	20,000	19,900
18	3600	25	25	49	48	48	47	16	23	17	14	6	59	15 4/5	118	19,600	19,400	19,300
19	3500	24	24	47	47	47	46	16	23	17	14	5	57 3/5	15 3/5	115	19,000	18,800	18,700
20	3400	23	23	46	46	46	44	16	22	17	14	5	56	15 1/5	112	18,600	18,400	18,300
21	3300	22	22	45	45	44	43	15	22	17	14	5	54 3/5	15	109	18,200	18,000	17,900
22	3200	21	21	44	44	42	42	15	21	17	14	5	53	14 3/5	106	17,800	17,600	17,500
23	3100	20	20	43	43	41	40	15	20	17	14	5	51 3/5	14 2/5	103	17,400	17,200	17,100
24	3000	20	20	40	40	40	40	15	20	16	14	5	50	14	100	17,000	16,800	16,700
25	2900	19	19	39	39	39	39	15	19	16	13	4	48	13 1/5	96	16,400	16,200	16,100
26	2800	18	18	38	38	38	38	15	18	14	12	3	46	12 2/5	92	15,800	15,600	15,500
27	2700	17	17	37	37	37	37	14	17	13	11	3	44	11 3/5	88	15,200	15,000	14,900
28	2600	17	17	36	36	35	35	13	15	12	11	3	42	10 4/5	84	14,600	14,400	14,300
29	2500	17	17	34	34	34	34	12	14	12	10	2	40	10	80	14,000	13,800	13,700
30	2400	17	17	33	33	33	33	12	13	11	10	2	38	9 2/5	76	13,600	13,400	13,300
31	2300	16	16	33	33	32	32	12	12	10	10	2	36	8 4/5	72	13,200	13,000	12,900
32	2200	16	16	32	32	31	31	11	12	9	10	2	34	8 1/5	68	12,800	12,600	12,500
33	2100	15	15	31	31	31	31	10	12	9	9	2	32	7 3/5	64	12,400	12,200	12,100
34	2000	15	15	30	30	30	30	10	12	9	7	2	30	7	60	12,000	11,900	11,800
35	1900	14	14	29	29	29	30	10	12	9	7	2	28 4/5	6 3/5	58	11,750	11,650	11,450

[1] Steingass assigns ten camels to a *qiṭār*; but we know from *Ā'īn* (Bibl. Ind. Text, I, 147, top) that it contained only five.

[2] That the salaries for 4900 and 4800 should be equal, class for class, is improbable. This is almost the only instance where the list of variants has not enabled us to remove the apparent anomaly.

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ESTABLISHMENTS AND SALARIES CORRESPONDING TO THE *ZĀT* RANK—(*continued*)

No.	*Zāt* Rank	Horses						Elephants					Beasts of Burden and Carts			Monthly Salary in Rupees		
																Classes		
		'Irāqī	*Mujannas*	*Turkī*	*Yābū*	*Tāzī*	*Jangla*	*Shergīr*	*Sāda*	*Manjhola*	*Karha*	*Phandurkiya*	*Qiṭārs* of camels	*Qiṭārs* of mules	Carts	I	II	III
36	1800	14	13	28	28	28	29	10	11	9	7	2	27 3/5	6 1/5	56	11,400	11,350	11,300
37	1700	14	13	27	27	27	27	9	11	9	7	2	26 2/5	5 4/5	54	11,225	11,000	10,800
38	1600	13	13	26	26	25	25	9	10	9	7	2	25 1/5	5 2/5	52	10,600	10,400	10,200
39	1500	12	12	24	24	24	24	8	10	8	7	2	24	5	50	10,000	9,800	9,700
40	1400	12	12	24	24	23	23	8	10	8	7	2	23 2/5	4 4/5	49	9,600	9,400	9,300
41	1300	12	12	23	23	23	22	8	10	7	7	2	23	4 3/5	48	9,200	9,100	9,050
42	1200	11	11	22	22	22	22	7	9	7	7	2	22 2/5	4 3/5	46	9,000	8,900	8,800
43	1100	11	11	22	22	21	21	7	9	7	7	2	22	4 2/5	44	8,700	8,500	8,400
44	1000	10	10	21	21	21	21	7	8	7	7	2	21	4 1/5	42	8,200	8,100	8,000
45	900	10	10	20	20	20	20	7	8	6	7	2	20	4	40	7,700	7,400	7,100
46	800	10	14	17	17	9	3	7	8	5	5	2	17 3/5	3 2/5	34	5,000	4,700	4,400
47	700	6	13	9	13	14	7	5	6	4	4	1	15 2/5	3	27	4,400	4,000	3,800[1]
48	600	5	7	11	9	4	4	4	3	5	2	1	13	2 2/5	21	3,500	3,200	3,000
49		4	7	8	8	4	3	4	2	4	2	1	14	2	15	2,800	2,750	2,700
50	500	4	6	8	8	4	...	3	4	2	2	1	10	2	15	2,500	2,300	2,100
51	400	3	4	5	6	2	...	2	2	2	2	1	5	...	12	2,000	1,751[2]	1,500

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51	400	3	4	5	6	2	...	2	2	2	2	1	5	...	12	2,000	1,751[2]	1,500
52	350	3	4	4	4	2	...	1	1	2	3	1	4 2/5	...	11	1,450	1,305[3]	1,350
53	300	3	3	3	4	2	...	1	1	2	2	1	4	...	10	1,400[4]	1,250	1,200
54	250	3	3	3	4	1	...	1	1	2	2	...	3 2/5	...	8	1,150	1,100	1,000
55	200	2	3	3	3	1	...	1	2	1	2	...	3	...	7	975	950	900
56	150	2	3	3	3	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	6	875	850	800
57	125	2	2	2	3	2	...	...	1	1	2	...	2 1/5	...	5	780	760	750
58	120	2	2	2	3	2	...	...	1	1	2	...	2 1/5	...	5	745	740	730
59	100 (*Yūzbāshī*)	2	2	2	2	2	...	...	1	1	1	...	2	...	5	700	600	500
60	80	2	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	2	...	2	...	3	410	380	350
61	60	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	1 2/5	...	2	301	285	270
62	50	1	1	2	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	1 2/5	...	2	250	240	230
63	40	1	2	2	1	1	..	...	1	...	...	...	1 2/5	...	1	223	200	185
64	30 (*Tarkashband*)	...	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	1 1/5	...	1	175	165	155
65	20	...	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	1 1/5	...	1	135	125	115
66	10	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	82½	75

[1] To avoid equality of pay between 800 III and 700 I, I should prefer the variant given by the MSS. ش and د مصحح: I, 4000; II, 3700; III, 3600—which does not interfere with the rest of the scheme.

[2] The 1700 given by certain MSS. seems a more likely figure.

[3] An odd and incongruous figure; but the variants offer no help.

[4] I have let this figure stand out of respect for Blochmann's scholarship. Personally I would certainly prefer the 1,300 given by two of the MSS.

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NOTE

In the construction of this Table, I have not confined myself to the copying out of the figures accepted as correct by the editor of the Bibliotheca Indica Text. Minor improvements have appeared to me possible here and there. It is impossible, for instance, that the first class salary of a lower rank should equal or exceed the third class salary of a higher, or that the salary of a lower class should equal or exceed that of a higher one. Acting on this principle, I have allowed myself the latitude offered by the variants given in the foot-notes of the B. I. Text (I, 185–6). In several cases the adoption of the variants gave a better sense and consistency to the whole scheme. In these cases I have not hesitated to depart from Blochmann's text readings. Of course I have refrained from needless interference.

Abū'l-Faẓl has been generous enough to give us fuller information about the salary of a *manṣabdār* of 100 *ẕāt*. We assume that the example given by him is typical. If so, the information thus furnished is important.

The monthly salary of an officer with 100/100 rank, he says (Text, I, 179), is Rs. 700, while that of a rank-holder of 100/0 (who is generally counted as a *dākẖilī*) [1] is Rs. 500. For every increase of 10 in the horse rank the officer gets an addition of Rs. 20 to his monthly salary. So we get the following scale :—

Manṣab	Monthly pay in Rs.	Class
100/100	700	I
100/90	680	II
100/80	660	II
100/70	640	II
100/60	620	II
100/50	600	II
100/40	580	III
100/30	560	III
100/20	540	III
100/10	520	III
100/0	500	III

For the sake of clearness we have added the class in the third column. The reader will notice at once that this corresponds with

[1] Blochmann's translation of this passage (p. 238) is defective, and has misled Horn (p. 15).

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the rule given for the classification and with schedule on p. 147 above; for the first-class officer gets Rs. 700, the second-class one from Rs. 680 to Rs. 600, and the third-class one from Rs. 580 to Rs. 500. So not only do we get yet another proof of the fact that these are the classes referred to in the table, but we get a further bit of information not given in the said table, presumably for brevity—viz., that the salaries entered in II and III class columns in that table are the *minimum* salaries for those classes respectively.

The reader should bear carefully in mind that the salary detailed here is for the *ẕāt* rank, and although it varies with change in *suwār* rank, is *not* the *suwār* rank pay in any sense. The caution is all the more necessary since Dr. Horn is deceived into imagining (pp. 15–16) that the increase of Rs. 20 for every 10 horses added to the horse rank is for the maintenance of the 10 horses thus added; while Rs. 500 alone throughout the ascending scale is the salary of the *ẕāt* rank. The way in which our interpretation fits in with the other known facts makes it abundantly clear that his explanation is not possible. Our interpretation receives further corroboration from an unexpected quarter.

'The custome is,' says Hawkins (Purchas, III, 44–5), 'they [the *manṣabdārs*] are allowed so much living to maintaine that Port which the King hath given them, that is to say; they are allowed twentie Rupias of everie horse by the Moneth, and two Rupias by the Moneth for every horse Fame, for the maintenance of their Table. As thus: A Captaine that hath five thousand horse to maintaine in the warres, hath likewise of Fame other five thousand, which he is not to maintaine in the warres, but onely for his Table, allowed upon every horse by the Moneth two Rupias, and the other five thousand, twenty Rupias by the Moneth: and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.'

So Rs. 20 is the monthly pay of each horseman entertained by an officer under his horse rank; while 'horse Fame' is Hawkins' picturesque translation of *ẕāt* rank 'which he is not to maintaine in the warres.' The rate of two rupees for every horse is precisely that on which the table given above has been constructed. Hawkins, we see, is remarkably well informed on this subject; his only misapprehension being that he assumes that an amir of 5000 horse actually entertained 5000 horsemen. But more of this presently.

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While, on the one hand, our explanation is beautifully illustrated by Hawkins' remarks, it is perhaps equally true that his account remains a riddle without our interpretation. Hawkins' remarks, further, go to confirm our conjecture that Abū'l-Faẓl's graduated scale given above is not confined to the *ẕāt* rank of 100 but is of general application, being only omitted from the schedule for brevity, as we have said. The increment of Rs. 20 *p.m.* for every increase of 10 in the horse rank does not, however, apply to the other ranks.

To return: Dr. Horn's view of the matter lands him in the obviously absurd position that, calculating the expenses the holders of the ranks detailed in this table have to meet, the *manṣabdār* with the horse rank 0 is the best off pecuniarily.

The scale of salary given in Abū'l-Faẓl's table was apparently revised in later times. The *dastūr-ul-'amals* prepared late in Aurangzeb's time or soon after his death are extant; but no *dastūr-ul-'amal* of Jahāñgīr's or Shāh Jahān's time is available to us. It is, therefore, difficult to make sure at what time the changes were introduced. The scale of pay in force in Aurangzeb's reign is therefore of sufficient importance to be given *in extenso*. We have taken the following list from a carefully transcribed copy of a carefully written book by a well-informed man:

معلومات الآفاق by امین الدین خان (P.U.L. MS.),

probably written soon after Aurangzeb's death; and have verified the results by comparison with a few other MSS. dealing indirectly with the subject.

TABLE OF YEARLY SALARY OF THE *ẔĀT* RANK

No.	*Ẕāt* Rank	Yearly Salary					
		First Class		Second Class		Third Class	
		Dāms in thousands	Rupees	*Dāms* in thousands	Rupees	*Dāms* in thousands	Rupees
1	20,000	40,000	10,00,000	...	...	...	...
2	15,000	30,000	7,50,000	...	...	...	...
3	12,000	24,000	6,00,000	...	...	...	...
4	10,000	20,000	5,00,000	...	...	...	...
5	9,000	18,000	4,50,000	...	...	...	...
6	8,000	16,000	4,00,000	...	...	...	...

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TABLE OF YEARLY SALARY OF THE *ZĀT* RANK—*(contd.)*

No.	*Zāt* Rank	Yearly Salary					
		First Class		Second Class		Third Class	
		Dāms in thousands	Rupees	*Dāms* in thousands	Rupees	*Dāms* in thousands	Rupees
7	7,000	14,000	3,50,000	...	...	...	...
8	6,000	12,000	3,00,000	...	...	...	...
	5,000	10,000	2,50,000	9,700	2,42,500	9,400	2,35,000
10	4,500	9,000	2,25,000	8,700	2,17,500	8,400	2,10,000
11	4,000	8,000	2,00,000	7,700	1,92,500	7,400	1,85,000
12	3,500	7,000	1,75,000	6,700	1,67,500	6,400	1,60,000
13	3,000	6,000	1,50,000	5,700	1,42,500	5,400	1,35,000
14	2,500	5,000	1,25,000	4,700	1,17,500	4,400	1,10,000
15	2,000	4,000	1,00,000	3,700	92,500	3,400	85,000
16	1,500	3,000	75,000	2,700	67,500	2,400	60,000
17	1,000	2,000	50,000	1,900	47,500	1,800	45,000
18	900	1,500	37,500	1,450	36,250	1,400	35,000
19	800	1,250	31,250	1,200	30,000	1,150	28,775
20	700	1,100	27,500	1,050	26,250	1,000	25,000
21	600	950	23,750	900	22,500	850	21,250
22	500	800	20,000	750	18,750	700	17,500
23	400	500	12,500	480	12,000	460	11,500
24	300	400	10,000	380	9,500	360	9,000
25	250	350	8,750	330	8,250	310	7,750
26	200	300	7,500	280	7,000	260	6,500
27	150	250	6,250	230	5,750	210	5,250
28	100	200	5,000	180	4,500	160	4,000
29	80	140	3,500	130	3,250	120	3,000
30	60	100	2,500	95	2,375	90	2,250
31	50	85	2,125	80	2,000	75	1,875
32	40	70	1,750	65	1,625	60	1,500
33	30	55	1,375	50	1,250	45	1,125
34	20	40	1,000	35	875	30	750

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NOTE

The MS. gives the salaries in *dāms* only. We have added the equivalents in rupees to facilitate comparison with the list on page 8 of *Army*, as far as it goes.

While Abū'l-Faẓl has given monthly allowances in his list, here we have the yearly pay—a fact which seems to show that while in the former case the allowance was probably not paid for all the twelve months of the year, in the latter it was a consolidated annual salary. This consideration will reduce the great inequality between the two scales which Irvine notices (p. 8), calculating the salaries in *Ā'īn* for all the twelve months of the year. If the salaries in the *Ā'īn* list b calculated for from about six to about nine months in the year no change in the scale need be imagined. The actual facts, however, are not known to us.

It should be remembered that we are not justified in comparing the lists in Aurangzeb's *Dastūr-ul-'amals* with that in *Ā'īn* (as Irvine does, *Army*, 8), until we make sure for how many months in the year the *ṭāt* rank salary was drawn by a *manṣabdār* of Akbar's time.

This list, we are glad to find, tallies completely, as far as they cover the same ground, with the one reproduced by Irvine from some *dastūr-ul-'amals* (British Museum MSS.) on p. 8 of *Army*. These *dastūr-ul-'amals* were prepared about the same time as *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq*.

Now about the *suwār* rank: The *suwār* rank was generally *yak aspa* (i.e., with one horse); occasionally in case of a more favoured *manṣabdār* it was *du aspa sih aspa* (i.e., with 2 or 3 horses). This does not mean, however, that each soldier had one horse in the former, and 2 or 3 horses in the latter case; for, as we shall see, there were many soldiers with 2, and some with 3, horses in the *yak aspa* rank.

But we must know, before we proceed further, what was the pay of a trooper. I have not been able to find this point in *Ā'īn*, so rich in facts and details on other points. Bernier tells us that the minimum salary of a trooper with only one horse was Rs. 25 a month (p. 217);[1]

[1] The Editor's reference to the Fifth *Ā'īn* (p. 217, f. n. 1) is not in my opinion accurate, since *Ā'īn* 5 (Text, 187-8; Blochmann, 251) does not refer to the *tābīnān* of the *manṣabdārs*, but to the *barāwardī* troops.

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Hawkins (p. 149 above) gives Rs. 20, without naming the number of horses kept; and Manucci puts it at Rs. 30 (*Storia*, II, 376). Possibly it varied within limits with the class to which the horse belonged.

Irvine, calculating from tables in MS. *dastūr-ul-'amals*, arrives at 8000 *dāms* or Rs. 200 a year as the pay of a horseman with one horse, while a two- or three-horsed man got Rs. 275. This is substantiated by such works (like *Ma'lūmāt-ul-Āfāq*) as are available to us. The period covered by all these authorities is roughly from 1070 to 1120 *A.H.*

We may note in passing that in all directories of the Mughal period, called *dastūr-ul-'amals*, salaries, from the highest to the lowest, are calculated in *dāms*—a money of account, to be distinguished from the coin of that name. The reason is thus given by Dr. Horn: 'Dass das Gehalt nach Dâms nicht nach Rupien bestimmt wurde, geschah weniger, um mit hohen Zahlen zu prunken, als weil der Wert der Rupie schwankte.' (Horn, 16).

We agree with above, though Irvine (*Army*, 6–7) and those who follow him hold the contrary view.

In *suwār* rank the soldiers did not draw salary for all the months of the year; but the matter was more complicated here than in case of the *ẕāt* rank.

The salary of the *yak aspa suwār* rank was drawn, in Shāh Jahān's reign, for instance, for 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, or 5 months in the year, and while the number of the horsemen remained constant, the number of horses maintained by them varied with the number of months for which the salary was drawn. From the details given by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī (*B.N.*, II, 507) we have constructed the following table:—

A *manṣabdār* with 4,000 or 5,000 *suwār* rank, who had to maintain, say, 1,000 horsemen, had to keep

Number of months for which salary drawn	*Sih aspa*	*Du aspa*	*Yak aspa*	Total number of horsemen	Total number of horses
12	300	600	100	1,000	2,200
11	250	500	250	1,000	2,000
10	...	800	200	1,000	1,800
9	...	600	400	1,000	1,600
8	...	450	550	1,000	1,450
7	...	250	750	1,000	1,250
6	...	100	900	1,000	1,100
5	...	...	1,000	1,000	1,000

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If, however, the *suwār* rank was *du aspa sih aspa* the number both of horses and horsemen was doubled. Thus a *manṣabdār* of 4000 horse *du aspa sih aspa*, who drew salary for twelve months, had to maintain under the ¼ rule :

600 *sih aspa*
1200 *du aspa*
200 *yak aspa*

} i.e., 2,000 horsemen with 4,400 horses ;

and so on with 11, 10, etc., months.

So the salary of the *tābīnān* in *du aspa sih aspa* rank was exactly double the salary in the corresponding *yak aspa* rank—a fact incidentally verified by a statement in *B.N.*, I, 113.

Irvine's deduction from a statement in a *dastūr-ul-'amal*, that the total number of horses was always double that of the number of men, though supported by Bernier's allegation that 'two horses are generally allowed to one trooper' (p. 212) is obviously irreconcilable with what we have detailed above, unless we assume either that the salary was generally drawn for from nine to twelve months, and mostly in fact for twelve or eleven months—which was not the case, or that the *dastūr-ul-'amal* is not referring to the *tābīnān* of the *umarā* at all, but to some other class of troopers such as that mentioned in the Fifth *Ā'īn* referred to in a foot-note above.

Further, there is another difficulty. 'The pay of the men with the extra horses,' says Irvine, 'was higher, but not in proportion. Thus, a one-horsed man received 8000 D. or Rs. 200 a year (Rs. 16 10 a. 8 p. per mensem), while the two- or three-horsed man got 11,000 D. or Rs. 275 a year (Rs. 22 14 a. 8 p. per mensem).' (*Army*, 10). The obvious objection arises that the two- and the three-horsed men receive the same pay ; yet we know from the table given above that the difference was important. The difficulty becomes insurmountable when we calculate the actual salary paid according to the table on the basis of Rs. 200 for a *yak aspa* and Rs. 275 for a *du aspa* or a *sih aspa* horseman. We find that while twelve months' salary works out to 2,67,500, and eleven months' salary to 2,56,250, ten months' salary amounts to 2,60,000 ; so that a *manṣabdār* with ten months' salary fares better than one with eleven months'—which is absurd. The only possible escape is through the hypothesis that Irvine's calculations refer to a later period, and that a different scale obtained in Shāh Jahān's time.

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Irvine's estimate failing for Shāh Jahān's reign, we fall back upon Bernier and Manucci, and take the salary of a *yak aspa* trooper as lying between Rs. 25 and 30 according to the horse presented by him. But Bernier himself says that there were not many troopers with one horse; and we know from the table given above that in case of *manṣabdārs* who drew salary for from twelve to nine months the troopers with two or three horses predominated. So these authorities do not carry us very far either.

But does this table really mean that in the first case 300 men with three horses, 600 men with two horses, and 100 men with one horse drew salary for all the twelve months; while in the second case, 250 men with three horses, 500 men with two horses, and 250 men with one horse drew salary for eleven months in the year, and so on?

This would be the apparent meaning. But we are not at all sure if this is the real interpretation. For we find that the salaries calculated (on whatever basis) for 12, 11, etc., months are not proportionate to the number of months to which they correspond; i.e. the salaries for twelve and eleven months respectively are not in the proportion of 12 : 11; nor does the salary for twelve months work out to double that for six months, or the salary for ten months to double that for five months.[1] It raises a doubt whether the number of months really refer to the salary of the *tābīnan*. Is it not possible that the *duwāzda māha* and *yāzda māha*, etc. refer to the months for which the *manṣabdār* drew his *ẕāt* salary; and the number of men with three, two or one horse varied according to the months for which the *ẕāt* rank salary was drawn.[2] In that case we should not know for how many months in the year the troopers drew pay. We can only quote Irvine on the subject, however: 'Pay [of the *tābīnān*] was not always allowed for a whole year; often only for six, five, or four months.' (*Army*, 11). He does not give his source. Are we to assume, then, that the *tābīnān* remained with their chief on the footing of a standing army for so many months in the year?

This salary did not all go to the trooper; but the *manṣabdār* was allowed to retain 5 *p.c.* of the pay of the men under him for his own expenses. (*Ā'īn*, Text, I, 196).

[1] Yet there is a rough correspondence between the total number of horses and the number of months for which salary was drawn.

[2] A rather interesting sort of interlocking between the two ranks.

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Certain other deductions were also made, which need not be recapitulated here. The reader can consult Irvine, *Army*, Chapter II, and the authorities quoted there.

The *manṣabdār* had in addition to maintain a subordinate establishment. Irvine has the following, based on a MS. written in 1118 *A.H.* :—

'An establishment of farriers, blacksmiths' forges, and surgeons had to be maintained by each *manṣabdār*, according to the following scale. . . . The *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī*, ii, 118, states that thirty men on foot were required to be entertained for every 1000 of *manṣab* rank. These included water-carriers, farriers, pioneers, matchlockmen and bow-men.' (*Army*, 52–3).

It should be remarked that, as regards payment of salary, *manṣabdārs* were of two kinds. Usually a *manṣabdār* was assigned a *jāgīr*, the assessed income of which was equivalent to the total of his *ẕāt* salary and the pay of his *tābīnān*.[1] Occasionally the pay was disbursed in cash from the treasury in lieu of the income of the *jāgīr*. 'A certain number of officers and soldiers, chiefly those of the infantry and artillery, who were, as a rule, on the pay list of the emperor himself, were paid in cash. This seems to have been the case in all reigns up to quite the end.' (*Army*, 14).

The peerage consisted of a single graded list of rank-holders. The princes were naturally placed at the top, often by themselves. But no division was shown in the names that followed. Yet those above a certain rank were known as *umarā-i-kibār*, *umarā-i-'uẓẓām* or *nū'īnān-i-wālā tabār*. Next came the *umarā*; and last came the *manṣabdārs*, who were at the bottom.

The ranks ranged from 20 to 10,000 in Akbar's time. The upper limit rose much higher in later reigns.

The *dah bāsh̲ī* was not entitled to promotion to a *manṣab*, and was a sort of non-commissioned officer.

I have not come across any original authority clearly indicating the lines demarcating the *umarā-i-'uẓẓām* from the ordinary *umarā*, and the latter from the *manṣabdārs*. We can, however, quote Irvine: 'In

[1] See an excellent account of the *jāgīr* system in Irvine, *Army*, 14–16. The nstitution of the *jāgīr* is found in Tīmūr's time, and is derived from the Arabs, says Dr. Horn (p. 16), referring to Von Kremer, *Cultlurgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, I, 255.

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addition to the simple division by *manṣab* alone, there was also a grouping of officers into three classes. From 20 to 400 they were merely "officers with rank" (*manṣabdār*); from 500 to 2500 they were Nobles—Blochmann, i, 535 (*Amīr*, pl. *Umarā*, origin of our form "Omrah"); from 3000 to 7000 they were Great Nobles (*Amīr-i-A'ẓam*, pl. *'Uẓẓām*, *Umarā-i-kibār*—Blochmann, i, 529, note), or Pillars (*'Umdah*).' (*Army*, 9).

The authority relied on by Irvine is no other than Blochmann; and the second reference given does not at all bear out the opinion for the support of which it is cited. In fact, the footnote on p. 529 (mentioning the *Ṭabaqāt*) gives the impression that in Blochmann's opinion *umarā-i-kibār* are the 'commanders of 5000' and upwards.

But Blochmann himself is not sure of his position, as is evident from the passage quoted below :—

'From the fact that Abulfazl only gives names up to commanders of 200, and the *Pádisháhnámah* up to 500, we may conclude that, at Akbar's time, Mançabs under 200, and at Sháhjahán's time, Mançabs under 500, did not entitle the holder to the title of *Amír*. To judge from Nizám's *Tabaqát* and the *Maásir i Rahímí*, Mançabdárs from the Hazárí (Commander of 1000) were, at Akbar's time, styled *umará-i-kibár* or *umará-i-'izám*, great Amírs; and I am not quite sure whether the title of Amír is not restricted to Mançabdárs from the *Hazáris* upwards. Nizám does restrict his phrases *ba martabah i imárat rasíd*, or *dar jargah* (or *silk*, or *zumrah*) *i umará muntazim gasht*, to commanders from Hazáris.' (Blochmann, 239–40).

Among the earlier authorities Niẓām-ud-Din Aḥmad is the only person who renders some help. He has the following note on p. 389 of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Nawalkishor Press), which should be quoted in the original Persian to guard against error :

پوشیده نه ماند که هرکس از ملازمان درگاه که پانصد نوکر دارد اطلاق امارت
و امرائی برو نموده و هرکس که مذکور شد مرتبه او از پله امارت بالا ست *

Translation : Let it be known that the title *Amīr* has been applied to every officer who has 500 servants, and every one in the above list holds a rank above *amārat*.[1]

[1] A MS. of *Ṭabaqāt* transcribed in 1050 *A.H.* (in possession of my friend, Prof. Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd Shairānī) reads this passage as follows :—

پوشیده نه ماند که هرکس از ملازمان درگاه که از پانصد نوکر کمتر دارد اطلاق امارت
و امرائی برو نه نموده و هرکس که مذکور شد مرتبه او از پله امارت بالا ست *

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So in the author's opinion the officers holding rank of 500 and upwards were *umarā*.

The sense is not much affected, but the reading seems better than the text of the printed edition.

Having quoted these authorities, we proceed to examine them. As for Blochmann, no conclusion, I think, can be drawn from the fact that Abū'l-Faẓl's list comes down to the rank of 200, while that in *B.N.* stops short with 500—a circumstance very possibly due to the fact that the total number of *manṣabdārs* in Shāh Jahān's time far exceeded that in Akbar's time, so that Shāh Jahān's historians could afford to be more select.

But Blochmann presents this only as a tentative inference. His second equally tentative conclusion, based on *Ṭabaqāt* and *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī*, that officers of 1000 and upwards were, in Akbar's time, styled *Umarā-i-kibār* or *Umarā-i-'uẓẓām*, is equally unsatisfactory. But his general impression or guess that an amir was a *manṣabdār* of 1000 and upwards even in Akbar's time, is more correct than either. It is supported by what we learn from authorities for later reigns. In the list at the end of *B.N.*, I, for instance, after the ranks of the princes, we have the following heading

نوئینان والامکان و امراے عالیشان و دیگر منصبداران

where it is perfectly clear that the list includes all three classes: (1) *nū'īnān* or *umarā-ī 'uẓẓām*, (2) *umarā* and (3) *manṣabdārs*. Now this list, as has already been mentioned in the above discussion, does not go below the *ẕāt* rank of 500. When we know from the heading that this list includes *manṣabdārs* also, and, further, that the line is to be drawn either at 500 or at 1000, the inference seems justified that the officers in this list below 1000 are *manṣabdārs*. Again, we note that Manucci, in his account of the *manṣab* (*Storia*, II, 369–77) applies the term *umarā* to rank-holders from *hazārī* upwards (372–74 and particularly 377).

Similarly Bernier, speaking of the *umarā*, in the passage quoted below, begins with *hazārī* and goes on to *duwāzda hazārī* (p. 212), and, again, refers to their rank as 'from one to twelve thousand' (p. 213).

From this cumulative evidence the conclusion is irresistible that *amārat* ranged from 1000 upwards, at least during the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. In view of this Irvine's declaration quoted above seems to be dogmatic.

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As regards the other point—the line where the *umarā* ended and the *umarā-i-'uẓẓām* began—we have nothing to say. The authority quoted by Irvine does not satisfy us; and we have found no other.

In this connection it is worthy of note that in the table of the *ẕāt* rank pay based on the *dastūr-ul-'amals* of Auranzeb's time (given above) we find a jump in pay between the *ẕāt* rank of 400 and 500, and then another between 900 and 1000—which shows that special importance attached to the promotion to the *ẕāt* rank of 500 and 1000; though it must be admitted that the promotion from 800 to 900 also carried an excessive increase which is clearly out of scale. These remarks, however, apply only to the table given on p. 151 above. The table in the *Ā'īn* furnishes no basis for any such inference.

A remark on the use of the terms *manṣabdār* and *manṣab* may not be out of place here. '*Manṣabdār*,' in a general sense, means simply a rank-holder, and is often so used as to include all officers. The word دیگر in the heading in *B.N.*, I, quoted above, shows that '*manṣabdār*' sometimes included *umarā*. In fact we ourselves in this discussion have often used the term in the wider sense, for the sake of brevity. In a stricter sense, of course, a *manṣabdār* stands lower than an amir. Conversely 'amir' is occasionally used for *manṣabdār* in the general sense, i.e., any rank-holder; as in Budā'ūnī.

Again, the word *manṣab* is often used specifically for *manṣab-i-ẕāt* as distinguished from *manṣab-i-suwār*; as by Abū'l-Faẓl in the passage quoted on p. 142 above.

Below follows an account of the *manṣabdārī* system by a careful writer who observed the actual working of it in practice.

Bernier's description of the Mughal peerage and the way in which it was created and recruited is clear; and his remarks on their condition, their number, their state and their etiquette are full of interest. Although the following passage involves some repetition of what has been said above, it deserves to be quoted in full. He begins with the *umarā*:

'It must not be imagined that the *Omrahs* or Lords of the *Mogol's* court are members of ancient families, as our nobility in *France*. The King being proprietor of all the lands in the empire, there can exist neither Dukedoms nor Marquisates; nor can any family be found possessed of wealth arising from a domain, and living upon its own patrimony. The courtiers are often not even descendants of *Omrahs*,

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because, the King being heir of all their possessions, no family can long maintain its distinction, but, after the *Omrah's* death, is soon extinguished, and the sons, or at least the grandsons, reduced generally, we might almost say, to beggary, and compelled to enlist as mere troopers in the cavalry of some *Omrah*. The King, however, usually bestows a small pension on the widow, and often on the family; and if the *Omrah's* life be sufficiently prolonged, he may obtain the advancement of his children by royal favour, particularly if their persons be well formed, and their complexions sufficiently fair to enable them to pass for genuine *Mogols*. But this advancement through special favour proceeds slowly, for it is an almost invariable custom to pass gradually from small salaries, and inconsiderable offices, to situations of greater trust and emolument. The *Omrahs*, therefore, mostly consist of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to the court; and are generally persons of low descent, some having been originally slaves, and the majority being destitute of education.[1] The *Mogol* raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice.

Some of the *Omrahs* have the title of *Hazary*, or lord of a thousand horse; some, of *Dou Hazary*, lord of two thousand horse; some, of *Penge*, lord of five thousand horse; some, of *Hecht*, lord of seven thousand horse; some, of *Deh Hazary*, lord of ten thousand horse; and sometimes an *Omrah* has the title of *Douazdeh Hazary*, lord of twelve thousand horse; as was the case with the King's eldest son. Their pay is proportionate, not to the number of men, but to the number of horses,[2] and two horses are generally allowed to one trooper, in order that the service may be better performed; for in those hot countries it is usual to say that a soldier with a single horse has one foot on the ground. But let it not be supposed that an *Omrah* is expected to keep, or indeed that the King would pay for, such a body of horse as is implied by the titles of *Douazdeh* or *Hecht Hazary*;[3] high-sounding names intended to impose on the credulous, and deceive *Foreigners*. The King himself regulates as well the effective number

[1] A rather sweeping remark, and on the whole unjust.

[2] The pay of the *suwār* rank is obviously meant, and the reference seems to be to the *sih aspa*, *du aspa*, and *yak aspa* soldiers.

[3] It is unfortunate that in this sentence Bernier is not distinguishing between the *gāt* and *suwār* rank.

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that each *Omrah* is to maintain, as the nominal number which he need not keep, but which is also paid for, and usually forms the principal part of his salary.[1] This salary is increased by the money that the *Omrah* retains out of every man's pay,[2] and by what accrues from his false returns of the horses he is supposed to provide: all which renders the *Omrah's* income very considerable, particularly when he is so fortunate as to have some good *Jah-ghirs*, or suitable lands, assigned to him for the payment of his salary: for I perceived that the *Omrah* under whom I served, a *Penge-Hazary*, or lord of five thousand, whose quota was fixed at five hundred horses,[3] had yet a balance over after the payment of all expenses, of nearly five thousand crowns a month, although, like all those who have no *Jah-ghirs*, he was a *Nagdy*, that is to say, one who drew his pay in cash from the treasury. Notwithstanding these large incomes, I was acquainted with very few wealthy *Omrahs*; on the contrary, most of them are in embarrassed circumstances, and deeply in debt; not that they are ruined, like the nobility of other countries, by the extravagance of their table, but by the costly presents made to the King at certain annual festivals, and by their large establishments of wives, servants, camels, and horses.

The *Omrahs* in the provinces, in the armies, and at court, are very numerous; but it was not in my power to ascertain their number, which is not fixed. I never saw less than five-and-twenty to thirty at court, all of whom were in the receipt of the large incomes already mentioned, dependent for the amount upon their number of horses, from one to twelve thousand.

It is these *Omrahs* who attain to the highest honours and situations of the State,—at court, in the provinces, and in the armies; and who are, as they call themselves, the Pillars of the Empire. They maintain the splendour of the court, and are never seen out-of-doors but in the most superb apparel; mounted sometimes on an elephant, sometimes on horseback, and not unfrequently in a *Paleky* attended

[1] This will cause confusion, unless the reader is very careful. 'The effective number' seems to refer to the actual number of horsemen maintained, i.e., ⅓, ¼ or ⅕ of the *suwār* rank according to rules; while 'the nominal number' apparently refers to the *zāt* rank. Bernier seems to imagine, however, that this number represents horsemen—a common mistake.

[2] The 5 *p. c.* mentioned on p. 155 above.

[3] Dānishmand Khān's rank was 5000/2000, and he had to maintain 500 horse according to the 1/4 rule.

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by many of their cavalry, and by a large body of servants on foot, who take their station in front, and at either side, of their lord, not only to clear the way, but to flap the flies and brush off the dust with tails of peacocks; to carry the *picquedent* or spitoon, water to allay the *Omrah's* thirst, and sometimes account-books, and other papers. Every *Omrah* at court is obliged, under a certain penalty, to repair twice a day to the assembly, for the purpose of paying his respects to the King, at ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he is there seated to dispense justice, and at six in the evening. An *Omrah* must also, in rotation, keep guard in the fortress once every week, during four-and-twenty hours. He sends thither his bed, carpet, and other furniture; the King supplying him with nothing but his meals. These are received with peculiar ceremony. Thrice the *Omrah* performs the *taslim*, or reverence, the face turned toward the royal apartment; first dropping the hand down to the ground, and then lifting it up to the head.

Whenever the King takes an excursion in his *Paleky*, on an elephant, or in a *Tact-Ravan* (or travelling throne, carried upon the shoulders of eight men, who are cleverly relieved from time to time when on the march by eight others), all the *Omrahs* who are not prevented by illness, disabled by age, or exempted by a peculiar office, are bound to accompany him on horseback, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and to suffocating clouds of dust. On every occasion the King is completely sheltered, whether taking the diversion of hunting, marching at the head of his troops, or making his progresses from one city to another. When, however, he confines his hunting to the neighbourhood of the city, visits his country house or repairs to the mosque, he sometimes dispenses with so large a retinue, and prefers being attended by such *Omrahs* only as are that day on guard.' (Bernier, pp. 211–15).

The author then goes on to talk of the *manṣabdārs*:

'*Mansebdars* are horsemen with *manseb* pay, which is a peculiar pay, both honourable and considerable; not equal to that of the *Omrahs*, but much greater than the common pay. Hence they are looked on as petty *Omrahs*, and as being of the rank from which the *Omrahs* are taken. They acknowledge no other chief but the King, and have much the same duties imposed upon them as the *Omrahs*, to whom they would be equal if they had horsemen under them, as formerly

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was sometimes the case; but now they have only two, four, or six service horses, that is, such as bear the King's mark; and their pay is, in some instances, as low as one hundred and fifty *roupies* per month, and never exceeds seven hundred.[1] Their number is not fixed, but they are much more numerous than the *Omrahs*: besides those in the provinces and armies, there are never less than two or three hundred at court.' (*Ibid.*, 215.)

We learn incidentally that the number of *umarā* about Aurangzeb's court at Bernier's time was about twenty-five or thirty, and that of the *manṣabdārs* about 200 or 300. The entire *manṣabdārī* personnel was divided into two classes: (1) Those present at court (*ḥāẓir-i-rikāb*), and (2) those on duty in the provinces (*ta'īnātiān*). The officers were periodically transferred from one list to the other.

THE MUGHAL ARISTOCRACY AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON

The *manṣabdārī* system was an interesting institution socially. It was an aristocracy, but it differed from the other aristocracies in history in that the nobility and the *jāgīr* appertaining to it were held, both in theory and practice, at the pleasure of the emperor, and were in all cases limited to a life-tenure; and—what is even more important—all cash and valuables belonging to a *manṣabdār* escheated, at his death, to the crown, in theory the owner and heir of all real and personal property in the land. The descendants of the deceased *manṣabdār* were occasionally, however, given a small rank by way of opportunity to prove personal merit, or some cash or allowance as a means of sustenance—in both cases, a pure act of grace.[2]

Economically this redistribution of wealth at the end of each life-time was something of an approach to some of the communistic

[1] Some of the statements in this sentence are either ill-informed or obscure. We find no authority for them.

[2] This is the generally accepted opinion. But Sir Jadunath Sarkar contends with considerable show of reasoning and plausibility that in reality there was no escheat in Mughal India, what is commonly known as such being only a temporary expedient to settle the outstanding accounts between the State and the deceased. The Emperor, Sir Jadunath holds, never claimed to be heir of a dead subject's property, except when he died heirless.

The point is too big to be pronounced upon lightly; and adequate discussion will take us too far afield. We, therefore, content ourselves with referring the reader to Sir J. N. Sarkar's *Mughal Administration* (Second Series) (Patna University, 1925), pp. 46–50.

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ideals. Though based on the oriental theory of king as a shadow of God (*Ẓillu'l-lāh*), it was, as a factor in social and economic history, much in advance of the times. In fact the theory of divine kingship enabled the social philosophers to get over the difficulties found to be all but insurmountable by the modern socialists and communists.[1]

The Mughal aristocracy, whether it appears as an ornament of the imperial court, embroidering the central figure of the emperor, or, else, as itself a cynosure of dependents and admirers, is a picture without which Mughal life and art would have missed much of their colour and beauty.

Again, the Mughal nobility constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of art and morals and manners, which were supposed according to the ideas of the time to coalesce in the personality of the emperor, were diffused among the lower classes. The court etiquette was the official code of manners, which was followed in smaller assemblies on a gradually diminishing scale down to audiences given by private men as a purely social function.[2]

The standard of life was set by the court and its *entourage*. It constituted the *style*. The habits and customs of the people, their ideas, tendencies and ambitions, their tastes and pleasures, were often unconsciously fashioned on this model. The peerage acted as the conduit-pipe for this stream of influence. The patronage of art and culture followed the same lines; and even where the interest was not genuine the enlightened pursuits were followed and encouraged as a dogma dictated by fashion. The current of public opinion and social conventions was set by the practice followed at the court or by the nobility.

Probably the best contemporary account of the Mughal aristocracy is Pelsaert's. There is an air of mystery and romance about his description of Mughal nobility, its life and ways. The picture is slightly overdrawn, but on the whole there is something singularly well-informed about the graphic details.

Speaking of the nobles in Mughal India, he says, 'their position is as unstable as the wind, resting on no firm foundation, but rather on

[1] Sir J. N. Sarkar holds the opposite view on this point. He has a poor opinion of the Mughal nobility as a class. See *Mughal Administration*, pp. 52–4.

[2] In the old Mughal houses at Agra, Delhi, or Lahore, one still sees a miniature replica of a many-columned *dīwānkhāna* with a *bijou* flower-garden in front of it and many other details characteristic of the domestic architecture of the period.

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pillars of glass, resplendent in the eyes of the world, but collapsing under the stress of even a slight storm.

Their *mahals* are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness, while the servants of the lords may justly be described as a generation of iniquity, greed and oppression, for, like their masters, they make hay while the sun shines. Sometimes while they [the nobles] think they are exalted to a seat in heaven, an envious report to the King may cast them down to the depths of woe. Very few of them, however, think of the future, but they enjoy themselves to the uttermost while they can. As a rule they have three or four wives, the daughters of worthy men, but the senior wife commands most respect. All live together in the enclosure surrounded by high walls, which is called the *mahal*, having tanks and gardens inside. Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10, or 20, or 100, according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her *gastos* [expenditure]. Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection. Their food comes from one kitchen, but each wife takes it in her own apartments; for they hate each other secretly, though they seldom or never allow it to be seen, because of their desire to retain the favour of their husband, whom they fear, honour, and worship, as a god rather than a man. Each night he visits a particular wife, or *mahal*, and receives a very warm welcome from her and from the slaves, who, dressed specially for the occasion, seem to fly, rather than run, about their duties. If it is the hot weather, they undress the husband as soon as he comes in, and rub his body with pounded sandalwood and rosewater, or some other scented and cooling oil. Fans are kept going steadily in the room, or in the open air, where they usually sit. Some of the slaves chafe the master's hands and feet, some sit and sing, or play music and dance, or provide other recreation, the wife sitting near him all the time. They study night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as *mosseri*[1] or *falonj* [' presumably named from the seed *falanja*, which

[1]My friend, Prof. Muḥammad Shafi' of the Lahore Oriental College, makes a shrewd guess, and interprets *mosseri* as *mufarriḥ* (exhilerating medicine), s and f being closely alike in German text, as in old English printing.

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is used as a perfume.'—*Foot-note*],[1] containing amber, pearls, gold, opium, and other stimulants; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the day-time, because they produce a pleasant elevation of the spirit. In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands, and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years. The husband sits like a golden cock among the gilded hens until midnight, or until passion, or drink, sends him to bed. Then if one of the pretty slave girls takes his fancy, he calls her to him and enjoys her, his wife not daring to show any signs of displeasure, but dissembling, though she will take it out of the slave-girl later on.

Two or three eunuchs, or more, who are merely purchased Bengali slaves, but are usually faithful to their master, are appointed for each wife, to ensure that she is seen by no man except her husband; and, if a eunuch fails in this duty, he, with everyone else to blame for the stranger's presence, is in danger of losing his life. They are thus held in high esteem by their master, but the women pay them still greater regard, for the whole management of the *mahal* is in their hands, and they can give or refuse whatever is wanted. Thus they can get whatever they desire—fine horses to ride, servants to attend them outside, and female slaves inside the house, clothes as fine and smart as those of their master himself. The wives feel themselves bound to do all this, in order that what happens in the house may be concealed from their husband's knowledge; for many, or perhaps most of them, so far forget themselves, that, when their husband has gone away, either to Court, or to some place where he takes only his favourite wife, and leaves the rest at home, they allow the eunuch to enjoy them according to his ability, and thus gratify their burning passions when they have no opportunity of going out; but otherwise they spare no craft or trouble to enable them to enjoy themselves outside. These wretched women wear, indeed, the most expensive clothes, eat the daintiest food, and enjoy all worldly pleasures except one, and for that one they grieve, saying they would willingly give everything in exchange for a beggar's poverty.

[1] The same gentleman reads this word as *philonia* (L. *Philonium Romanum*), which Jahāñgīr used to take (*Tūzuk*, 124-5; *Tūzuk*, R. and B., I, 308).

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The ladies of our country should be able to realize from this description the good fortune of their birth, and the extent of their freedom when compared with the position of ladies like them in other lands; but this topic lies outside the scope of my task, and I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn, or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a fountain; in this climate water and plants are a refreshment and recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass.

They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as tables, stools, benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc.; but their cots, or sleeping places, and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country, are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the *mahal*, and is seen by scarcely anybody except women. Outside the *mahal*, there is only the *diwan-khana*, or sitting-place, which is spread with handsome carpets, and kept very clean and neat. Here the lord takes his seat in the morning to attend to his business, whatever it is, and here all his subordinates come to salaam him. This is a very humble salute, in which the body is bent forward, and the right hand is placed on the head; but persons of equal rank or position merely bend the body. If strangers desire admittance, their names are first announced, and they are then introduced. After saluting, they take seats appropriate to their position in a row on each side of their host, and that so humbly that they seem unlike themselves, for it is more like a school of wise and virtuous philosophers than a

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gathering of false infidels ; and no one will move from his place, though they should sit the whole day. There is a certain gravity in their mode of speaking ; they make no loud noise, and do not shout or use gestures. If they talk secrets, which they do not wish to be heard by everybody, they hold a handkerchief, or their girdle, before their mouths, so that neither speaker shall be touched by the other's breath. Everyone leaves as soon as he has obtained an answer to his request, but friends, acquaintances, and persons of position remain until the lord retires into the house, or unless the audience is prolonged until meal-time, though there are no fixed hours for meals. Before eating they first wash their hands ; then the tablecloth is brought and spread on the floor. The food consists of *birinj* [dressed rice], *aeshalia* [? *shulla* or *shu'la*], *pollaeb* [*pulāo*], (yellow, red, green, or black), *zueyla* [? *thūlī*, spiced wheaten cakes], *dupiaza* [meat with onions, etc.] ; also roast meats, and various other good courses, served on very large dishes, with too little butter, and too much spice for our taste. The *tsaftergir* [? *safrachī*, table-servant, or *sharbatdār*, butler[1]], or head servant, sits in the middle, and serves each guest according to his rank, the senior first. In eating, they use little in the way of spoons or knives except their five fingers, which they besmear up to the knuckles soldier-fashion, for napkins are not used, and it is very bad manners to lick the fingers. Each guest confines himself to the portion served before him ; no food is touched with the left hand ; and little or nothing is drunk while eating, whether water or wine, until they have said their prayer and washed their hands. Alike at midday and in the evening the guests rise and take their leave with scanty compliments, saying merely, God grant a lasting blessing on the house ! and the host then goes into his *mahal* to sleep until the evening, when he usually comes out again to the sitting-place. Such are the usual customs, but detailed descriptions such as this must show some discrepancies. Some rich people, and many who are economical, take their meals in the *mahal* in order to save the heavy cost of the outside service ; and again they cannot hold their reception when they are in the King's camp, because they are on duty continuously from morning to night. Some of the nobles, again, have chaste wives, but they are too few to be worth mentioning ; most of the

[1]Thus the Editor. Prof Shafī' suggests *chāshnīgīr* as the more likely reading of this corrupt word.

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ladies are tarred with the same brush, and when the husband is away, though he may think they are guarded quite safely by his eunuchs, they are too clever for Argus himself with his hundred eyes, and get all the pleasure they can, though not so much as they desire.' (Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, 64–8.)

We have placed before the reader the whole of this account, unabridged and entire ; because we have wished to be fair both to the reader and to the good *padre*. The inclination to omit the more risky passages has been resisted in the belief that an author is best judged by judging the integral piece.

It is our duty, however, to drop a word of caution to the reader ; None can deny that the spicy scandal of the purple patches reads like a chapter from the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. There is also perhaps a conscious or sub-conscious seeking after effect in these sensational disclosures. But we have no wish to be unfair to the author.

In fact, we think, the verisimilitude which characterizes these details points to the personal experience of the author as their source. And this is supported not only by the fact that Father Pelsaert had effective knowledge of Persian, but also by the evidence that Pelsaert, during his seven years' stay at Agra (1621–27), did not live a straight life. Mr. Moreland, the Editor, tells us that ' some years after his death, an inquiry was held into irregularities at the Dutch factory in Agra, and the report, in dealing with the immoral life of the staff, observed incidentally that Pelsaert's private life also had been open to similar censure.' (Pelsaert, Introduction, xii.)

In view of these revelations one is driven to conclude that Pelsaert mixed freely with a certain class of womankind at Agra, and, basing his generalizations on his experience, arrived at an indiscriminate condemnation of all classes, including the highest, with which presumably he had no opportunity to associate.

Further, it is an accepted principle of the law of equity that a man who seeks equity must himself come into court with clean hands. Obviously it is much more true that a man who occupies or appropriates the judgment-seat must himself come with clean hands. This raises a presumption against the author of this diatribe.

Not prejudice or ignorance but passion is the refracting medium which distorts Pelsaert's vision of things. Making every allowance for

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the seducing influences of wealth and luxury, and the laxity of the moral standard sanctioned by fashion and prestige, we do not at all see our way to subscribe to the charge.

But we can find no fault with the excellent description of the houses of the nobility and their furniture. In the details of their daily life, their manners and customs, we have a fine commentary on the amenities of private and social life among the higher classes. We can judge better of the ethos of a people by these externals of social life than by setting up a school for scandal.

A few characteristics of the *manṣabdārī* mode of recruiting the army may next be noted:

The *manṣabdārī* system of raising an army may be said to be a sort of compromise between the ancient system of tribal chieftainship and the mediæval feudal system of levying forces. Certain chiefs were under certain conditions made responsible for the levy, and the force under each chieftain belonged wholly or mainly to his own clan, at any rate in the early period. It was, therefore, an advance on both those earlier systems, for it combined to a certain extent their advantages. The loyalty of the men to their chief was assured by racial kinship, and a large army became possible without a gigantic central organization for its recruitment and upkeep, while there was not much fear of the chief's revolting or assuming independence.

The system had some further advantages: The *manṣabdārs* holding civil or military offices in the provinces (i.e., the *ta 'īnātiān*, as distinguished from those about court, who were called *ḥāẓir-i-rikāb*) who, in many cases, held *jāgīrs* in their place of appointment, constituted an automatic distribution of forces, handy for all military or administrative contingencies.

Again, each unit, from its composition, could be utilized precisely for the purpose to which it was best suited; so that the best use was made of every ounce of fighting strength. This finds an apt illustration in Bernier's remarks about the Rājpūt rājas, where he describes how one unit of the Mughal army could be, and often was, diplomatically used against one enemy, and another against another. The Rājas, he says, 'are necessary to keep in check such *Rajas* as are not in the *Mogol's* pay; to reduce to submission those who take up

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arms rather than pay tribute, or refuse to join the army when summoned by the *Mogol*.' 'It is the King's policy,' he goes on, 'to foment jealousy and discord amongst the *Rajas*, and by caressing and favouring some more than others, he often succeeds, when desirous of doing so, in kindling wars among them.' Again, 'they are always at hand to be employed against the *Patans*, or against any rebellious *Omrah* or governor.' 'Whenever the King of *Golkonda*,' he continues, 'withholds his tribute, or evinces an inclination to defend the King of *Visapour* or any neighbouring *Raja* whom the *Mogol* wishes to despoil or render tributary, *Rajas* are sent against him in preference to *Omrahs*, who being for the most part *Persians*, are not of the same religion as the *Mogol*, to wit *Sounnys*, but *Chias*, as are the Kings of *Persia* and *Golkonda*.' (p. 210).

Further, 'the *Mogol* never finds the *Rajas* more useful than when he is engaged in hostility with the Persians. His *Omrahs*, as I have just remarked, are generally of that nation, and shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural King; especially because they acknowledge him as their *Imam*, their *Calife* or sovereign pontiff, and the descendant of *Aly*, to bear arms against whom they therefore consider a great crime.

The *Mogol* is also compelled to engage *Patans* in his service by reasons very similar to those I have assigned for employing *ragipous*.' (p. 211).

The policy detailed above, which would have been impossible without a clan system in the units, is not unknown to the British Indian military administration of to-day, where we find regiments recruited on the basis of castes and tribes, and somewhat similar use made of them.

From the political point of view, the *manṣabdārī* system, besides assuring the steady loyalty of the officer, who always felt his direct dependence on the emperor, was, in its very theory, a standing safeguard of efficiency and discipline. The very insecurity of rank and wealth acted as a powerful incentive for individual distinction: every *manṣabdār* knew that his promotion and reduction ever depended upon the quality of his service.

The *manṣabdārī* system of recruitment made a wise use of the attachment of men to their leaders: tribal patriotism occupied the place of territorial patriotism.

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This system of military organization had a touch of the chivalrous. Just as in the machine age of economic history we deplore lack of originality, individual initiative and pride, so in the modern armies, where perfect mechanical action constitutes the ideal of efficiency, we look in vain for an expression of personality and individual enterprise —which was a distinguishing feature of the age of chivalry. Every soldier must have realized that the honour of his division and therefore of his tribe (which constituted it) was staked on the issue of the battle. The ideal of tribal honour must have appealed where there was no national unity to look to.

There was something morally beautiful, to use a Greek expression, in the age of chivalry.

The official list of the *manṣabdārs* resembles a modern 'Civil List', or rather the 'Army List', more closely than a 'peerage' in a modern European country, where genealogy is the prominent feature.

A bigger peerage meant (1) a larger total of estates or *jāgīrs* assigned; or (2) a larger total of cash expenditure from the treasury; or of both; and (3) a bigger army in case of need.

Socially it meant a bigger aristocracy, and economically a greater concentration of wealth.

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The Rise of the Mahratta Power in the South

BY

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IT was Akbar's vision of empire that has to be regarded as perhaps the root cause of the rise of the Mahrattas to political power, and it may equally well be considered that the collapse of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar was as much of a contributory, as the Mughal advance in the Dekhan, to the rise of the Mahrattas as a nation and as a political power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Akbar conceived his empire not exactly as an empire of the Mughals in India, but as an Indian empire, in which the Mughals, Afghans and the Hindus alike were citizens on an equal footing politically, and entitled to be regarded as the subjects of an Indian empire. The conception of such an empire seems to have come early to Akbar, and there is evidence in the earliest acts of even young Akbar as emperor when he was moved towards the accomplishment of this ideal. He almost began after the dismissal of Bairâm Khân from his position of authority and the overthrow of Adham Khân, getting rid thereby of sinister influences in the way of this ideal. The first practical steps that he took were to accept the Hindus as his own subjects, as much entitled to privileges of position and power as his own Mughals, and, needless to say, as the Afghans. In the course of carrying this idea into practice, he experienced the difficulties of antagonism in religion as prejudicial to the bringing about of that complete unity among his subjects, which for some little time perhaps exercised its opiate influence upon his imperial mind. That is what induced him, after elaborate preparation by way of open discussions and arguments between the best votaries of the prevalent religions of the land, to formulate a common religion for all. That religion was matter not capable of being thus ordered even by imperial authority was borne in upon him, when perhaps the most intimate among his courtiers plainly told him, after all his travail, that this was a hopeless feat. Bhagavândâs

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is said to have made the remark: 'Islam I understand, Hinduism I know, but this new religion, I protest, I do not understand,' thus putting the whole position in a nutshell. Religion is not made to order, except for agnostics and plain atheists. It is something more secretive and has an appeal to much beyond reason. That was a truth that was recognized in India ages ago; and the religion of each one was left entirely to himself alone. That was the cardinal principle that contributed to the success of Hindu administration during the best of its days. Rulers regarded themselves as the preservers of the *Dharma*, not the propounders and the promulgators thereof. In a country of the vastness and variety of India, even admitting that it never was under an empire as a whole before the establishment of the British Empire, any other principle would have been impossible as an operative principle of action. This truth Akbar learned when his Dîn Ilâhî failed, and, like a statesman of distinct vision, he learned the truth and laid it to heart and did not go into sackcloth and ashes, like a fanatic, to mourn the sad fate that had overtaken his pet scheme. The empire of India that he wanted to form fell short, to this extent, of the unity that he wanted to impart to it; but short of this, his liberal policy had knitted it as closely as may be, and had put it on a footing on which it showed promise of permanence.

On this basis, having firmly established himself in the Indian empire of Hindûstân, the next natural effort would be to make the attempt, which failed before under Muhammad bin Tughlaq, of extending the empire to take into it peninsular India as well. The first effort at expansion was the successful advance across the Vindhyas and the establishment, without much ado, of a viceroyalty of the Dekhan at Burhânpur. To the Dekhan states, which were Islamic in character though of another form, the expansion of imperial authority meant their incorporation in the imperial rule and therefore political extinction. The states fought as hard as they could, but succumbed to the imperial forces when the time came. Akbar's policy of expansion was pursued by his successors. Jahângîr in his own way tried to go a step further and employed in the enterprise the most promising among his sons, who ultimately succeeded to the throne and carried out the policy of his father still further; so that at the unexpected termination of Shâh Jahân's rule, the two Musalmân States, Bîjâpur and Golkonda, were alone left in the Dekhan. The three States that had been

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overthrown successfully had been incorporated in the viceroyalty of the Dekhan, which gave the surest indication of what the states could expect by submission to imperial authority. The two States therefore felt that they must fight to be bitter end and be extinguished fighting, rather than undergo the political extinction, which, as they might well imagine, submission to the Mughal Empire meant. In this fight naturally they utilized all their resources, and the Mahrattas as such emerged into view as auxiliaries rendering valiant services in this cause of Dekhani independence of the Indian empire of the Great Mughal.

Ever since the overthrow of Yâdava Râmdev by 'Alâu'd-dîn and the flaying alive of his son-in-law Harapâla, the Mahrattas lost their independence. The planting of military colonies, as it were, of the 'Amirs of 100' by Mubârak Khaljî drove another nail into the coffin of their independence. Politically therefore they had become extinct as a nation; but in practical life they played a very considerable part in the administration of the Islamic states of the Bahmani kingdom as a whole, and rose to rank and importance even in some of the separate states into which this kingdom broke up. They were found largely employed even in the State of Bîdar under the Bahmani Sultâns themselves. It was a quarrel between the Mahratta Controller of the finances and Yûsuf 'Âdil Shâh, the general, that brought about the rebellion which ultimately dismembered the Bahmani kingdom. They found scope for further service in the States of Bîjâpur and Ahmadnagar particularly, and it is common knowledge that Shâhjî began his career as a petty military commander and Jâgîrdâr in the State of Ahmadnagar. A valiant man in comparatively humble circumstances, he naturally looked up to those high in position and through the agency of another Mahratta chieftain, who had influence at court, he found opportunity for honourable entry into service and for achieving distinction in the wars that Ahmadnagar had to wage against the Mughals. Unfortunately for him, Ahmadnagar was too far gone to appreciate even the valiant services of a loyal officer of their own. Shâhjî's achievements only provoked jealousy and, instead of meeting rewards for services rendered, he found that he had the counteracting machinations of court intriguers against him. He tried his fortunes with the other rival State, Bijâpur. There again, he achieved the same distinction, and he met with almost the same kind of a reward.

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After trying his fortunes with Ahmadnagar, once again chastened after defeat, he found he was in no better position to prosecute his ambition for a career and changed again to Bijâpur. There was the possibility of service in the empire. He might have elected to enter imperial service and risen to a certain degree of importance. Had he done that, as in fact he attempted to do in A.D. 1637, Shâhjî might have ended his days as the holder of a big *mansab* in the empire at the very best, not without the possibility of an inglorious end to a brilliant career, having regard to his character and high ambition. Fortune had willed it otherwise. Shâhjî finally threw in his lot with Bîjâpur, which first gave him an opportunity to round off his small estate by further accretions of territory, so that in Mahârâshṭra he could count himself a Sardâr of a fairly high rank. It was then that the terrritory south of the two Musalmân kingdoms opened out vistas for accomplishing his ambition, and Shâhjî found an opportunity to take the tide at the full flood.

The empire of Vijayanagar, which had suffered a shattering blow at the hands of the united Muhammadan states of the dismembered Bahmanî kingdom in the battle of Talikota so-called, was able soon to rehabilitate her resources and restore herself, in the course of a score of years, to something of the position that she had held before as arbiter of the fortunes of the Islamic states. Tirumala, who fled from Vijayanagar soon after the battle of Râkshasatangaḍi, ordinarily called Talikota, regained his power so far that, from Penugoṇḍa as his capital, he began to exercise the same commanding authority for intervention in the affairs of the Bahmani kingdoms. At the end of the sixteenth century therefore Vijayanagar still was an important power capable of using and willing to use her power as before in regard to the Muhammadan kingdoms. On the contrary, the two Muhammadan states in the immediate neighbourhood had pursued a policy, with the advantage that they acquired after the great battle, of not playing into the hands of the Hindu power. They came to an understanding in the course of the years that followed the battle that in their career of expansion they ought to follow a policy of respecting each other's spheres of activity. Bijâpur was allowed for its share of expansion the plateau region covering the greater half of the Mysore plateau on the eastern side and leading into the middle country of Tamil India, the South Arcot District of to-day. Golkonda had for

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its sphere the whole of the Karnâṭak below the Ghâṭs leading southwards towards Madras and terminating with perhaps the borders of the Chingleput District. Each of them therefore laid itself out to pursue a policy of aggression along the lines thus indicated and ultimately to bring the Hindu state to extinction. They were prosecuting this policy with vigour, and, if not with immediate success, at least with chances of assured ultimate success. Tirumala passed away and was succeeded by his son Śrîraṅga sometime about A.D. 1575. Śrîraṅga had hard work to do against Golkonda. He had to fight and win many battles to keep the power of Golkonda within limits. He had also reverses of a very serious character.[1] He fell into the hands of the Muhammadans and was taken prisoner. He was rescued by the efforts of a loyal chieftain, a feudatory of the empire. Occupied as he was in this fashion, he provided for the administration of the empire by creating two viceroyalties, one at Śrîraṅgapaṭam, which controlled all the territory on the plateau extending northwards to the frontiers of the Southern Mahratta country. The other viceroyalty had its head-quarters at Chandragiri. This viceroyalty had for its sphere of authority all the territory extending southwards along the plains down to the extreme south.[2] When Śrîraṅga died, Golkonda's expansion did not go very much beyond the Krishnâ, which marked the boundary on this side. Even Bijâpur was kept more or less within her bounds. The exposed parts however were under the direct rule of the empire including as they did the viceroyalties of Udayagiri, Penugoṇḍa and Vijayanagar itself or Haḷabid, as it used to be called before that, and the plateau part at any rate Muḷbâgal. These were earlier provincial governments, and it is because of the warlike operations that were necessary in this region that the south was otherwise provided for. When Śrîraṅga died, the empire was left more or less intact. The next brother Râma, who was viceroy at Śrîraṅgapaṭam, had died before him, leaving the viceroyalty to his eldest son, Tirumala. The next brother was Venkaṭapati, who was viceroy at Chandragiri. He had with him his younger nephew, the brother of Tirumala, and being the eldest member of the family and the only surviving brother of four, he succeeded to the empire at the death of Śrîraṅga.

[1] *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 232.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

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Venkaṭapati died in the year A. D. 1614. During the score of years and more of his reign, he managed to keep the empire intact, and there is a record of his having stood a siege in Penugoṇḍa which he ultimately managed to beat off with great success with the assistance of Râṇa Jagadêva Râya, the viceroy of Channapaṭna and the Bâramahâls and Raghunâtha Nâyaka, the heir-apparent of Tanjore. The empire, however, suffered a dismemberment in that the viceroyalty of Śrîraṅgapaṭam underwent an extinction, as it were, and a new family of rulers, the Uḍayârs of Mysore set themselves up instead with the countenance, as it seems, of the emperor himself. Beyond these and the successful aggressions of the Golkonda rulers in the north-eastern corner of the territory, the empire remained intact. His death brought about a disputed succession which rent the empire in twain and left it permanently damaged. Venkaṭapati married four queens, but apparently had no children by any of them. One of them who belonged to the family of Gobburi chiefs, claimed to have brought forth a son and was bringing him up as their child. Venkaṭapati himself seems to have shared the general unbelief in regard to the matter and continued to bring up his nephew, Raṅga, the brother of the Śrîraṅgapaṭam viceroy and son of his elder brother Râma, almost as his adopted son, and had even raised him to the dignity of 'Chikkarâya' (Yuvarâja), meaning either prince or perhaps the prince heir-apparent. According to contemporary accounts, Venkaṭapati on his death-bed declared this Chikkarâya as his successor and handed over to him the imperial seal. For the moment the other party led by Gobburi Jagga, the brother of the queen concerned, was silenced. The discontented powers in the empire rallied round the infant son and were only waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the reigning ruler. Jagga managed to work himself into the confidence of the new ruler and found a suitable opportunity to put an end to the emperor and all his children and secure the throne for his own nephew. Practically all the governors of provinces, big and small, joined in this disloyal enterprise excepting one chief, Yâchamanâyaka, who was in touch with the court and had heard of the plot. He managed, through the good offices of the imperial washerman, to smuggle one of the boys, the second of the three sons of the emperor, out of the palace in which the royal family was held in prison by Jagga. The only ruler of importance on whose loyalty Yâchamanâyaka depended was, as mentioned

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already, the ruler of Tanjore, Achyutappanâyaka, and his son Raghunâtha, who played an important part in his father's administration.[1] Yâchamanâyaka therefore wanted to carry the prince off for safety to Tanjore. Getting wind of this, Jagga attacked and defeated him in the field, but Yâchama dodged his pursuers successfully and reached Kumbhakonam in safety, wherefrom an escort sent from Tanjore met them and took the prince and Yâchamanâyaka into Tanjore. This led naturally to Jagga's organizing his party, and a great battle was fought just two miles above the Grand Anicut of to-day, where the confederated enemies were defeated in behalf of Râma, the prince. Among the enemies, the principal were the Gobburi chiefs, who were the leaders, along with the other petty chiefs excepting perhaps those of Venkaṭagiri and Kâḷahasti in the territory dependent on the empire. The newly-founded family of Mysore stood aloof. We do not hear of the viceroy of Channapaṭna taking any part. The Nâyak of Gingee took a very prominent part and ultimately fell in the battle. So did the Nâyaka of Madura; and, if the Tanjore account is correct, there was even a Portuguese contingent on the side of the malcontents. This movement and its result damaged the empire much more than anything else and threw the gate open for the entry of the Muhammadan neighbours more effectively into the imperial territory. This Râmarâja succeeded, however, in tiding over his difficulties through the assistance of Tanjore so long as Tanjore maintained itself in full power. But Tanjore itself was at constant war with the Madura chiefs, and this intermittent warfare ultimately weakened both States. This weakness of Tanjore diminished the power of resistance of the empire and paved the way to its downfall.

The breakdown of the viceroyalty of Channapaṭna prevented the newly-founded kingdom of Mysore, obviously occupied by Bijâpur movements on the northern side, from taking any part in the general *mêleé* in the empire. Whatever it was, we may take it that the Bijâpur movements began to be more active and disconcerting. The empire being involved in its own struggle for existence, the distant chiefs were thrown upon their own resources for defending themselves against the enemies on the north. This gave an opportunity at once for distinction, which would lead on ultimately to independence. It was

[1] Extracts 86, 90 and 94, *Journal of Indian History*, vol. v, pp. 164 ff.

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about this period that the chiefship of Ikkêri, Keḷadi or Bednore was coming into prominence. The Channapaṭna viceroyalty was the first to suffer by the Bijâpur invasions. Invaders from Bijâpur seem to have begun their attacks on the territories under the Government of Bednore. Gradually absorbing the territory that constituted afterwards the Nawâbship of Śîra, they marched southwards against the territory dependent upon Channapaṭna and Bangalore, and they were able to overthrow that by a series of invasions first under Ranadullâh Khân and then under Mustafa Khân, the general-agents of Bijâpur. The Bijâpur armies were able to march farther south-east to the end of Bâramahâl and Salem districts, which constituted a part of the government of the viceroy at Channapaṭna and advanced from there into the province of Gingee, destined to play a very important part in the history of the Mahrattas. This process took a considerable number of years and was not complete before A.D. 1649, when Gingee actually fell into the hands of the invaders.

In the meanwhile, Golkonda activities began to receive a fresh stimulus through the genius of a new minister, well-known to history later on as Mîr Jumla ; Golkonda made gradual advance till it took possession of the territory round Pulicat, the Dutch settlement not far off, and absorbed all the territory right down to the province of Kâḷahasti and Conjeevaram in the immediate neighbourhood of Madras. It was this double pressure, one from the eastern, and the other from the western half of the northern frontier of the empire, that occupied all the available time and energy of the imperial headquarters and left the larger viceroyalties of the south to pursue their own particular plans of self-aggrandizement without much fear of active intervention on the imperial side. This general aspect of the forces in operation must be borne in mind in any discussion of the activities of any of these individual provincial governors, or of even the interloping activities of States like Bijâpur. Râma was succeeded by another Venkaṭa about A.D. 1635, and it was he who was responsible for granting the chârter to the two factors of the English East India Company, Cogan and Day, for erecting the factory at Fort St. George, which more than a century and a half later blossomed into the Madras Presidency of to-day.

The accession of this second Venkaṭapati to power was almost coincident with important changes in the frontiers of the Dekhan.

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The kingdom of Ahmadnagar passed out of existence in A.D. 1633, and just three or four years later, the war for the division of Ahmadnagar spoils between the Mughals on the one side and the Sultâns of Bijâpur and the Mahrattas on the other came to an end by the definitive treaty entered into between the parties arranged by the emperor Shâh Jahân. It was this treaty and the specific obligations it imposed upon the powers concerned that set Bijâpur free from the entanglements of the Mughals, as it did Golkonda to some extent, though Golkonda was not directly concerned. It was after this arrangement that Shâhjî the Mahratta cast in his lot with the state of Bijâpur and entered its service with the influential support of the commander-in-chief Ranadullâh Khân and his chief adviser Morar Pant. Shâhjî's entry into Bijâpur service was followed almost immediately by Bijâpur activities in the territory of what at present constitutes the state of Mysore.

To understand what brought about this Bijâpur intervention, a short retrospect of the history of Mysore is required. The state of Mysore came into being with the capture of Śrîraṅgapaṭam by Râja Woḍeyar in A.D. 1610. The possession of Śrîraṅgapaṭam was ratified by a charter issued by the emperor Venkaṭapati Râya just at a time when his position at Penugoṇḍa was actively threatened by a vigorous Golkonda attack. Whether there was any connection between the one and the other or no, Venkaṭapati Râya accepted the accomplished fact and allowed Râja Woḍeyar to rule the territory that hitherto was under the viceroy at Śrîraṅgapaṭam in A. D. 1612. This charge comprised at least two governments, possibly three, viz.,—(1) that under Śrîraṅgapaṭam itself; and (2) the territory with its headquarters at Channapaṭna, which happened to be under a governor, Jagadêva Râyal, who gradually extended the little province by the accession of the so-called Bâramahâl districts of Salem. On the north, this territory seems to have taken in the area ruled over by the Nâyak of Ikkêri, not to mention the petty chieftains and Poḷigars between Ikkêri and the frontiers of Śrîraṅgapaṭam. But Râja Woḍeyar's claims to all these were not acknowledged without question. He was able to take actual possession of Śrîraṅgapaṭam; and unless he took similar possession of the others also, he could not well establish his title. But Râja Woḍeyar, active man that he was, was not able to accomplish all these things in his life-time. It was left to his successor, his grandson, Chamarâja Woḍeyar by name, to achieve gradually the conquest of the

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territory immediately adjoining his own, that is, the Channapaṭna viceroyalty without the Bâramahâls, and having acquired this, he made an attempt upon the territory of Ikkêri. But Ikkêri was able to defend herself so long as the northern frontier was safe. Chamarâja was not able to accomplish much in that direction before he died. What he failed to do, his successor tried to effect. In order to divert the attention of his Ikkêri contemporary he brought about a Bijâpur invasion, from which he had himself to suffer. Among the petty Poḷigars that surrounded the territory of Ikkêri was one ruler by name Kengê Hanuma of Basavapaṭṭaṇa. This general and other discontented Poḷigars in the neighbourhood were set up against Vîrabadra Nâyaka of Ikkêri by Kaṇṭhîravanarasa. Vîrabhadra quelled the rebellion and dispossessed Kengê Hanuma, referred to in Persian authorities as Kengê Nâyaka, of his own Pâḷayam. The latter went to Bijâpur to solicit the aid of the Pâdshâh there. He found there another Poḷigar, Channaya of Nâgamaṅgala, similarly dispossessed by Chamarâja Woḍeyar himself. The one invitation and the other prevailed against such doubts as the Bijâpur court entertained as to the wisdom of this intervention, as about this time, A. D. 1638–39, the definitive treaty dictated by Shâh Jahân had established peace on the northern frontiers of Bijâpur. The invitation was accepted, and the first invasion of Mysore was undertaken. The commander-in-chief of Bijâpur, Ranadullâh Khân, was despatched at the head of 40,000 men for the purpose of reinstating Kengê Hanuma. Having succeeded easily in doing this, the Bijâpur army marched onward, taking possession of the three provinces of Ikkêri, Śîra and Bangalore, the last being under the viceroyalty of the great Jagadêva Râyal, lately conquered by the rulers of Mysore. Having succeeded in taking possession of these, as it is claimed, the army laid siege to Mysore and Śrîraṅgapaṭam simultaneously. The siege was prosecuted with great vigour, but the defence was equally vigorous. Ultimately the whole campaign ended in a treaty, which left the Mysore ruler all the territory south of the Kâvêri, that on the north of the river being taken over by Bijâpur; that is, Mysore lost her new conquests in the province of Jagadêva Râyal. This invasion is said to have taken place in the year of Kaṇṭhîravanarasa's accession, that is A. D. 1638–39. Though Kaṇṭhîravanarasa agreed to the humiliating treaty in his distress, he seems never to have thought of fulfilling it, as his subsequent attitude

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would clearly show. Ranadullâh Khân, on the contrary, considering the arrangement satisfactory, left Kengê Hanuma in charge of the newly-acquired territory and returned to Bijâpur. It was now the turn for Vîrabhadra Nâyaka of Ikkêri to appeal to headquarters. He sent an ambassador to Bijâpur and pointed out the unsatisfactory character of the arrangements and the unreliability of Kengê Hanuma, the agent left by Ranadullâh Khân. A Commission of which Nâgamaṅgala Channayya was a member was appointed to conduct an enquiry. Hanuma was none too ready to facilitate the enquiry, and Kaṇṭhîravanarasa showed as little inclination to act up to the treaty. Kengê Hanuma managed to get rid of the only member of the Commission who had knowledge of the locality and was likely to be troublesome. This management seems to have brought Ranadullâh Khân into disgrace, and another general was sent in his stead. This commander-in-chief and his successor Mustafa Khân were both alike unable to do much against Śrîraṅgapaṭam, which had been completely repaired and put into condition for standing a much longer siege than the previous one. A subsequent invasion by Abdullâh Khân and Hemajî Paṇḍit did nothing more than occupy the post of Turuvêkere, north-east of the Mysore district of to-day for a short time. The turn had now come for Kaṇṭhiravanarasa to break out of the boundary by which he was confined. He marched eastwards, took back the territory of the Channapaṭna viceroyalty, and entering the territory of Koṅgu, he defeated the guardian of the passes and took possession of Satya-maṅgalam, Sâmbaḷḷi, and Bombaḷḷi, all on the south and west of the Kâvêri, thus coming into hostility with the ruler of Madura. He incorporated territory to the extent of bringing his frontiers into direct touch with those of Ikkêri, Śîra and Chittaldrug on the north, Coorg on the west and the Koṅgu country on the south. This was the position during the reign of Kaṇṭhiravanarasa of Mysore, that is, through the twenty years[1] A. D. 1639–59, so far as this area is concerned.

This period of Kaṇṭhiravanarasa's activity was almost coeval with the rule of Tirumal Nâyak, in many respects perhaps the greatest of the Nâyaks of Madura. Tirumal Nâyak apparently came to the throne about ten years earlier and had borne an influential part in the

[1] *Ancient India*, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, pp. 292–5.

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administration of Madura some years before that. The great civil war of Vijayanagar consequent on the massacre of the royal family after the death of Venkaṭa I threw all the great Nâyaks excepting the Nâyak of Tanjore into opposition to the empire. During the rule, therefore, of the emperor Râma and his successor Venkaṭapati II extending from A.D. 1616 to 1642, the position was one of comparative inactivity resulting in no harm to the empire, as the two Mussalmân powers in the neighbourhood were occupied in their own struggles against the advancing tide of the Mughals. Venkaṭapati during his life-time pursued a policy of non-intervention, letting his feudatories fight it out among themselves, if need be, unmolested from the imperial headquarters. This is how we can explain the aggressions of Râja Woḍeyar, and particularly his successor Chamarâja Woḍeyar against the province of Channapaṭna and the Bâramahâls. Chamarâja advanced as far east as Hoskoṭe which he besieged, but did not capture. In the meanwhile, a change seems also to have come over the southern viceroyalties, namely, those of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura. It will be remembered that Tanjore remained thoroughly loyal and was primarily instrumental in setting up Râmarâja on the throne. After the death of Raghunâtha Nâyaka and under his successor, Vijayarâghava, the same relations seem to have continued substantially, Tanjore and Madura fighting out their wars between themselves whenever occasion offered. Throughout the reign of Venkaṭapati, the administration seems to have been carried on for him by his brothers-in-law, the Velugoṭi chiefs of Kâḷahasti. Among these two names figure prominently, Damarla Venkaṭa and Damarla Ayya. It is the administration of the brothers-in-law, as the Company's correspondence[1] describes their

[1] *The Dagh-Register, 1640-41*, p. 185 gives an account in some detail, which Sir Wm. Foster describes in the following words :—

'The name of this Nayak appears to have been Damarla Venkatadra or Damarla Venkatappa. The Dutch records use the latter form, which seems the more correct ; and they add that he was lord of from twelve to fifteen thousand soldiers ; his chief abode, they say, was at " Wandawas " (i.e., Wandiwash, about sixty miles south-west of Madras), but he spent most of his time at court, leaving his brother, Ayappa Nayak, who resided at Poonamallee (thirteen miles west of Madras), to administer his territories for him. We infer that Damarla Venkatappa was the chief supporter of the then Raja of Chandragiri, who, as the representative of the ancient dynasty of Vijayanagar, claimed dominion over all the Nayaks of the south ; and this inference is borne out by an entry in a list compiled at Fort St. George in 1750 of the old Madras farmans and grants, noted the grant obtained by Day, which is stated to have been given by " Damarla Moodu

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relationship to Venkaṭa, that seems to have brought Venkaṭapati's administration into some little contempt, as the viceroys seemed to have pursued their own policies unmolested by the Emperor. It is in these circumstances that the chief factors of the East India Company, with its chief factory at Armagam at the time, obtained a charter which gave them Fort St. George and laid the foundations of the southern Presidency. The Viceroy Damarla Venkaṭa, with his headquarters at Wandiwash, was ruler of a big province with a very large revenue. He remained, however, at headquarters and directed the administration for the emperor. His province was actually managed by his brother Ayyappa, who seems to have held the government of Poonamallee, thirteen miles west of Madras. It was from these two that was obtained the grant of Fort St. George, which, in the Company's correspondence, is ascribed to the great Nâyaka Damerla Venkaṭa. Naturally, therefore, when king Venkaṭa died childless, the brothers-in-law were not anxious that his nephew Śrîraṅga should succeed. They seem to have ingratiated themselves with the other governors and brought about a possibility of united action in opposition to this succession. Venkaṭa died in October, 1642, and after a delay of about a month or two, Śrîraṅga succeeded to the throne.[1] The discontent among the viceroys in regard to this

Venkatapa (*sic*) Naick, son of Damarla Chenama Naick, the Grand Vizier of the foresaid sovereign (i.e. the Chandragiri Raja) and Lord General of Carnatica" (*Treaties*, vol. vi). . . . It is clear that Damarla Venkatappa was a person of great influence whom neither the Dutch nor the Portuguese could hope to intimidate, and whose support would be of great value to the proposed English settlement.'

'In a later volume (*The Dagh-Register, 1643–44*, p. 244) the yearly value of the Nayak's district is put at about 6,00,000 *pardaos*. Ayappa Nayak is described in the 1641–42 volume of the same series (pp. 272, 289), as brother-in-law of the then "King of Carnatica," i.e. the Raja Venkatapati.' (See note 2, p. xxxvii, *The English Factories in India, 1637–41*).

[1] 'The Golconda army had overrun part of his territory, and the rest (including Armagon itself) had been occupied by a neighbouring Nayak, to whom apparently the defence of the frontier had been entrusted by his uncle, Venkatapati, the King of Vijayanagar. At the beginning of October the King died, and after a short delay this nephew was elevated to the throne as Sri Ranga Rayalu, though many of the other Nayaks were opposed to his succession, and gave him a great deal of trouble.'

'The Naique of Armagon is absolutely beaten out of all his country, it being possest part by the King of Golquondah[s] people and the major part by Rayalwar. The Moors have encamped themselves, or rather seated themselves for the warr, at a place called Cowle Geldancke, the chiefest place in all that country; and Rayalawar hath a strong garrison Vinquatagery and Armagon. Indeed, wee

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succession showed itself immediately. The reason seems to have been that Śrîraṅga somehow already showed himself to be a man who disapproved strongly of the policy of the *roi fainéant*, his predecessor, and wanted to pursue a more vigorous policy by bringing about the active union of all the provinces of the empire under the lead of the emperor himself.[1] This was not exactly a mere personal predilection of the emperor. The circumstances of 1642 actually demanded the pursuit of a more vigorous policy than that of the score of years previous. The definitive treaty between the Muhammadan states of the Dekhan and the Mughals set free the states of Bîjâpur and Golkonda on the northern side, and their intervention was sought no doubt against the Nâyak of Ikkêri by Kaṇṭhiravanarasa of Mysore. Bîjâpur showed itself quite ready to intervene in the affairs of the south. Either about that time or a little later, it seems to have been more or less as a direct result of the accession of Śrîraṅga, that Tirumal Nâyak made a similar appeal to Golkonda for intervention. Tirumal Nâyak's policy must have been directed by the movements of Mysore which, under Chamarâja, the predecessor of Kaṇṭhirava, had, as already stated, been active in the direction of Channapaṭna. The next advance of Mysore would be into the Koṅgu, directly menacing the northern frontier of Madura. Whether this led Tirumala to bring about the invasion of Mysore soon after the succession of Kaṇṭhiravanarasa does not appear clear in our authorities. But that he pursued the policy of his predecessor, namely, of hostility towards the empire, and sought the intervention of Golkonda soon after the accession of Śrîraṅga is fairly on record. Tirumal Nâyak's effort to bring about the alliance of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura, failed through Tanjore betraying the secret to the empire, and Tirumala turned for assistance to Golkonda, and contrived that an attack should be made therefrom upon Vellore.[2] It was probably

are of opinion that the Moores will have all this country ere many years; for what with the Kinge of Vizapore [Bîjâpur] on one side and the Kinge of Gonquondah on the other, the Gentues themselves being divided among themselves, it is even impossible their country cann continue.'

O. C. 1792 contains substantially the same information in a slightly different version. See note 2 on p. 44. (See *The English Factories in India, 1642-45*, p. xxviii and p. 44 respectively.)

[1] See paper on Śrî-Ranga by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, pp. 365-75.

[2] See *The Nâyaks of Madura*, by R. Satyanatha Aiyar, pp. 126-35.

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during this attack that Śivappa Nâyaka marched from Ikkêri to the assistance of the emperor and caused the Golconda army to raise the siege. It was then that Śrîraṅga realized that he must somehow or other instil into the southern feudatories a policy of loyalty to the empire. The accession of Śrîraṅga naturally brought about the dismissal of the most powerful of the two brothers, Dâmarla Venkaṭa, from his position of authority. Dâmarla Venkaṭa, as early as December 1642[1] hardly two months after the succession of Śrîraṅga, intrigued with Golkonda and was put under arrest by Śrîraṅga's orders; but his powerful brother Ayyappa brought pressure to bear from both the northern and southern provinces in 1643, and the Company's records mention that Venkaṭa was likely to be released on account of this pressure.[2] It was then that Śrîraṅga sought the

[1] 'The warrs and broyls increasing in this country, and now (by reason of our Great Naiques imprisonment (*) drawing nere to us, wee latelie raised a third bulwark of turfe; and wanting gunns to mount thereon, have resolved that the *Advice* shall spare us foure minion for that purpose, because there is noe danger of enemie in her way to Bantam, and when shee comes there shee may be againe supplyed.

[2] 'If this cannot be supplied, the surplus should be returned in gold; for as for other commodities, they will not of (f) of our handes, this countrie being all in broiles, the old Kinge of Karnatt being dead. Soe is the Naique of Armagon, whose countrie is all in the handes of the Moores, and (*sic*) whoe will ere long by all likelyhood bee maisters of all this countrie; for our Naique, not findeing the respect from the new Kinge as he expected, did make profer to assist the Moores; but ere he could bringe his treason about, 'twas discoverd d(and) he apprehended by the Kinge, who hath seaz'd greate parte of his countrie. But wee beleve hee will be forc'd suddainely to restore it againe and relaease him, for our Naiques brother and kindsmen are levying an armie for his rescue; whoe, with the helpe of the Moores on the other side (whoe are within halfe a dayesi a journey of each other † will force his libertie or ruine the whole kingdome.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1642–45*, p. 80.)

'And from Pullicat about a moneth since a piscash was sent by the hand of their merchant Moileya (alies Chinana Chitty) unto the present King of Karnatt, estimated to be worth 4,000 (pagodas). The Portugauls from St. Thoma have likewise been with theire piscash with the Kinge; but it comes far shorte of the former, for all that they carried coold not amount to full 200 pa(godas). Somewhat is expected from us; but until our Naique and the Kinge bee eyther reconcyled or absolutely outed, wee intend to stand uppon our guard and keepe what wee have' (*The English Factories in India, 1642–1645*, p. 81.)

* 'Damarla Venkatappa had been detected in intrigues with Golconda and had thereupon been imprisoned by the new King and deprived of all his territory, with the exception of Punamallee and the surrounding districts (see p. 80); also *The Dagh-Register, 1643–44*, p. 244 (*The English Factories in India, 1642–45*, p. 70).

† Soms particulars of the advance of the Golconda invaders will be found at p. 244 of the Dagh-Register for 1643–44. They had just occupied Venkatagiri. The release and reinstatement of Damarla are mentioned on p. 259 of the same volume.

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assistance, probably of Mysore, but certainly of Bijâpur. Bijâpur agreed and marched to his relief for a consideration of 1,50,000 pagodas and twenty-four elephants.[1]

It was about this time that the Company made the first move to get from Śrîraṅga a confirmation of their charters, after this initial success against Golkonda and the machinations of Dâmarla Venkaṭa.[2]

Śrîraṅga found the time to undertake active operations against the rebel vassals of the south. There is a note in a letter of the Company's servants, dated October 1645, that Śrîraṅga had

[1] 'This countrey hath byn, and still is at present, all in broyles, one Nague against another, and most against the King; which makes all trade at a stand. But the King, by means of the King of Vizapore, whoe for 15 lacke of pagothaes and 24 elephants hath sente some thousands of horse for his assistance, is like to have the better.'—(*The English Factories in India, 1642–45*, pp. 115–6.)

[2] 'The wars in these parts made them glad to entertain some of these men as soldiers; 'for the Moores but five weekes past had advanced with there armes within three myles of Pullicatt, and sent unto the Dutch Governor to surrender up these castle; and we did suddenly expect the same. But shortly after the Jentues came down with a greate power, gave the Moores battle, rowted there armie and put the Moores to flight beyond Armagon* where they are now agathering a head againe;

* The Dutch Gevernor of Pulicat, writing to Batavia some months later, reported that on reaching that fortress from Masulipatam on July 15 (N.S.), he found that the forces of the King of Golconda, under 'Casy Aly' (? Kasim Ali), had subdued the whole of the neighbouring towns without opposition and were demanding the submission of Pulicat itself, promising at the same time that the Dutch should retain all their privileges. Of this demand no notice was taken and the invaders, finding the fortress amply equipped, contended themselves with a demonstration at a safe distance. The Nayak of Gingi, who was then in rebellion against Sriranga, advanced with the intention of joining the Golconda army; whereupon the King recalled Kistappa Nayak, who was operating against the Gingi chief, and restored Chinnana to favour. Kistappa fell unexpectedly on the Moors and completely routed them, killing their commander and several other men of importance. (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xiv., No. 431; *The Dagh-Register, 1644–45*, p. 325, September 8, 1644.)

'Nay, such a storme is prepareing for us that tis to bee feared will even whorle us from this coast. Our neighbours the Dutch have bine longe a projecting and now they have wrought it that Mollay, their merchant, is like to bee as powerfull with this King as the Serkayle is att Gulcundah; and, to ingratiate him thoroughly into his favour, they have assisted Mollay with men and guns for the subdueing of castles of our Nague for the king, or rather their owne use; by which means our Nague is cashered and hee substituted, and is allso made his Treasurer and dus even in a manner command all.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1642–45*, pp. 193–4 and note, September 8, 1644; also *Ibid.*, p. 154.)

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brought the enemies under control and had restored himself to his original position.[1]

It was then that Greenhill's mission went to Vellore and obtained a charter for the grant of Fort St. George. Mîr Jumla nominally in behalf of Golkonda, was not likely to take his defeat quietly. We

[1] 'Wee have bin often tymes sollicited by this Kinge to give him a vissitt, which never was yett done to him or his predecessours since our first arivall heere, which is now seven yeares allmost ; soe, if wee any longer deny his reasonable request, wee may suddainely expect his just displeasure and peradventure have a seidge about us, as our neighbours the Hollanders of one syde and Portugalls of the other, which are seldome free, notwithstanding their great power and defenc, who hath twenty for one more then wee ; soe that, if the like should happen unto us, what can you expect of 50 well and sicke men to defend your estate and fort against the kings power, when one of his merchants hath queld the Hollanders soe, that they dare not stirr out of their fort or putt their feete ashoare in this kings dominion ? And now the King himselfe hath taken it to hart, in the behalfe of Mollay, his cheife counceller, to commence warrs against the Hollanders. Tyme will produce the event thereof ; for it is growne to that height that the Hollander must leave this Kings country, or Mollay fall into utter distruction. Soe that wee have nothing more to trust unto then our civil comportment and respect to the Kinge and great ones, which hath hetherto prevayled before the Hollanders potencie ; and at present are in such esteeme with the King and great ones that the whole trade of this kingdome is proffered unto the Honourable English East India Company. And for the mayntenance of the same and the Kings favour, wee are . . . . resolved within this few dayes to send upp Mr. Henry Greenhill, with foure other English souldiers for his attendance, for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr. Cogan by the Great Nague, under whose protection formerly wee liv'd, but now the Kinge hath taken his power and this cuntry from him ; soe that his power and protection is of noe longer vallue. Soe now findeing a fitting oppertunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirm'd, with the addition of a great many more, by this now reigneing King, which hath brought all his great lords unto his comand, which hath not bin this 40 yeares before. This by Mollayes assistance wee make noe question to obtayne. And another reason for the sendling of Mr. Greenhill to the King is because that our powerfull friends the Governur etc., of Pullecatt would make us beleive that Mollay is a villiane and a heighway robber and that wee, in receiveing those goods of our merchants which Mollay hath stollen and sould to them, are as bad as hee, and therefore will take those goods out of our shipps where soever they meete them, and to this effect hath given their commissions to all their commanders to search out shipps wheresoever they meete them thinkeing thus to buncke us out of 400 bales of goods which our merchants hath in Fort St. George and at our washers in possession ; soe should we disapoint our Surratt President of his Mocho shipps ladeinge of goods (and better goods wee know hee cannot have for that place). Therefore, untill wee have his approbation, wee are resolved to our power to maynetayne our merchants in that just cause that wee well know they are in, in regard wee finde they doe truely indeavour your proffitt and their owne credditts ; and for these goods, wee well know they have paid to the uttermost vallue of them, and soe must wee likewise. Therefore, because the Hollanders shall not say that wee are the receivers of stollen goods, wee doe send Mr. Greenhill and four other English men unto the Kinge, to beseech his hand and signett to testifie to the whole world that Mollay is noe

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find him working with Bijâpur as against Śrîraṅga. He also made proposals to Kaṇṭhirava Narasa of Mysore for assistance. We find a record again, dated January 1646, that Śrîraṅga was attacked by Golkonda and Bijâpur.[1]

villiane nor theiſe, and what warr is commenced againſt the Hollanders is by His Majesties command, as well as the goods taken from his subjects belonging to the Hollanders, sould by his officers with the same command. Soe that when wee have this from the Kinge under his owne hand and signett, and that by his owne hand is delivered when wee shall have sent the coppie thereof to the Governour of Pullecatt, hee will no longer threaten us for the receiveinge of stollen goods.'

The King of Vijayanager at 'Arlour' to the Agent at Fort St. George, September 25, 1645 (O. C. 1948)

'Zree Seringo Raylo, King of Kings, a God in his kingdome, in armes invincible, etc., unto the Captain of the English, these. The Hollanders, who have their residence in Pallacatt, not valuinge my letters, hath constrained mee to commence awarre against them, the charge whereof is committed unto Chenana Chetty [Malaya : see p. 50], whom you are to assist therein with artillery, powder, shott, fireworks ; and in soe doing you shall pleasure us. Whatever goods appertained unto the Hollanders in my kingdome I accompt it as my peculiar and proper wealth which, being all come to Madraspatam, wee will that you buy and pay monies for the same, proceeding therein as Chenana Chety and Seradra shall prescribe, not failing at all in its performance. And whereas I am given to understand by Chenana Chety that you intend to send upp a man of quality unto us (I) am very well pleased, for that you have allwaies esteemed my ordinances ; and as Chenana Chety will advize, soe shall you bee sure to receive content ; nor bee you induced to beleive the contrary, but confide upon our word and along with him ; for whose secure repayre unto our court this our firman shall suffice. As for the other matters, Chinana Chety will advise you.'

'Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Sri Ranga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nayaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country.'

The (*English Factories in India, 1642–45*, pp. 289-91 October 1, 1645, and p. 285, Sri Ranga's letter; also p. xxv, Volume for 1646-50 of the same series.)

[1] 'How the warres stand betwixt the King and Vinagar [Vijayanagar] and the Hollanders.' 'Ever since the seige of Pullacatt, which was begune the 12th August last, the King hath bine in warres with the King of Vizapore [Bijâpur] and in civell wares with three of his great Nagues ; soe that he to this tyme never had opportunitie to send a considerable foorse aginst Pullacatt, more then 4,000 souldiers that lay before it to stopp the wayes that no goods should goe in or out. And now the King of Gulcondak hath sent his generall, Meir Gumlack [MÎr Jumla], with a great armie to appose this King ; who is advance [d] to the Jentues cuntry, where the King hath sent Mallay, who hath got togeather 50,000 souldiers (as reporte saith), whereof 3,000 souldiers he sent for from Pullacatt, to keepe the Mores from intrenching upon this Kings country.'

'Among the *Hague Transcripts* at the India Office (Series i, vol. xv, No. 484) is an interesting diary kept at Pulicat at this time. According to this the three rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura, and 'Sinsier [Gingi?], who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December, 1645. It also says

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It was then that Mîr Jumla was able to take possession of Udayagiri, which was the capital of the eastern viceroyalty from Mallaiya, the successor in command in these parts of Dâmarla Venkaṭa.[1]

The surrender of Udayagiri threw Mallaiya into disgrace and the change of command in the face of the enemy gave them the advantage. Golkonda and Bijâpur now laid siege to Vellore together and defeated Śrîraṅga Râya.[2] Mîr Jumla, in consequence, conquered all the districts and was within two days' march of Madras on his way to Ginjee.[3]

that the English had sent a mission to court with a present of about 1,000 *pardaos* in spices, looking-glasses, etc., and had promised at the King's request to buy the goods taken from the Dutch. In return they had asked for the confirmation of their *previous qaul and this* had been granted.'

[1] 'This countrey is at present full of warrs and troubles, for the King and three of his Nagues are at varience, and the King of Vizapoores armie is come into this country on the one side and the King of Gulcondah uppon the other, both against this King. The Meir Jumlah is Generall for the King of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the Kings castles, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this kinkdome; where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumlah, uppon composition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free; but how hee will be received by the King we shall advise you by the next, for this newes came unto us but yesterday.'

'In the Dutch document already quoted this fort is called "Oudegiere" (Udayagiri?). Its situation is not known. (It is Udayagiri in the Nellore Dt., always known one of the strongest of Vijayanagar Forts and the stronghold at the Eastern Viceroyalty.) It could hardly be the place of that name in Nellore District, as this would be too far north.'

(E. P. 25, January 21, 1646, and note 1; p. 26, February 10, 1646 and note 2, *The English Factories in India, 1646–50*).

[2] 'Then comes a long silence, but from the Dutch records we learn that Śrîraṅga, after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijâpur army, and that the Nâyaks, sobered by the successes of the Muhammadans, returned to their allegiance, and promised to assist the King in maintaining the independence of his country. The siege of Pulicat ceased with the fall of Malaya from power; and in May a fresh lease of the town and district was obtained from Sri Ranga.'

The English Factories in India 1646–50, p. xxv.

[3] The warres and fammine doth still furiously rage in these parts, and wee thinke that there wilbe a period sett unto the former before the latter; for the Anna Bobb* Meir Jumlah hath taken the government of Pullicatte and St. Thome, settinge the country all in order as hee goeth along, and is now within two dayes marteh of the Kings court and noe body commeth to oppose him, the fammine havinge almost destroyed all the kingdome; for out of our little towne there hath dyed noe less than 3,000 people since September last; in Pullicatte as report saith, 15,000; and in St. Thome no less.

The English Factories in India, 1646–50 (January), p. 76.

* Al-Nawab.

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There is a note in October 1647 that the Company obtained a renewal of the grant from Mîr Jumla and that the Râyalu had fled the country.[1]

Mîr Jumla marched upon Gingee, having strengthened himself by an alliance with Bijâpur. In front of the walls of Gingee, the Bijâpur contingent went over to the side of Golkonda, and Golkonda allowed the Bijâpur troops to occupy Gingee. The Bijâpur army assumed possession of Gingee and Tegnapatam near Cuddalore. It was then that the Râja of Karnâṭak, that is, Śrîraṅga, found his position untenable and fled to Mysore, which was then at war with Bijâpur.[2]

[1] 'Wee had almost forgotten to advise you that the 16,000 trials of eight President Baker left us indebted at the coast at his goinge to Bantam was lent us by the King of Gulcondah(s) Generall, who hath almost conquer'd this kingdome and reigneth as King under the title of Annabob (see p. 70). This 16,000 rials hee lent us for one twelve months gratis; which debt wee discharged at the arrivall of the *Farewell*. So, in requitall of the Annabobs curtezie, wee gave him one of the two brass guns you sent out by the *Mary*, which hee would not bee denied of, whither hee had lent us this money or no; otherwise he would not have confirmed our old privilidges formerlye graunted us by the now fledd Jentue King. So upon the deliveringe of this gunn hee gave it us here under his hand that hee received the gunn in full and contentable sattisfaction for the loan of 16,000 rials of eight to the Company the whole space of one twelve month, and never hereafter would desire any thing elce for the same; and withall confirme'd under the King of Gulcondah(s) great seale all our former privilidges in ample manner, as it was graunteed unto us by the aforesaid fledd Jentue King. Soe by this means the gun hath saved you three tymes the vallue of it, by accomplishing too good acts at once.'

A letter he carried declared that food was dear and cotton goods were difficult to obtain, as the country was being harried by fresh incursions of the Golconda and Bijâpur armies, with the result that Porto Novo and Pondicherri were 'in a manner ruin'd,' while Tegnapatam, the other chief centre of the piece-goods trade in that region, had to buy immunity from a like fate by 'continueall presents.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1646–50*, pp 166–7, October 9, 1647, and also Letter by *Ivy* to Bantam same vol. p. xxx August 19, 1648.)

[2] 'On the eastern side of India, at the beginning of the period under review, the Carnatic was still being harassed by the incursions of its Muhammadan foes, and by their constant dissensions and conflicts. The forces of the King of Bijapur had conquered the whole of the district centring in the famous fortress of Gingi, including the seaboard round Tegnapatam, of which Malaya was made Governor; and the Dutch promptly took advantage of this to obtain (August, 1651) a grant of trade at that and the neighbouring ports (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xvii, No. 532; vol. xviii, No. 539). The unhappy Raja of the Carnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur (*Ibid*, vol. xvii, No. 518). Meanwhile, to the northwards, the Nawab Mir Jumla, as general of the Golconda forces, was busy consolidating his position.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1651–54*, pp. xxiv–xxv.)

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It was about this time that the activities of Mîr Jumla brought him into hostilities with Bijâpur, and war broke out soon after the fall of Gingee, possibly in the year 1651.[1]

The contest between the two lasted for some time and ultimately Mîr Jumla was able to enter into a treaty with Bijâpur, paying six hundred thousand pagodas for the retention of his conquests made in the territories of Śrîraṅga.[2]

The war was apparently waged for the division of the spoil. Bijâpur, in her turn, now became very active, marched across and captured Penukoṇḍa and wanted permission to march on to Gingee through the territory belonging to Mîr Jumla. Mîr Jumla declined to grant them free passage through his territory and sought the assistance of Mysore, and made direct overtures to the emperor Śrîraṅga. This was in 1652. The Bijâpur army marched up to Vellore, took possession of it, and left the emperor with Chandragiri for his capital and a few districts dependent thereon. This was soon after March A.D. 1653.[3]

[1] 'Warrs being commenced betweene the Moors of Gulcondah and Vizapore, who, haveing shared this afflicted kingdome, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poore Jentue, hopeing their mutuall destruction, watches opportunity to breake of his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have bin within two daies journey of this place, and tis reported that the Nabob with his whole armey is besieged among the hills of Gulcondah, whither hee retired for the more safty, by the Vizaporias; which hath soe distracted this country that wee could not adventure your monies abroad without to much Hazard.'
(*The English Factories in India, 1651–54*, p. 99, January 14, 1652)

[2] 'Have already advised the troubles 'ariseing from the quarrell betweene the Vizapore and Golcandah Moores; but lately peace is concluded betweene the two Kings, being bought by the last for 600,000 (some say 900,000) pagodas; for which sume hee is againe restore'd to possession of his late conquests, part whereof had in this bickering beene surprized by the Vizaporeans, whose King for these many months was reported dead, though now resuscitated and said to bee in better health then for diverse passed yeares.'
(*The English Factories in India, 1651–54*, p. 111, January 27, 1652.)

[3] 'The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijâpur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Pennukonda in March, 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golconda troops on his way to Gingi; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who, alarmed at the success of the Bijâpur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijâpuris out of the country (*Hague Transcripts*, series i, vol. xix, No. 550 (i)). The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N.S.), which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja, by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (*Ibid.*, No. 551). Meanwhile the Dutch were endeavouring to live

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Soon after followed the attempt of Mîr Jumla at independence, which Abdullâh Quṭb Shâh had long suspected. His efforts to bring his powerful lieutenant to heel threw him first into the hands of Bîjâpur and then into the hands of the Mughal Prince, Aurangzeb, actively operating in behalf of his father in the Dekhan at the time.[1]

as peaceably as possible with both contending powers. This was not easy in the case of Mir Jumla, who (as we have seen) was much irritated by their refusal to grant passes to Indian ships desirous of trading with Ceylon, Achin, and all districts in which the Dutch were striving to establish a monopoly.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1651-54*, p. xxxiii.)

[1] 'It is interesting to note that the Dutch at this time were negotiating with the Danes for the purchase of Tranquebar, mainly in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the Portuguese or the English. The Danes, however, though in a somewhat critical position, decided to hold out in hope of relief from Europe, though they promised to give the Dutch the first offer, should they be compelled to give up their settlement.

'In September 1654, the English factors reported a fresh development in the unstable politics of the Coast. The King of Golconda, Abdullah Qutb Shah, had long been jealous of the power wielded by his servant, Mir Jumla, and an open breach had now occurred between them. (p. 290). The latter was suspected of an intention of making himself an independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic; but he was well aware of the difficulty of standing alone, and after making overtures to the King of Bijapur, he finally succumbed to the intrigues of Aurangzeb, who, as Viceroy of the Deccan, was eagerly watching for an opportunity to interfere. Mir Jumla agreed to enter the service of the Mughal Emperor; but rumours of his intention so alarmed Abdullah Qutb Shah that he sought to win back the friendship of his former minister, and the latter hesitated until the imprisonment of his family at Golconda towards the end of 1655—an act provoked by the haughty behaviour of his son—precipitated the crisis and drove Mir Jumla into the arms of Aurangzeb, with disastrous results to the Golkonda kingdom.'

'It hath been no small miserye that this poore heathen country hath suffered any tyme these ten years almost, since the Moores of Vizapore on one side and those of Gulcondah on the other side first made inroads upon it. And now, when wee hoped all would have beene put in some good posture of government, to continue still those miseries (or rather to adde a greater burthen to it) our Nabob is lately up in armes against the King of Gulcondah his master, whose commands he slighteth, intending (soe farre as is conceived) to keepe what part of the country hee hath conquered to himselfe; which if hee can accomplish, hee will soone bee as great a king as his master, and his yearly revenew little inferrour to it. What the issue to those things wilbee, the Almighty only knoweth; in the meane tyme wee that live here amongst them shalbee sure never to want troubles on every side.'

In the booke (1) of transactions with the Nabob [you will] read how hee hath intrenched on our privileges [in Madras]—patam; which was begunn by the Braminees me[ntioned in Mr.] Bakers tyme, who would take no notice of their [actions, but] supported them. . . . In the meane tyme weele str[ive to keep what] wee have, until better tymes. The said Nabob is [in opposition] to the King his master; nor can wee divine the i[ssue of this un] certaine warr from such varrious reports as pass in [these parts; but] suppose, if the King

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Mîr Jumla got confirmation of his possession of the Karnâṭak from Shâh Jahân, and continued his trading activities in the region up to July 1656.[1]

In November 1656, Śrîranga had recovered a good deal and was laying siege to Pulicat as against Mîr Jumla.[2]

oremaster him, heele fly to the [Mogull for] shelter, who already begins to take his part.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1650–55*, p.xxxiv, also p. 290, September 18, 1654; and p. 46, February 4, 1656, *ibid.* vol. for 1655–60.)

[1] 'The report runs that this King will send an army against Golcunda and Decan [i.e. Bijapur] in favour of Miere Jimla, lately generall of the King of Gulcondah[s] forces, who, haveing subdued the large territory of Ram Rajah, (1) is reported now to bee in rebellion, proffering Sha Jehan to doe his best to subject the whole country of Gulcondah to his more absolute command. If this warr goe forwards, it may perhaps bee as dangerous to send the saltpeeter by the way of Brampore [Burhanpur] as Ahmedabad, for if the prince Oran Zaeb have occasion for any, noe doubt but hee will stop it, and then it may bee a businesse very troublesome to gett mony for it.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, pp. 62–3, February 6, 1656.)

[2] 'This long imprisoned King at last returned to his citty, after (by reporte) the receipt of good news from the Mogull, who they say keepes the Nobob by him and will not permit him to returne to these countreys againe, and hath given him all the Curnatt [Carnatic] country to his disposall and yeares tribitt free. This is reported for truth; whither soe or noe, [I] knowe not. But for certaine hee [i.e. Mir Jumla] hath lately sent an army of neare 10,000 horse to take possession of Curnatt, and at his comeing into the citty had not lesse then 50,000 horse and foote, richly acoutred, which are all in pay, that marched before him.'

'The story regarding the disposal of the Carnatic was, in effect, true. Abdullah Kutb Shah had done his best to retain that rich province, which had been conquered on his behalf by the Nawab; but Shah Jahan decided that it must be treated as Mir Jumla's *jagir*, held directly from the Emperor, and the Golconda monarch was ordered to recall his officers from the province.* As a Madras letter of July 7, 1656 (written, it is true, before the decision was known there), says:

'As for this country about us, tis indifferent quiett; continueing yett under the Nabobs government, whose officers still remaine in theire places of command, though the army bee much lessned by his departure.'

'In which respect wee have not as yett broake their seales, but deferre their opening until wee bee better informed to whome they belong, or the countrey settled in the Gentue Kings possession, which would not only secure us from future trouble but much advance your affaires in these parts, for some good service wee have done him in assisting Conar Cittee [Koneri Chetti], his generell for these quarters; which business, if the success be sutable to the beginning, this place will bee better worth your owning then ever.

'Alsoe it was reported that the king of Gulcondah had lett the countrey of Carnaticum again to the Roylaes; uppon which the Kinge of the Jentues father-in-law, called Vengum Rajah, with a partye of souldiers tooke parte of the

* 'See Professor Sarkar's Aurangzib, vol. i, p. 245.

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According to the Dutch records of January 1657, Koneri Chetti who was entrusted with the operations in behalf of Śîrirańga betrayed him and made overtures to Tupâki Krishnappa, Mîr Jumla's lieutenant.[1]

countrye, and came to Peddapollium ;* which newes when Sidelee heard, not raising siege nor comeing hither, returned to Pullecat.

'And all the country hereabouts (Punnamalee castle excepted) rendered to the Jentue Kings obedience, who, now, in the nabobs absence, is up in arms for the recovering of his kingdome, and hath already recovered a large part.'

'Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecatt altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counterpoize the Nabobs party and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest ; which is much to bee doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brampore with a formidable army ; but tis supposed Vizapore (Bijapur) will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, hee rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was received in state by the comanders with more then accustomed honour in such cases ; which, considered with his alliance, and neere relation to Topa Kistnapa, the Nabobs generall togither with other circumstances, and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnapa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the kings army.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, pp. 91, 94, 95, 97 and 98.)

[1] 'And all the country hereabouts (Punnamalee castle excepted) rendered to the Jentu King's obedience, who now, in the Nabobs absence, is up in armes for the recovering of his kingdome, and hath already recovered a large part.

'Next from a letter sent by the Madras factors to Bantam, dated, November 5, we learn that—

'All these countries that were formerly conquered by the Nabob are now of late (in his absence at the Moghulls court) upon the revolt, the Gentue King with diverse Nagues being in arms ; some of whose forces are now at the seidge of Paleacatt, where tis said most of the Nabobs riches are stowed. Here is nothing but takeing and retakeing of places, with parties of both sides, in all places ; soe that tis very dangerous giving out monies for goods in these tymes. But wee hope ere long 'twill be settled, especially for us, if the King recovers his countrey.

'And finally we have the report made to the Company by Greenhill and Chamber on January 28, 1657.

'The warres in these parts have been an exeeding hinderance to the progress of your business in this place ; and the more through the treachery of Conarcity, whom the Jentue King made his generall in these parts about Punnomalee ; which castle might have been easily brought in subjection, but hee delayed the time until the Nabobs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him ; whereupon hee basely fledd to this towne with his army.'

'Nor are our Dutch neighbours in Pullecatt altogether secure, for all their strength, should the Gentue King overcome, who yet is able to counterpoize the Nabobs party and may happily get the day at last, if the Nabob come not in person to conserve his conquest ; which is much to bee doubted, though his party report that hee is on the way from Agra as farre as Brahmpore with a formidable army ; but tis supposed Vizapore [Bijapur] will take him up by the way. As for Conarcittee, he rendered himselfe up to the Moores as a prisoner, but was

* Possibly Peddanaikpetta (a ward of Madras) is meant.

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This latter is said to have inflicted a defeat upon Śrîraṅga in September of that year.[1]

This brought about the siege of Madras in behalf of Mîr Jumla.[2]

received in state by the comanders with more than accustomed honour in such cases; which, considered with his alliance and neere relation to Topa Kistnapa, the Nabobs generall, togither with other circumstances and observations in his present deport and continued respect from ditto Kistnapa, are sufficient to ground the generall suspicion of his betraying the king's army.'

'A letter from Batavia, written towards the end of January, 1657 (*Hague Transcripts*, ser. i, vol. xxi, No. 612), gives some additional particulars. It says that the Chandragiri Raja with an army of 8,000 men captured the pagoda of Tirupati, and then designed the conquest of the districts of Conjeeveram, Chingleput, 'Carmigaelpatam', and Pulicat. He wrote secretly to the Dutch chief at the last-named place, asking him to secure for him the Nawab's treasure (which had presumably been hurried thither for safety), or at least to prevent its being carried away by sea. Reply was made that the Dutch had no jurisdiction in the town of Pulicat, which was guarded by the Nawab's troops. The Raja then besought the Dutch to remain neutral in the event of his attacking the place; but to this they answered that they were under a contract with the Nawab to assist him in such a case.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, pp. 97, 98 and 99.)

[1] 'Since when the nuse heare touching the Nabobs proceeding in Decan differs litteli from your relationes, only the takeing of Colburge,* reported by that party, is contradicted; but tis said he is now at the siege of another strong place, called Callinarra [Kalyani], where many bloody conflicts hath passed on both sides, which hath much retarded the expectation of his speedy conquest, and detained him from succoring his party in these quarters; who were lately so invironed by the Gentues that they could not have long subsisted, had not the gennerall, Topa Kitsnapa, an old souldier, layed an ambuscada for a greate party of the Kings horse that hath bene plundering, and returning confidently (or rather carelesly) fell thereinto; where though they lost not 100 men killed, yet fled so amazedley that thay put all the company in such a feare as most of them disbanded and fled, leaving the King and [his?] adjutant shangee [Shanji] only with 1000 horse [and] foote; who stade behind two dayes and then retreated two miles to Arni, a strong castell on the borders of Chinge [Gingi]; whar thay are recruiteing the army with the Vizaporians [i.e. Bijapurs'] assistance and intended er long to be in the field with greater force then before. In the meane time Topa Kisna strengthens himselfe by all possible menes and Leiknrely [leisurely?] follows them, to see if he can get another advantage before thare whole powers be united. This unexpected defeate was about forty miles from this place; which is now so well provided as [we] do dot much feare the worst [that] can happen, especially [as] our cause is soe just.

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, pp. 135-6.)

[2] 'Since when the nuse heare touching the Nabobs proceeding in Deccan differs littell from your relationes, only the takeing of Colburge † reported by

* (Kulbarga or Gulbarga, now in the Hyderabad State, about seventy-five miles north-east of Bijapur. It does not seem to have been attacked in this campaign, the course of which has been described on p. 118.)

† Kulbarga or Gulbarga, now in Hyderabad State, about seventy-five miles north-east of Bijapur. It does not seem to have been attacked in this campaign, the course of which has been described on p. 118.)

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Now that Mîr Jumla was in Agra, Golkonda began to take a strong line to assert its claims to what had become Mîr Jumla's territory. In August 1658, there was fighting between Tupakki Krishnappa and the Golkonda forces round Poonamallee. Tupakki Krishnappa came to terms with Fort St. George in order to be free for this.[1]

In the December of that year, Mîr Jumla's son Tapa Tapa demands the restoration of Mîr Jumla's Junk.[2]

that party, is contradicted ; but tis said he is now at the siege of another strong place, called Callinara [Kalyani], where many bloody conflicts hath passed on both sides, which hath much retarded the expectation of his speedy conquest, and detained him from succoring his party in these quarters ; who were lately so invironed by the Gentues that they could not have long subsisted, had not the gennerall, Topa Kitsnapa, an old souldier, layed an ambuscada for a greate party of the Kings horse that hath bene plundering, and returning confidently (or rather carelesly) fell thereinto ; where though they lost not 100 men killed, yet fled so amazedley that they put all the company in such a feare as most of them disbanded and fled, leaving the King and [his ?] adjutant Shangee [Shanji] only with 1000 horse [and] foote ; who stade behind two dayes and then retreated two miles to Arni, a strong castell on the borders of Chinge [Gingi] ; whar they are recruiteing the army with the Vizaporians [i.e. Bijâpuris'] assistance, and intended er long to be in the field with greater force then before. In the meane time Topa Kisna strengthens himselfe by all possible menes and Leiknrely [leisurely ?] followes them, to see if he can get another advantage before thare whole powers be united. This unexpected defeate was about forty miles from this place ; which is now so well provided as [we] do not much feare the worst [that] can happen, espetialy [as] our cause is soe just.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, p. 135-36.)

[1] 'We for our parts hitherto enjoy all freedome and quietnesse, though the noyse of warre and thundering of ordinance are day and night within our hearing. The castle of Pulomolee, about ten miles off, having revolted to the King of Gulcondah, is beleagred by Topa Kisna's forces, that formerly besieged us and Pulicatt ; to whom it had been rendered ere this time, but that they expect help from the Gulcondah forces, which are said to be marching this wayes. So as you may easily gusse at the misery these countryes suffer, being covered with many severall armyes, and is very destructive to the trade thereof and consequently to our present affaires ; so as we are forced for the most part to fetch our goods thirty leagues on each side from this place.

'(1) From the Dutch records we learn that in October Kûli Beg, commanding the Golconda forces, inflicted a serious defeat on Tupaki Krishnappa, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The victor subdued all the district round Madras, and the Dutch at Pulicat found themselves obliged to come to terms with him, while San Thome also submitted (*Hague Trasncripts*, ser. i, vol. xxiii, no. 639).'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, p. 176.)

[2] 'Tapa Tapa came to this towne with Orange Zebes firmaund, demaunding of Mr. Winter the Nabobs juncke ; which he denying, secondarily required her of us, as also the Persia[n] comonly called Cajee [Kaji], who Mr. Winter conveyed to your port, to whome the Nabob, upon his leaveing Carnatt, left him Cheife Salaskaree [*sar-lashkar*, head of the troops] in those parts, on whome is pretended

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In December 1659, Revington writing from Dandarajapur on the West Coast refers to Rustam-i-zamân as a friend of Shâhjî and Shivajî, and among the Umras who declined to recognize Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh's succession are mentioned Rustam-i-zamân Bahlol Khân, Shâhjî and Shivajî, as though all the four of them were Amîrs of similar rank.[1]

It is also stated in the course of the letter that Shâhjî was expected to march up from his government extending to Gingee with 17,000 troops in a month and overthrow the government of 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh who could put into the field only 10,000.[2]

very large somes to be in his hands of the Nabobs; of whome, as well as the juncke, if there be not a surrender made, the Company, as well as their servants, are like to be sufferers in these parts.

'(1) Bernier (1670 ed., vol. ii, p. 180) says that Mir Jumla's son had so much influence at Masulipatam that "le tap-tapa, son commis, en est quasi le maistre". He seems thus to use "Taptapa" as a title; but, as Sir Charles Lyall has pointed out to me, it is really a personal name, Tapa Tapa, implying descent from the great-grandson of Ali of that designation. In the Dutch Records at the India Office (*Hague Transcripts*, ser. i, vol. xxiii, No. 651) he is called "Miermameth Hosseyn Taffa Tappa."'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, p. 187, December 22, 1658.)

[1] 'The person that is cald King of this country is knowne to bee the bastard of this Queenes husband,* and she, notwithstanding that, would have the crowne setled on him; but some of the Umbrawes of this country, knowing to bee spuriously begotten, will not give him homadge and refuses to goe to court; and these are Rustum Jemah, Bull Ckaune,† Shawgee [Shahji Bhonsla], and Sevagy; which latter lyes with an army to the no[rth] ward and commands all alongst the cost from the upper Choul‡ unto Dabull; against whom the Queene this yeare sent Abdle Ckaune§ with an army of 10,000 horss and foote; and because shee knew with that strength hee was not able to resist Sevagy, shee councelld him to pretend friendshipp with his enemy; which hee did.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 249-50.)

[2] 'One months tyme more will, wee beleive, put an end to this trouble; for Sevagyes father, Shawjee, that lyes to the southward, is expected within eight dayes with his army, consisting of 17,000 men, and then thay intend for Vizapore [Bijapur], the King and Queenes residence, whose streng(t)h consists onely in

* 'The question of the legitimacy of Ali Adil Shah II is examined by Professor Jadunath Sarkar at p. 285 of the first volume of his History of Aurangazeb. He accepts Grant Duff's view that the boy was really the son of the late king, and suggests that his mother was a slave-girl in the harem. Bernier and Tavernier say that he was simply an adopted son, and Aurangzeb made the same assertion as an excuse for his invasion of Bijapur. Manucci and Fryer stigmatize him as an illegitimate son of the Queen herself.'

† 'The general Bahlol Khan. Fryer calls him "Bullul Caun".' See also Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i, p. 256.

‡ Chaul (near Alibag, in Kolaba District) is divided into Upper and Lower Chaul, the latter (also called Revadanda) being the Portuguese settlement.

§ 'Afzal Khan. Fryer speaks of him as "Abdul Caun." The name appears to have been Abdullah, "Afzal Khan" (the pre-eminent lord) being merely a title.'

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In a letter, dated October 1661, Shâhjî is referred to as the Bijâpur general and his having taken Porto Novo from the English is stated in clear terms.[1]

Shâhjî's imprisonment and the treaty between Shivaji and Bijâpur are under reference in a letter dated January 1663.[2]

men, and they are not above 10,000 souldyers; so that in all probability the kingdome will bee lost. and if it proves so, all that Rustum Jemah hath promised us, of a tancksall, or remitting you part of the saltpeeter costomes, and of assisting you in taking Danda Rajapore Castle, which are three things wee doe desire to bee instrumentall in, will as certainely bee performed. Wee onely want power and means, and a good head at Suratt.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1655–60*, p. 251.)

[1] 'If this bee indured by these governours, they will presume further; and wee have the like complaint to present concerning Xaigee* (whoe is father to him that is the Visapore [Bijapur] generall and hath Mr. Revington in durance); for hee came in July last to Porta Nova and robbed and pillaged the towne; whereof the Companies merchants were the greatest loosers, having taken from in ellephants, callicoes, broad cloth, copper, benjamen [benzoin], etc., goodes to the value of 3,0000 pardawes, and are utterly unable to pay the Company their remaynes in their hands, being about 4,000 pa[godas], unless our masters will licence us to vindicate them by their shipping at sea, for this Xaigee hath now Porta Nova in possession.'

[2] 'By the mediation of Shahji Bhonsla (his father), Sivaji had come to terms with his nominal overlord, the King of Bijapur, with the result that Bijapur, amongst other districts, had been recognized as part of his territories.†

'But he told us what was past must be forgotten, and that for the future never any such thing should happen again, nor should wee ever suffer by his master to the value of a corn of rice loose; giving in severall reasons for what had happened . . . as, his master then having warr with the King of Deccan (which since is ended and they now certainly at amity), and therefore he robd his countrey; as allso the great necessity that then were upon him, occasioned by his warring with two potent Kings and Oran Shaw having spoiled him of great parts of his dominions, etc., but now his master had no such great necessity depending; but although any such should happen again, yet he now was fully resolved never hereafter to commit the like outrages as formerly, and would give us his inviolable oath wee should never be any wayes injured againe; shewing us with all a

* 'Shahji, the father of Sivaji. His depredations in the Carnatic, nominally on behalf of the King of Bijapur, have been alluded in the preceding volume.

'It was declared that there was now no reason for ships to call at Porto Novo, since 'the towne is wholly destroyed and the merchants totally ruined by Xagee, the Visapore King's Generall.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1661–64*, p. 50, October 19, 1661; also p. 51.)

† "The Bijapur Government granted all Shivaji's demands (A.D. 1662). He was left in possession of his conquests from Kalyan in the north to Phonda in the south and from Dabhol in the west to Indapur in the east, and his complete independence was acknowledged. Both parties undertook to defend the other from foreign aggression. And Shivaji took a solemn oath not to molest Bijapur during Shaji's lifetime." (*A History of the Maratha People*, by Kincaid and Parasnis, vol. i, p. 175.)

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In letters, dated the 19th and 20th July 1663, Shâhjî's position of influence with Bijâpur is referred to. Bahlol Khân was summoned to court, but would not go unless Shâhjî accompanied him. There is also a reference to a Bijâpur invasion against Snep-Nayak (obviously standing for Śivappa Nâyaka of Ikkêri), the Karnâṭak Râja, and his being forced to 'a composition of 7,000,000 Pagodas.' [1]

In the accounts so far given there is no reference to Shâhjî in our sources relating to the history of Mysore. There is clear reference to Shâhjî in the Company's records from the year 1657 onwards, that is, more or less after the disappearance of Mîr Jumla from the scene of his activities in the Golkonda Karnâṭak. One may therefore fain argue that Shâhjî was playing but a very subordinate part all through,

writing from his master with his own chop [i.e., seal] and others accustomary to it; allso the print of the Rajah's hand on the top of the paper, done with sandall, declaring his resolve to tend as permentioned. To all which wee answered that, in confidence of the truth of what he had allegged, wee did believe our masters would be perswaded to trade againe to these ports, that are now in the Rajah's possession, provided reparation be made to their former losses; which wee hoped would be done, and assured him his master would not be a looser thereby.'

(*The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, p. 230 and note, and p. 231.)

[1] 'Rustum Jeamah, returning from whence the King had placed him to Hookery, his owne towne, by the Kings order is denied entrance. This jessud sweares before he came out of Bunckapore, he saw irons put on Bussall Ckan * and Shagee [Shahji] (Shevgys father), but taken off of the latter in two dayes; who is now with the King without any command. Bussall Ckans mother denying the King entrance into Bunckapore, the King wrote to Shagee to perswade Bussall Ckan to come and stand to his mercy, for the King, being denied entrance, was so incenced that, if he stood out any longer, would never have pardoned him, and now he could not hope to be able to withstand him, the kingdome being at peace since the King conquered Snep-Nayck, a Carnattick Rajah, and brought him to a composition of 7,000,000 pagodas.† The rebelling of this Rajah was the cause of the Kings going for Bunckapore. At last Shagee perswaded Bussall Ckan to goe to the King, upon condition that he would accompany him; which he did, and so the King trapann'd them both. The King hath likewise wrote Syddy Mussad (Sidi Mas'ud), Syddy Zoars sonne in law, and to Syddy Zoars eldest sonne ‡ (the former of which hath 14,000 horse, the latter 10,000) to come to him; but they returne him answer that they dare not trust him that had murdered their father; § upon which the King wrote them againe, that they had no reason to mistrust him, he having now imprisoned Bussall Ckan, who was the only cause of their fathers death.'

* 'An error for Bahlol Khan.

† The Batavia Dagh-Register, 1664 (p. 323) says 1,500,000.

‡ Sidi Aziz.

§ For the murder of Sidi Johar, see Grant Duff (ed. Edwardes), vol. i, p. 146.

(*The English Factories in India, 1661-64*, pp. 242-3.)

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although the position that he is said in the Company's records, to have occupied after A.D. 1657 would give the clearest possible indication that he must have been occupying a position of some importance before that.

In this connection we shall have to consider the new light that is brought to bear upon the subject by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the *Modern Review* for July 1929. Sir Jadunath claims to have acquired two manuscripts relating to the reigns of the Bijâpur Sultâns, Muhammad 'Âdil Shâh (A.D. 1627–56) and 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh (A.D. 1627–72). These are described by him as contemporary official histories, the first by Ẓahûr bin Ẓahûrî and the second by Nûrullâh. He also notes that these two sources were not available to the author of the *Basâtînu's-salâṭîn* written in 1824, and which 'hitherto was our source of information for Bijâpur history.' 'In the light of *these first-rate materials* and the annual Jesuit letters from Madura, it is now possible to trace step by step and in clear detail the story of *how the Muhammadans seized the heritage of the recently shattered empire of Vijayanagar* and crushed its numberless, disunited, mutually jealous and warring Hindu feudatories, across the entire Indian peninsula from Goa to Madras. The Adil Shah of Bijâpur conquered what are called in his Persian history "Malnad and Karnatak", i.e. first the Kanara country of Bednur, then Mysore, starting from the Ikeri or Nagar district in the west, on to Sera and Bangalore in the centre and the north Salem district in the south east corner, and finally descending the Eastern Ghats the Madras plains up to Vellore, Jinji and Waligandapuram within sight of Tanjore. The Qutb Shah of Golkonda seized the Hindu principalities due south and south-east of his capital, i.e. the country beyond the Krishna, lying north-east of these new Bijapur acquisitions.'

'Between these two streams of invasion, Sir Ranga Rayal, the last representative of Vijayanagar royalty, was completely crushed out. He offered a long and desperate resistance. But his worst enemies were his own people. The insane pride, blind selfishness, disloyalty and mutual dissensions of his Hindu feudatories rendered all his efforts futile and the Muslims conquered Hindu Deccan piecemeal *with the greatest ease and rapidity*. As the Jesuit missionary Antoine de Proenza wrote from Trichinipoly (1659); "The old kings of this country appear, by their jealousies and imprudent action, to invite

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the conquest of entire India by the Muslims'' ' (*Mission de Madure*, iii, 42.)

Before proceeding to exhibit his material, Professor Sarkar indulges in a comparison of the overthrow of the Hindu kingdoms of the south and the Muslim conquests of Hindûs tân, and draws the conclusion that in the course of the years 1637–64 *the extinction of Hindu rule in the south was brought about*, and this period corresponds exactly to the life of Shâhjî as a servant of Bijâpur. He lays himself out to indicate that 'the popular Maratha tradition that he was the leading general or conqueror of Mysore finds a complete refutation in the *authentic historical sources described above*. These sources prove that Shahji was not the supreme army chief, *nor even the commander of an independent division*, but only one of the many Bijâpuri generals *serving under the eyes and orders of the Muslim generalissimo*, throughout the conquest of Mysore; *and it was only very late in his life*, in the invasion of Tanjore in 1660–62 (which was, however, followed not by an annexation, but by withdrawal), that *he rose to be second in command*.' Then he proceeds to state, categorically under six heads the invasions of this country and the results achieved by these invasions.

The campaigns of the years 1638–39 ended in the capture of all the territory up to Bangalore according to this account. Shâhjî was placed in the fortress of Bangalore to carry on the government of the conquered parts. Rustam-i-zamân himself proceeded to lay siege to Śrîraṅgapaṭam, which under Kaṇṭhirava Narasa Râja Woḍeyar, according to this account, submitted after a month's fight, paying five lakhs of gold pieces. The learned historian next proceeds to state 'when Rustam-i-zamân returned from Mysore at the approach of the rainy season, Kenge Nayaka rebelled, and there was a general rising of the Hindu Rajas throughout the Kanarese country against Bijâpur. So, the war was renewed.' Rustam-i-zamân returned, and Basavapaṭana, belonging to Kenge Nayaka, was taken after an elaborate siege, in which Shâhjî played a part with Afzal Khân and other generals. While Rastam stayed in Basavapaṭana, Afzal Khân was ordered forward. He took Chik-Nayakan-halli and Bellur belonging to Venkaṭapati, and Tamkur. Rustam is next stated to have taken possession of Balapur (Ballapur) and Kulihal (Kunigal). That closes section I.

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So in this official account, no cause is given for the war, and the Bijâpur invasion is begun as if it came upon Mysore like a bolt from the blue. Historical events did not take place in that fashion, even where the Sultâns of Bijâpur and Golkonda were concerned. The Hindu accounts give it that the intervention of Bijâpur was sought, and the invasion was launched accordingly ; nor can this court account be regarded as thoroughly historical. It was not such a beautifully unopposed march down to the walls of Gingee, nor so satisfactory a settlement. The fatal weakness of the account is that it gives no explanation of the part that Kenge Nayaka, as he is called, played. He figures in the second campaign, without any mention of his name in the first. It is he who was the author of all the mischief ; and the person concerned was not Kenge Nayaka, but Kenge Hanuma, the son of Kenge Nayaka. He invited the Bajâpur army and brought about Bijâpur intervention. The renewal of the Bijâpur invasion again was caused, according to the Hindu accounts, because Kenge Hanuma, who was placed in charge of the territory on the northern bank of the Kâvêri, as against Kanṭhirava Narasa holding the territory south of the Kâvêri, played false and brought on the invasion, this time perhaps by the incitement of Nâgamaṅgala Channayya, who had to go from his territory to Bijâpur as a combined result of Mysore expansion and Hanuma's administration. The treaty that Kanṭhirava Narasa entered into was only to gain time, so that Śrîraṅgapaṭam might be fortified and put in a position to withstand a siege. In this campaign, Shâhjî is stated by this court historian to have been placed in the fort of Bangalore, and to have been charged with the administration and garrisoning of the district dependent on it, which would perhaps constitute a somewhat important position, subordinate, of course, to that of the commander-in-chief Ranadhoola Khân, as he is called in Hindu histories, sometime also described as Khân-i-Zamân.

The next section, division IV of Sir Jadunath's article, simply says that the war was renewed in A.D. 1644. No reason for this renewal of the war seems called for so far, at any rate, as Sir Jadunath is concerned. The fort of Tikri, as it is called, is supposed to have been taken, and Śivappa Nâyaka is stated to have wrested it from the Bijâpur commander. The fort was not Tikri, but Ikkêri, the capital of the Nâyaks of Beḍnur. The next commander that was despatched, Khân

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Muhammad, is said to have taken both Tikri and Sagar, four miles from it. The names ought to be Ikkêri and Sâgar, which latter is actually situated between Ikkêri and Keḷadi, the two capitals of the Nâyaks of the place. The following year Khân Muhammad is supposed to have marched into the Karnâṭak and gained a succession of victories, until, in A.D. 1646, he is said to have captured Nandyal and eight other forts in the Kurnool district. It is pointed out that in this campaign Shâhjî played no part, and did not deserve to be 'mentioned' in the despatches. The campaign, beginning in 1644 and ending in 1646, is described as a mere rhodomontade by this official historian. Apart from what we find in the Hindu accounts, we see in the Company's records that a great change was taking place. Early in the year 1643, the chief Governor of the Vijayanagar empire, Damarla Venkaṭa, was found intriguing with the Wazîr of Golkonda, Mîr Jumla. He was promptly placed under arrest. His influential brother Ayyappa was raising forces against the emperor Śrîraṅga with a view to compel him to release Venkaṭa. In the course of the year 1643, Śrîraṅga obtained the assistance of Bijâpur, and Bijâpur undertook an invasion to assist him for a consideration of 15 lakhs of gold pieces and twenty-four elephants. The campaign of 1644 began as a result of this agreement between the Vijayanagar emperor Śrîraṅga and the Bijâpur Sultan, and naturally, therefore, the sphere of the campaign would extend to the region indicated in the official account. It shows the Bijâpur activity not only in the Shimoga district, but along the whole frontier eastwards into the Kurnool district, undoubtedly the territory of Golkonda, under Mîr Jumla's actual administration. This would be inexplicable, notwithstanding the first-rate importance of the court historian, unless it was a war undertaken by Bijâpur against Golkonda as well. Golkonda's intervention was naturally sought by Venkaṭa's brother Ayyappa. In 1644 under pressure of this joint effort, Śrîraṅga was compelled to restore Dâmarla Venkaṭa to his freedom, but apparently not to his former position, Mallaiya taking his place. Mallaiya, in his turn, captured Dutch goods and pressed them hard at Pulicat, but fell into disgrace by surrendering Udayagiri to Mîr Jumla. It was during this period of the restoration of Śrîraṅga that the East India Company's factors in Madras obtained a renewal of the grant from him.

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The next campaign, according to this account is that of 1646 When the Prime Minister of Bijâpur, Mustafa Khân led the expedition. He is taken again in glorious career across the whole territory. But unfortunately the details given of the campaign give the lie direct to this glorious success. Âsaf Khân and Shâhjî had been ordered ahead, it is said, 'for the defence of the Karnatak frontier.' Why? No explanation is given. The next march was to Śakrēpaṭana. Śivappa Nâyaka and a number of others are supposed to have joined the expedition. He marched as far as Śivagaṅgâ in the Tumkur district, where he is said to have received the envoy of Śrîraṅga Râyulu of Vellore. There is a note in the Company's records that before January 21, 1646, Śrîraṅga Râyulu was attacked by the combined armies of Bijâpur and Golkonda, which would mean that after the previous campaign, in which Bijâpur assisted Śrîraṅga, they changed front and joined Mîr Jumla. It is in the course of the operations connected with this joint attack that Mallaiya surrendered Udayagiri, as it was thought, too readily, and fell into disgrace. That was in February, 1646. The combined armies succeeded in inflicting a defeat upon Śrîraṅga Râyulu in Veliore. This is apparently what is referred to in the official account, where the ambassadors of Śrîraṅga Râyulu are said to have waited upon Mushtafa Khân. The Râyulu apparently made an effort to detach Bijâpur from its alliance with Golkonda. The three rebel Nâyaks of the south, viz. those of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura, who were apparently opposed to the succession of Śrîraṅga, and were consequently ill-affected towards him, if not positively disaffected, countenanced the rebellion of the influential brothers, Dâmarla Venkaṭa and Ayyappa. Śrîraṅga Râyulu's efforts all along were to bring them to reason and to loyalty. He had not as yet succeeded. It is likely that ambassadors from them also met Mustafa Khân at Shivagaṅgâ. What is said in this court history is inexplicable unless these details from other sources are put in their setting. Mustafa Khân refused to be dissuaded from his enterprise on account of these three officers and would not stop till he heard that the Râyulu's projected invasion was given up. There is a note in the Company's records, dated October 1, 1645, that Śrîraṅga Râyulu had obtained a distinct success against the southern rebels, who were coerced into some kind of submission. It was subsequently to that, that the mission to Mustafa Khân must have taken place. The Râyulu's ambassador was sent

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back with Mulla Ahmed to get the Râyulu to agree. Mustafa waited at the head of a pass 28 miles from Vellore. The information is added here that Mustafa's original idea was to detain the Hindu ambassador and send Mullâ Ahmad alone. Shâhjî is said to have persuaded him in the belief that he had obtained a promise of loyalty from the Brahman envoy. The pass here referred to must have been the Nâyakanêri pass, which leads from the present-day Chittoor district into Gudiyâtam. The ambassador is said to have gone and advised Śrîraṅga Râyal to attack Mustafa and his army at the pass. Mustafa wanted to make a détour into the territory of Jagadêva Râyal, that is, the Bâramahâls of the Salem district by what is called 'Kanvi Pass'. There is no Kanvi Pass. *Kanvi* means 'pass'. Instead of descending into the basin of the Pâlâr, which apparently was guarded in force by Śrîraṅga Râyal, Mustafa wanted to make a détour into the Salem district, perhaps with a view to take the Râyulu in the rear. There again he was attacked by Śrîraṅga's armies. The Râyulu himself advanced against the main line and attacked the division left there under Shâhjî and Asad Khân. Asad Khân is said to have been absent from his command, leaving it to his Dîwân, so that Shâhjî was in sole command. After a bloody fight, the Râyulu's troops were hurled back and a victory won by Shâhjî. All the same, the army is said to have marched through the Bâramahâl by way of Ankuśagiri to Krishnagur, which must be the present-day Krishnagiri, sometimes called Krishnagiri Durga. Then taking Vîrabhadra Durga, the capital of that region, the army is said to have marched across and descended into the Pâlâr basin. From this account it is clear that, Shâhjî's victory notwithstanding, the army was not able to take the direct line to Gudiyâtam, but had to make a détour, which discounts the victory considerably.

The next section of Sir Jadunath's historians' account speaks of the Bijâpur army marching by way of Ânandâbâd, Amarâvatî, and Gudiyâtam and reaching what is called *Uranjpur*. This is not *Daran-chur*, as stated, but *Vrinchipuram*, the capital, in the days of the Hindus, of the Bâṇa country in the Pâlâr valley. After giving his army some little rest, Mustafa Khân arrived ultimately in front of the walls of Vellore. In the battle that followed, the Râyulu's general was defeated. Vellore was invested, and ultimately the Râyulu submitted and agreed to pay 50 lakhs of gold pieces and 150 elephants

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as indemnity. After a month's halt at Vellore, Mustafa is said to have returned with his army by the same route by which he had approached Vellore. In this decisive battle of the war, Shâhjî is said to have commanded, along with a certain number of other Hindu officers, the right wing of the Bijâpur army; and when Mustafa returned to Bijâpur, Asad Khân and Shâhjî, with many other officers, were left behind to hold the conquered country. Here again there is a very significant omission, without which it is difficult to appreciate the position. The part that was taken in this campaign by the Golkonda troops is conspicuous by its omission, notwithstanding the fact that these are official historians, who had access presumably to the despatches and other official documents. There is a note in the Company's records bearing the date January 21, 1646, that Śrîraṅga was attacked by Golkonda and Bijâpur. Mallaiya played the craven and surrendered Udayagiri on February 9, 1646. The Râyulu's defeat at Vellore is mentioned, and, significantly enough, it is added that the rebel Nâyaks returned to their allegiance. This looks rather unlike the complete conquest of Vellore and the territory dependent thereon by Mustafa Khân, the general of Bijâpur. We have another dated January 1647, that Mîr Jumla's agents were active on the eastern side, had taken the Dutch settlement at Pulicat and were marching towards St. Thomé reaching within two days' march of the Râyulu's forces. It was this march of the Golkonda troops that demoralized the Râyulu's Dîwân and made his position untenable in Vellore. He had to fly for the time being for safety and spent some time on forest frontiers of the Tanjore Nâyak's territories, the regions of Ariyalûr, Uḍayârpâlayam, etc., on the banks of the Coleroon. In October 1647, the East India Company's factors at Fort St. George felt that the territory had become so far Mîr Jumla's that they obtained from him a renewal of the charter that was first granted by Venkaṭapati in 1639, and was renewed by Śrîraṅga in 1645.

The next section deals with the last of the great campaigns of Mustafa Khân when he marched towards Gingee, the invasion starting in January 1648. Why they should have marched against Gingee or undertaken this invasion is not explained as usual. Tirumal Nâyak of Madura, finding his schemes not prospering by themselves, seems to have striven to effect a combination, as before, between the three Nâyaks of the south, making an effort this time to bespeak the

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sympathy and good offices of Mîr Jumla in their cause. The Tanjore Nâyak betrayed the scheme by divulging it to the emperor. Thus baulked, he succeeded in bringing about an invasion of the Râyulu's territory by Golkonda.[1] Having achieved considerable success, as indicated by the Company's record already quoted, Mîr Jumla marched south and laid siege to Gingee. He sought the good offices of Bijâpur and obtained its co-operation. When Gingee was thus attacked by the victorious Golkonda troops, whom Tirumal Nâyak regarded as his allies, Tirumal changed front and came in force to the assistance of the Nâyak of Gingee. The siege by the combined Muhammadan troops seemed not to prosper particularly, and Tirumal Nâyak nearly succeeded in getting the siege raised, when the Golkonda troops left. Seeing that it would require a lengthy investment, Mîr Jumla left the siege to be conducted by the Bijâpur troops. These succeeded in putting a garrison into the fort. Mustafa Khân, according to this official account, is brought up to the walls of Gingee, which offered to surrender, 'except, of course, for the disobedience of his chief subordinates like Siddi Raihan and Shâhjî.' Shâhjî was put into fetters and brought back to Bijâpur. Mustafa Khân died on the way, and the command passed on to Khân Muhammad. Shâhjî is said to have been brought in fetters to Bijâpur, where the Sultân set him free after negotiating with him for the surrender of the fortress of Kondana, a fortress in the Mahratta country, Bangalore, and a place called Kandarpi in the Bellary district,[2] restoring him to all his honours and offices. According to the court historian, the Sultân summoned Shâhjî to his presence, 'giving him the robe of minister, and settled his former lands to him again.' In these authentic sources, there is no other mention of Shâhjî, and Sir Jadunath concludes the section with the remark that the gap in our knowledge from A.D. 1649 onwards in regard to Shâhjî's doings can be but inadequately filled by references to Jesuit letters.

The section which relates to the other sources of authority, namely, the letters of Abdullâh Quṭb Shâh, really gives some valuable information as to the character of the changes that took place in the kaleidoscopic arrangements and re-arrangements of the forces in the Karnâṭak. It refers to the agreement between the two Muhammadan

[1] *The History of the Nâyaks of Madura* quoted above.
[2] Kandarpi was then a fortified place, now in the Anantapur district.

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Sultâns in regard to the division of the territory of the Râyal, Bijâpur being given two-thirds and Golkonda retaining a third. The Quṭb Shâh complained that the 'Âdîl Shâh had broken the agreement and had attempted to retain more than his share, whereas the *Muhammad nâma*, one of the court chronicles, already referred to, states 'that the ungrateful Abdullâh—whose forces had been defeated by the Râyal, and who could not have won an inch of the Karnâṭak without Bijâpurî support—had formed a secret alliance with the infidel, i.e. the Râyal, and sent his general Mîr Jumla to destroy the Hindus in defence of Gingee, but that Mîr Jumla arrived too late. He was subsequently defeated by another courtier.....of.....the Bijâpur general, Bâjî Ghorpare.' On the authority of a letter written by Abdullâh Quṭb Shâh to his Agent in Bijâpur of a date corresponding to December 23, A.D. 1647, according to Sir Jadunath, reference is made to a petition from Shâhji Bhonsle begging to be taken into the Quṭb Shâh's service. The Quṭb Shâh is said therein to have repeatedly rejected Shâhjî's prayer, and advised him to serve the 'Âdil Shâh. Another Hindu Râja is supposed to have done so, whose name could not, however, be made out clearly. Shâhjî's arrest by Bijâpur is generally ascribed to this attempt on his part to prove traitor to Bijâpur. The story of this arrest is given entirely differently in Mahratta sources of history, but the cause may have been perhaps to some extent what it is stated to be here. But even so, it would be rather dfficult to accept it altogether as correct without confirmation in the face of the contradiction in Mahratta sources. The fact that Shâhjî was let off so easily by the Bijâpur monarch and his court, according to the court chroniclers, would go a long way to show that perhaps this statement is not exactly the truth.

The account of these Muhammadan historians, which is by no means friendly to Shâhjî, makes it abundantly clear, Sir Jadunath's verdict notwithstanding, that from the commencement of his career in the Karnâṭak, Shâhjî had occupied a position of importance. The first general under whom he had to serve, Ranadhoola Khân, or as he is called, Khân-i-zamân seems to have been particularly friendly to him, and this very chronicle itself admits that he was appointed to the charge of Bangalore when it was first conquered. It is nowhere stated in the chronicle itself, or anywhere else, that it was taken away from him, even after his treason so-called. As a matter of fact, he

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seems to have continued to govern those parts of the conquered Channapaṭṇa viceroyalty, but shifted his government from Bangalore to Chikbalapur, with Kolar as his headquarters and Nandi as his summer residence. There are vestiges of his own work in the fortifications and other structures which bear witness to his occupation of the place. The fact that the Mysore ruler, Chikkadeva Râja Woḍeyar ultimately effected the purchase of Bangalore from Ekojî, Shâhjî's son in A.D. 1684 would go to show that the family retained possession of Bangalore, notwithstanding the statement in the chronicles that Bangalore was one of the three forts that Shâhjî was to surrender as a price for his release by the Sultân of Bijâpur. His treason with Golkonda and his arrest consequent thereon are not mentioned in the correspondence of the Company's servants, who were likely to have heard about it, as, in their own particular interest, they kept their eyes and ears open for all possibilities of changes in fortune of the important personalities concerned in the administration of the territory. The fact that Shâhjî occupied the position of the leader of the campaign against Tanjore and the southern viceroyalties, Mullâ Ahmad, called 'Mula' in Jesuit letters, going as only second in command, would go to show that he retained the important position with which he was entrusted at the very commencement of the Bijâpur invasions of the south. That important position he occupied is vouched for by letters of the factors of the East India Company in Madras and the letter of Revington in connection with Daṇḍarajâpuri on the Bijâpur coast. But the Maharatta tradition, which Sir Jadunath lays aside almost with contempt, claims absolutely nothing more than that he occupied a position of confidence under the commander-in-chief. It was the latter who entrusted him with the charge of administering the great territory, which was ultimately confirmed by the Sultân himself; and it was retained by Shâhjî even when his patron Rustam-i-zamân had fallen into disgrace and lived away from court. The *Śiva Bhârata*, which is a work compiled, perhaps in Tanjore, tells in a summary fashion much the same story as that recorded by the court chroniclers, to which Sir Jadunath attaches such high value: 'Afterwards along with the commander-in-chief, this great man, the strong-armed, mighty one, reached the Karnâṭaka Maṇḍala; he conquered successfully the ruler of Bindupur (Beḍunur) by name Vîrabhadra, the strong one; he also

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conquered the well-known Kenge Nâyaka, the ruler of Vrishapaṭṭaṇa (Basavâpaṭna); the ruler of Kâvêripaṭṭinam, the strong armed Jagadêva, he likewise conquered, as also the cruel Kanṭhîrava, ruler of Śrîraṅgapaṭna. Then he overthrew the brave Vijayarâghava, the lord of Tanjore, as also the master of Gingee, the great Venkaṭa Nâyaka. He followed with the overthrow of Tirumala Nâyaka, the lord of Madura; then the ruler of Piluganḍa (Penugonda ?), by name Venkaṭa Nâyaka, then the brave Śrîraṅga Râja, ruler of Vidyânagara (Vijayanagara), and then the well-known Tammé Gauḍa of Hamsakûṭapura. In this manner bringing under his control these and other kings, Râja Shâjî made the commander-in-chief Ranadhoola delighted with his achievements.' Then follows the statement, in two *slokas*, that after a continuous fight for days and nights, 'he took the delightful place, Bangalore from Kempe Gauḍa, who delighted in war, which was presented to him for his own maintenance by the delighted Ranadhoola Khân. He the victorious one (Shâhjî) resided in the city called Bangalore.' This is a literal rendering of *ślokas* 37 to 44 of *adhyâya* IX of *Śiva Bhârata*, a work composed poetically, of course, in the lifetime of Shivajî himself, probably in Tanjore, far away from the Mahratta country proper. This is confirmed by an account compiled in Tanjore in the days of Râja Sarfojî by his *Chitnîs* in the Śaka year 1725, Rudrodgâri, month Chitra, corresponding, as it is given there, to March 25, A. D. 1803. The account begins with a chronological discrepancy in this particular context, where it says that he was despatched on this mission by 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh, whereas the invasion actually started under Muhammad 'Âdil Shâh, years earlier. The object of the invasion is given as an effort to bring under Bijâpur control those feudatories and states of the south which were likely to become friendly with Aurangzib, who was operating in the Dekhan, and whose attitude towards the southern states of Bijâpur and Golkonda was anything but friendly. Here again the account says that 'Shâhjî went on the southern invasion with Ranadhoola Khân sent by 'Âdil Shâh. The rulers that he conquered in the south are given as the Râja of Beḍanûr, Vîrabadra Nâyaka; Koṅgé Nâyaka, ruler of Koṅgu [which may be an error—a copyist's error—for Kengé Nâyaka of the territory of Kengé, Kengé being the place of birth of the ruler]; Jagadêva Râya of Kâvêripaṭṭinam Kanṭhîrava of Śrîraṅgapaṭam, Vijayarâghava

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of Tanjore, Venkaṭa Nâyaka of Gingee, Rangásâyi Nâyaka of Vidyânagar [another form of the name Raṅga Râyal]; Tirumal Nâyak of Madura, Harikâra Venkaṭa Nâyaka of Vaḷikonḍapuram, Danakoṭi Nâyaka of Hosakota.' Pleased with all these conquests, 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh is stated to have given to Shâhjî the territory of Bangalore for his personal expenses. 'Being pleased with the sight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress, and the salubrity of its climate,' Shâhjî made up his mind to fix his headquarters there. This is one of the Mackenzie manuscripts noted by Wilson in volume ii, page xliv, which purports to be a genealogical account of the Bhonsle Râjas of Tanjore. The claim advanced in favour of Shâhji here may be over-pitched to some extent. The account leaves many details to be filled in, and, in that particular respect, is not much worse than the court chronicles so much valued by Sir Jadunath. In this case as in the other, historical research consists in exploiting all possible sources of information for obtaining details of a reliable character to fill in the gaps, and work out a reasonably trustworthy account of the facts. The mere issue of a testimonial that a certain record or set of records is authentic and genuine, because of some features of its character, viz., that it was an official account, that it was compiled in court, or that it is in a particular language will hardly constitute research work; nor will such contribute to the discovery of historical truth. The first account given above is substantially the same as that given in my *Ancient India*, published in 1911; but the particular thesis, actually published so long ago as 1900, contains the material taken from the works of a writer who was contemporary with the Chickkadêva Râja Woḍeyar, who followed not many years (a little over ten years) after the death of Kanṭhirava Narasa, who figures in these campaigns. The author was a play-fellow and companion at school of the ruler, Chickkadêva Râja, and ultimately became his minister. He composed a work in poetry, *Chickkadêva Râja Vijayam*, in epic form, as also a prose work, *Chickkadêva Râja Vamśâvaḷi*, cast more in the form of history. Along with that is compared such information as is contained in the late compilation issued by the palace and referred to as the Palace History. It is mainly based on the second of the works above referred to, and such other historical manuscripts as were available at the time before the whole library was accidentally burnt. The third source of information utilized is Wilks, who had access to sources

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such as Grant Duff had for his *History of the Mahrattas*; but, as in the other case, all of his sources are not at present available. The account was actually compiled for Wilks by a Hindu Brâhman, by name Nagar Puttaiya Paṇḍit, who occupied a high place in the Secretariat, and who exploited all the records in the archives at Śrîraṅgapaṭam to compile an account therefrom. Since then certain other Kanarese and Sanskrit sources have become available, and Mr. N. Subba Rao, a research student working on the subject at the Mysore University, utilizes these, particularly the Kanarese sources. As far as I am able to see these, as exhibited by him in the columns of the *Modern Review*, they go merely to confirm the details already given in *Ancient India*, involving perhaps modification of a detail here and a detail there. Historical research consists really in the study of these various sources, estimating their historical value, each by its own worth, and combining the result of genuine historical criticism of all the sources with a view to compiling a reasonable account of what actually took place.

We have unrivalled means for doing this in the details that lie scattered in the correspondence of the Company's servants, written from all over the Dekhan to their masters at home, English, Dutch and even Portuguese to some extent. The English records have been made available in ten volumes by the indefatigable energy of Sir William Foster, but the details contained therein are not history by design. They are incidental references to the state of affairs in the territories surrounding the factories where their commercial operations were carried on. Their commercial interests required that they should note carefully the smallest changes in the rapidly changing conditions in order to safeguard their interests and their money and promote their trade and profit. They were not particularly concerned with commending one party or condemning another. They had their own personal preferences and predilections, which sometimes showed themselves; but generally they were mainly concerned with noting these political changes accurately—as accurately as was humanly possible—with a view to plying their trade safely and profiting by their business.

Judged by the combined evidence of all these sources of history, Shâhjî the Mahratta appears to have been a man of ability, both as a soldier and as an administrator. He first played an important part in

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the conquests of the various petty states of the Karnâṭak for Bijâpur. Slowly, but surely, he was able to build up from out of these conquests a pretty big Government for himself, certainly under the authority of his masters at Bijâpur to begin with, but gradually to become more or less entirely his own, as a result of the inefficiency and dissension that were the ultimate bane of the Bijâpur kingdom, with the threat of Mughal conquest hanging, like the sword of Damocles, over its head. It is just possible, although it is not yet satisfactorily established, that he showed himself friendly to the interests of Śrîraṅga Râyal once and that he tried to enter the service of the Quṭb Shâh another time. Shâhjî was not the only man that was guilty of such changes. It seems to have been quite common at the time. The supreme example of Mîr Jumla in the same region offers an illuminating comparison. The attitude of Rustam-i-zamân and of Bahlol Khân of Bijâpur presents a close parallel. Nonetheless, it would constitute treason, notwithstanding the fact that such treason was in the air. The officers to whom Śrîraṅga Râyal entrusted his affairs behaved no less badly in regard to this matter, but that would not justify an act of treason morally. Moral justification or denunciation is not, however, the function of the historian. When Bijâpur fell, Shâhjî's work was visible in the existence of the Mahratta state in the south nominally called Tanjore, but extending far into the plateau and comprising a comparatively large portion of the Karnâṭak. Shivajî had been only a feudatory of Bijâpur so far as the territory in the Mahratta country was concerned, in spite of the fact that he made himself quite as independent as his father in the south. The southern portion of his father's territory seemed to him more justifiably independent and could perhaps enable him to set himself up as a successor to the now vanished empire of Vijayanagar, with Śrîraṅga Râyal as the last of its rulers. Shâhjî, therefore, is entitled to be regarded as the founder of the Mahratta dominion in the south, which survived a number of generations after him before it reached complete extinction.

Before concluding this essay on Shâhjî, it would perhaps be just as well to advert briefly to such memorials as we have of Shâhjî's position in the south. It is commonly known in Mysore that Shâhjî's tomb is still pointed out in a village in the Channagiri Taluq, of the Shimoga District not very far from the headquarters of the jâgîr of the Kengé Nâyakas. It was Kenge Hanuma, the contemporary of

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Shâhjî who was primarily responsible for, at least, one invasion by the Bijâpur Sultâns. His headquarters, Basavâpaṭna, is not very far from the famous Sûḷagere Tank, one of the most important irrigation tanks in the territory of Mysore. We have already referred to the fortress of Nandidrug, and some vestiges that used to be pointed out in the fort at Kolar. It may perhaps be that there are much more living memorials of Shâhjî's rule in the south in the administration of Mysore territory, particularly in the Survey and Settlement departments. Till recently a large number of the officials belonging to the department were men from the neighbouring southern Mahratta country, holding their positions almost by hereditary succession. Farther south, at Gingee, we have not come across anything connected with Shâhjî, but farther south again, in the Tanjore District and quite close to the town of Kumbhakonam, is the village now called Sakkottai, which is about a mile to the south of the railway station. The name Sakkottai applied to the fort is a derivative from Shâhjî, the full name having been Shâhjîkoṭ. The village Sakkottai used to consist fifty years ago of the village itself on the banks of the river Araśalâr at the southern end of the bridge, and the fort about six furlongs off, containing an old Śiva temple, tanks and other appurtenances of a little fortified town. This Śiva temple is as old as the Têvâram hymnographers, who sang of the place under the name Tirukkalaiyattânkuḍi, the village of the prosperous vessel. The Sanskrit name for the Śiva image installed in the temple, is Amirthagaṭêśvara, Amirthagaṭa being translated into Tamil as Tirukkalaiyam. It seems to have been fortified only under the Mahrattas, and the forts were dismantled and the stones were used for building the Small Causes Court in Kumbhakonam. I can recollect prisoners being put to this work, and have seen them dismantling the fortress and carrying the stones. It is only within the last twenty-five years that the place has been dismantled of all its fortifications and reduced to an ordinary village. The village itself is associated with another name. The Brâhmaṇ street is called Raghunâthapura Agrahâram in honour of the Nâyak, Raghunâtha of Tanjore, the father of Vijayarâghava, from whom Ekojî conquered the Tanjore District. This Raghunâtha it was that met the Vijayanagar prince, Râma, at Kumbhakonam before the battle against the rebels and took him safety at Tanjore. When the victory was won, he celebrated the installation ceremony of the Mahârâja in the newly-constructed

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Râmaswâmi Temple at Kumbhakonam. In memory of this Raghunâtha, the son Vijayarâghava, built this Agrahâram and made it over to Brâhmaṇs, and it is said that thirty families were established in the Agrahâram. Born in that village and in that Agrahâram, I can recollect that the Brâhmaṇ houses were my father's, his maternal uncle's, and that of two families of Telugu Brâhmaṇs, and one house which was actually intended to be a Dharmaśâla. Recently there has been an addition to the Dharmaśâla by the construction of a new choultry. Otherwise the Agrahâram consists only of one or two households—a fate which is not unusual with Brâhmaṇ villages now-a-days. The name Shâhjîkot still survives in the Tamilized form Sakkottai, which forms a part of my own name.

In the village itself there is a considerable Mahratta settlement from Tanjore. The Mahrattas settled there and in the village Tiruvaḍamaruthûr about four miles to the East, claiming to be of better blood than the great bulk of those in Tanjore. In the confusion that arose in Tanjore time and again, several respectable families left the city, and these are found settled in both the villages, thus providing another memento of Mahratta rule.

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The Khaza'inul Futuh

OF

AMIR KHUSRAU

APPENDIX A

THE DECCAN EXPEDITIONS

I. *THE DAWAL RANI*

SUCH was his fortune, that even at the time when he was an *amir*, he became a Solomon in the country of Deogir (Demon-land). The demon (*deo*) became so submissive in the land of Jamshed, that Ram Deo's country was ravaged and the Rai himself was first captured and then set free. Fate placed in Alauddin's hands a world of treasure, nay, the treasure of the whole world—innumerable elephants and more precious stones than could be carried by a hundred camels. . . .

Next, the army of the Emperor was ordered to march towards Tilang. The Rai of Tilang, a ruler over the world of gold-leaf, possessed a hundred elephants. He wished to raise a tumult with his world-conquering heart, but the prestige of the Emperor overawed him; and as he had not courage enough to resort to dagger-thrusts, he sought refuge in his unlucky fort. The fort was encircled by the Imperial army even as a demon might have been surrounded by Jamshed's soldiers. The Rai saw himself wounded by the talons of the Emperor's good fortune; he asked for the right hand of peace and it was extended to him. The Rai then constructed a golden image of himself with a golden cord round its neck and sent it to the Imperial army with one hundred elephants and a treasure beyond all reckoning. In return for this the *Malik* spared the Rai's life; yet in order to test him—and an arrow is not kept blunt except on purpose—he thundered in rage: 'If the Rai does not come in person, we shall take up the dagger in the hand of peace we have extended to him.' When the Rai's neck heard this, it felt like rolling itself on its head (to the *Malik's* presence); so before he could be brought out by compulsion, the Rai came out in person with his head still on his neck. This display of submission saved his rebellious neck from the decapitating sword and he was allowed to reign in his own territory. Having been deprived of all his wealth, Saturn was left in his empty constellation. After thus suppressing the rebels, the victorious army returned to the Court; it was distinguished by royal favours and even ordinary horsemen were raised to the status of respectable *amirs*.

Next, the *Barbek* was ordered to make the elephants of Ma'bar the morsel of his falcons, so that the heroes of the army may be intoxicated with Ma'bari blood. He was to conquer the seacoast till Lanka (Ceylon) with his sword; the land right up to Sarandip (Ceylon) was to be perfumed with the amber of faith and the heads of Satan's followers knocked down in quick succession at Adam's feet. Accompanied by Victory herself, the army started with the intention of raising from the sea a dust that would rise up to the moon. When it reached the territory of the Rai Rayan, the ground became invisible under the feet of the quadrupeds, but as Deogir was already submissive, the army moved against the other *deos*, while the earth trembled under its feet. Here, too, was a famous Rai, Bilal Deo, a person of great reputation in those days, who through the strength of his elephants

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and his treasure had often [illegible] to Deogir. At a hint from the *Malik*) the army began to plunder the country. But the wise Rai refused to fight; he came fearlessly out of his fort and handed over to the Imperial army with all elephants, horses and valuables he possessed.

After this fortunate victory on the way, the army provided itself with the *necessary material* of war and moved like a wall of iron towards the ocean. It raised such a storm that stones flew about like straws, ships were wrecked in the sea and the villages and towns situated on the line of march shook from seacoast to seacoast. In that vicinity also there was an august Rai, a Brahman named Bir Pandya, the finest gem in the crown of the Hindus. His sway was unchallenged over land and sea, and there were many inland cities and harbours in his dominions, the chief of them being Patan, where the Rai resided, and Marhat Puri which contained a famous idol and temple. The golden temple raised its head to the moon and Saturn felt ashamed of it; the idol was drowned in rubies and precious stones, everyone of which was valuable enough to provide food for a whole city. The Rai possessed a large army and countless boats; Mussalmans as well as Hindus were in his service. He had a thousand elephants and horses more than could be counted. When the Imperial army reached Patan, the misguided Rai forgot his path in fear, and in spite of the strength he possessed, hid himself like an ant in the forest. His subjects wandered disconsolate on all sides, and his elephants and troops went about searching for their lost 'head'. An army becomes a mere mob when its leader is not to be found—what is the use of the body when the head has been cut off? The Muslim troopers of the Rai submitted to the Imperial army; the commander (Malik Kafur) forgave them, encouraged them, and treated them with favour. Next, they applied their iron instruments to the golden idol and opened doors into the 'heads' of the temple, which though it was the Ka'ba of the accursed *gabrs*, yet kissed the ground of the Imperial Treasury. The gold and treasure of (the temple)—so heavy that it would have casued a hill in the other pan of the balance to fly up—was placed on mountain-like elephants for the Imperial Court. When the Ma'bar expedition was over, the wise Commander brought the army back to the capital, where it was distinguished by royal favours. How great, indeed, is the fortune of the Emperor who conquers the world without stirring from his throne. At a motion of his eyebrows in Delhi, Ma'bar and Bahrain are plundered. He has only to will it, and all the *Deos* of India become submissive to him.

II. *ZIAUDDIN BARNI*

'Alauddin, the governor of Karra, marched out of that place to Bhilsan with his uncle's permission. Here an enormous booty fell into his hands; and he brought it, together with a bronze idol worshipped by the Hindus of that place, to the Sultan at Delhi. The idol was buried beneath the road under the Badaun Gate; and Jalaluddin, well-pleased with his nephew, appointed him *Arz-i Mumalik* and bestowed on him the governorship of Oudh in addition to the governorship of Karra. At Bhilsan 'Alauddin had heard of the elephants and wealth of Deogir and enquired about the routes to that place. He had resolved to collect a large army at Karra for an attack on Deogir without informing the Sultan. Finding the Sultan more kind and affectionate than ever, he applied for some delay in paying the dues (*fawazil*) of Karra and Oudh. 'I have heard,' he represented, 'that within the boundaries of Chanderi and many regions adjoining it, the people are free and ignorant and entertain no apprehension of the army of Delhi. If I am allowed, I will invest the money due from me (*fawazil*) to the *Diwan* in enlisting new horse and foot. With these I will march to those territories and bring the enormous spoils that I win, together with [illegible] With I am postponing the payment,

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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to the Sultan's *Diwan*.' The Sultan, owing to his simple and trustful heart, did not see that 'Alauddin was so worried by his wife and mother-in-law that he wanted to conquer some distant territory where he might settle permanently without returning home. He allowed 'Alauddin to postpone the payment of the revenues due and to increase his army. The latter returned to his governorship with his object achieved.

'Alauddin's feelings had been embittered against his mother-in-law, the Malaka-i Jahan, while the disobedience of his wife, the Sultan's daughter, had made him sick of life. Fear of the Malaka-i Jahan, who had a great influence with the Sultan, as well as the dignity of the Sultan himself, prevented 'Alauddin from complaining of his wife's disobedience to Jalaluddin ; and fear of public disgrace prevented him from speaking of his troubles to anyone else. He passed his days in sorrow and distress and often consulted his friends at Karra about his plan of going out into the world to win a position for himself.

With the dues (*fawazil*) remitted to him by the Sultan and the income of his own governorship (*mahsul*) 'Alauddin fitted out three or four thousand foot-soldiers (*payaks*) with whom he set out from Karra on an expedition to Deogir. Publicly, however, he gave out that he was going to plunder Chanderi and kept his plans about Deogir secret. He appointed as his deputy (*naib*) for Karra and Oudh my uncle Alaul Mulk, one of his chief associates. He marched by stages to Elichpur and thence to Ghati Lajura. Here all intelligence of him was lost. But Alaul Mulk kept on sending the Sultan regular reports from Karra. These contained vague statements that 'Alauddin was busy in chastising and plundering rebels, and that he would send his own reports in a day or two. The Sultan, who had brought up 'Alauddin (as a son), suspected no evil. But discerning men in the City and the Court concluded from 'Alauddin's continued absence, that he had gone out to seek his fortune in a distant land. This news, born of guess-work, soon spread among the people.

When 'Alauddin arrived at Ghati Lajura, the army of Ram Deo under the command of his son, had gone on a distant expedition. The people of Deogir had never heard of Islam before this time, for the land of the Mahrattas had never been invaded by any (Muslim) king, *khan* or *malik*. And yet Deogir contained an enormous quantity of gold, silver, jewels, pearls and other valuables. When Ram Deo heard of the approach of the Muslim army, he collected together such troops as he could and sent them under one of his *ranas* to Ghati Lajura. It was defeated by 'Alauddin, who entered Deogir. On the first day he captured thirty elephants and several thousand horses. Ram Deo then came and offered his submission. 'Alauddin brought with him such enormous quantities of gold and silver, jewels and pearls, that though more than two generations have passed since then and much has been spent in every reign at the devolution of the Crown, a large part of those elephants, jewels, pearls and other goods is still left in the Treasury of Delhi.

* * *

I have referred to the consolidation of 'Alauddin's government and his freedom from administrative anxieties in order (to show) that when at last his power was permanently established and his mind relieved from the dangers that had beset him on every side, when the fort of Siri had been built and the town of Siri inhabited, the Sultan applied himself to schemes of conquest. Apart from the army which he had stationed on the route of the Mughal invasions, he organized a second army to overpower the *rais* and *zamindars* of foreign lands and seize the elephants and treasures of the Deccan.

In the first expedition the *Malik Naib* Kafur Hazardinari was sent to Deogir with the *amirs* and *maliks* and the red canopy. Khwaja Haji, the *Naib*

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'Arz i Mumalik, was also sent with him to look after the administration of the army and the collection of elephants and treasures. No army had been sent from Delhi to Deogir since the time 'Alauddin had invaded it as a mere *malik*; consequently, Ram Deo had rebelled and refrained from sending any tribute for years. The *Malik Naib* reached Deogir with a well-drilled army, plundered the territory and captured Ram Deo and his sons together with the Rai's treasury and seventeen elephants. Great spoils fell into the hands of the troops. A message of victory was sent from Deogir to Delhi; it was read from the top of the pulpits and drums were beaten in joy. The *Malik Naib* returned to Delhi with Ram Deo and the spoils, and presented them before the throne. The Sultan treated Ram Deo with great favour and presented him with the green canopy along with the title of *Rai Rayan*. He was further given a *lac* of *tankas* and sent back with great honour to Deogir with his sons, family and followers. Deogir was reconferred on him. Thenceforth to the end of his life, Ram Deo always obeyed the Sultan; he passed his remaining days in loyal obedience, never wavered from 'Alauddin's orders and sent regular tribute to Delhi.

Next year, in A.H. 709 'Alauddin sent the *Malik Naib* to Arangal with the *maliks*, *amirs* and a large army accompanied by the red canopy. 'Sacrifice your treasure, elephants and horses in capturing the fort of Arangal,' the Sultan directed him, 'and try to make up for the loss in future years. Be quick and do not persist in exacting too much. Do not insist on Laddar Deo's presenting himself before you in person or on bringing him to Delhi for the sake of your fame and honour. Do not remain there long. Be moderate and polite in your dealings with the *maliks* and *amirs*. Do not undertake any venture without consulting Khwaja Haji and the more important officers. Be kind and gentle to the men and do not show any unnecessary irritation. You are going into a foreign country; it is a long journey from there to Delhi and you should not be guilty of any acts or words which may lead to trouble. Connive at the small speculations and faults of the men. As to the *amirs*, officers, generals and administrators of the army, do not treat them so mildly as to make them bold and disobedient nor so harshly as to turn them into your enemies. Keep yourself well-informed of the good and bad acts of the officers and prohibit the *amirs* from resembling together and visiting each other's camps. Apart from gold and silver, do not be harsh in collecting the fifth. If the *amirs* ask you to leave them a few slaves or horses they have captured, accede to their request. If they ask you for a loan either for themselves or their men, give them the money and take a receipt. And whenever the horse of an *amir*, officer or trooper is killed in battle, or stolen by a thief, or is otherwise disabled, give him from the royal stable a horse equally good or better; and ask the Khwaja to note down the loss or destruction of every horse in the *Diwan-i Arz*, for such a record is necessary for the purposes of the government.'

The *Malik Naib* and Khwaja Haji took leave of the Sultan and went to Rabri, a town in the territory of the *Malik Naib*, where they collected the troops. Then by continuous marches they moved towards Deogir and Arangal. At Chanderi the *maliks* and *amirs* of Hindustan joined them with their horse and foot, and a muster of the army was held. The *Rai Rayan*, Ram Deo, came to the frontier of Deogir to receive the army of Islam with innumerable presents for the *Malik Naib* and the *maliks* and *amirs*. While the army was marching across his kingdom, Ram Deo came and kissed the ground before the red canopy every day, and when it encamped in the suburbs of Deogir, he performed all the duties of a loyal chief. He provided fodder for the *Malik Naib* and the officers, and supplied the royal (*Sultani*) factories the material they required. Every day he came with his *muqaddams* to pay homage to the red canopy. He sent the shopkeepers of

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Deogir to the army and ordered them to supply everything to the soldiers at a cheap rate. After staying for a few days in the suburbs of Deogir, the army prepared to move. Ram Deo hastily sent his own men with his order to all the towns on the route to Tilang: 'At all the stages in the Deogir territory up to the frontier of Arangal, they were to keep corn, fodder and all other necessary things in readiness; they were to obey the *Malik Naib* like the people of Delhi, and would be held responsible if a piece of rope was lost; they were to allow stragglers to pass through their land and look after them till they reached the army.' He further ordered several Mahratta horsemen and footmen to accompany the army, while he himself went with the *Malik Naib* for several stages and then took leave and returned. The wise and experienced men of the army appreciated Ram Deo's loyal obedience and sincerity. 'Putting noblemen of noble birth at the head of affairs', they said, 'bears such fruits as we see in Ram Deo.'

When the *Malik Naib* reached the frontier of Tilang, he discovered that the towns and villages on his way had been laid waste. Seeing the superiority of the army of Islam, the *rais* and *muqaddams* had abandoned their own forts and fled for refuge to the fort of Arangal. The mud-fort of Arangal was very extensive and all the veterans of that region had collected there, while the *Rai* with his *muqaddams*, *rais* and relatives had crept into the inner fort of stone with their elephants and treasures. The *Malik Naib* sat down to invest the mud-fort. Every day a fierce battle took place between the besiegers and the besieged; *maghrabi*—stones were shot; and blows were inflicted and received by both parties. After a few days had been spent in this manner, the adventurous and desperate men of the army of Islam planted their scaling ladders and threw up their ropes; then like birds, they flew up to the towers of the fort, the mud of which was harder than stone, and with the blows of their sword, arrow, spear and axe, overpowered the defenders and made themselves masters of the mud-fort. To the garrison within the stone-fort the world now appeared smaller than the eye of an ant. Laddar Deo realized that all was lost and that his stone-fort was in imminent danger. He sent distinguished Brahmans and ambassadors (*basiths*) to the *Malik Naib* and asked for terms, promising to give up all the treasure, elephants, horses, jewels and other valuables which he possessed, and to send every year a certain amount of money and a number of elephants to the royal Treasury and stables of Delhi. The *Malik Naib* gave him terms and refrained from capturing the stone-fort. He took from the *Rai* the treasure which he (and his ancestors) had been accumulating for years—one hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, a large quantity of jewels and other valuables, and a deed promising money and elephants for future years. Towards the beginning of the year A.H. 710, the *Malik Naib* turned back from Arangal with his spoils and returned to Delhi by the same route through Deogir, Dhar and Jhaiun. His message of victory had reached the Sultan before him; it was read from the top of the pulpits and drums were beaten in joy. When the *Malik Naib* returned 'Alauddin granted him an audience on the Chautre-i Sultani, in the open country before the Badaun Gate. The gold, jewel, elephants, horses and other valuables brought by the *Malik Naib* were reviewed by the Sultan, while the people of Delhi enjoyed the display.

It was the Sultan's habit, whenever he sent an army from Delhi, to establish posts from Tilpat, which is the first stage, to the army-camp or so far as they could be established. At every stage relays of fast horses were stationed, while runners (*dhawas*) sat at every half or quarter *karoh* throughout the way. Moreover, in every town on the way, as well as in the villages where fast horses were stationed, officers and report-writers (*kaifiat-nawis*) were

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appointed. Thus every day, or every second or third day, news of the army was brought to the Sultan and the news of the Sultan's safety carried to the troops. Consequently, no false rumours could circulate in the City or in the army camp. This interchange of news was a great benefit to the country. On this occasion, however, while the *Malik Naib* was besieging the mud-fort of Arangal, some posts in the way were disestablished as the passage across Tilang was extremely dangerous, and for more than forty days no news of the army came to the Sultan. 'Alauddin became very anxious, while the leading men of the City began to suspect that some misfortune had overtaken the army or an insurrection had broken out. On one of these anxious days, the Sultan sent Malik Qara Beg and Qazi Mughisuddin of Biana to Shaikh Nizamuddin. 'Give my respects to the Shaikh,' he said, 'and tell him that the non-arrival of any intelligence from the army has made me anxious. He is more concerned for the glory of Islam than I am ; if his spiritual insight has revealed anything about the army to him, let him send the news to me. Let me know everything you hear from the lips of the Shaikh, without any additions or deductions.' The two messengers went to the Shaikh, who after hearing the royal message, informed them of Sultan's victory and triumph. 'But what is this victory?' he added, 'I expect victories greater still.' The Malik and the Qazi hastened back rejoicing to the Sultan and told him all they had heard. 'Alauddin was extremely pleased on hearing the Shaikh's reply ; he felt certain that Arangal had been conquered and his wishes realized. He took out his handkerchief and tied a knot in a corner. 'I take the Shaikh's reply for a good omen,' he said, 'vain words do not come to his lips. Arangal has been conquered and I may expect further victories.' As destiny would have it, runners bringing the message of victory from the *Malik Naib* came on that very day before the *zuhr* prayer. The message was read from the top of the pulpits on Friday ; drums were beaten and rejoicings were held in the City. The Sultan's faith in the Shaikh's spiritual power increased ; though he never personally met the Shaikh, yet throughout his life no words at which the Shaikh could be displeased ever came to his lips. The Shaikh's enemies and rivals told him everything about the Shaikh's munificence, of the large crowds that frequented his house, of his meals and his liberality, but though he was jealous by nature, 'Alauddin never paid any attention to their reports. During the later years of his reign, he developed a great faith in the Shaikh. But the two never met.

Towards the end of the year A.H. 710 'Alauddin again sent the *Malik Naib* with a disciplined army to Dhur Samandar and Ma'bar. The *Malik Naib* and Kuwaja Haji took leave of the Sultan at Delhi and proceeded to Rabri, where the army was collected. Then they moved on by stages to Deogir. Ram Deo had died. Continuous marches from Deogir brought the *Malik Naib* to the frontier of Dhur Samandar. Bilal, the Rai of Dhur Samandar, fell into the hands of the Muslim army in the first attack? Dhur Samandar was captured along with the treasure it contained and thrity-six elephants. A message of victory was received in Delhi.

From Dhur Samandar, the *Malik Naib* proceeded to Ma'bar. Ma'bar was captured without resistance ; its golden temple was destroyed and the golden idols, which had for generations past been worshipped by the Hindus of the place, were broken. All the spoils of the temple—the gold from the broken idols and stones precious beyond description—were brought to the army chest. There were two *Rais* in Ma'bar. From both of them the *Malik Naib* took away their elephants and treasures. Then, having sent his message of victory before himself, he turned back victorious and triumphant. In the beginning of the year A.H. 711 he reached Delhi with six hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses,

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ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls. On this occasion the *Malik Naib* presented the spoils to the Sultan at different times in the *Koshak-i Siri*, while the Sultan gave away half, one, two and even four *mans* of gold as present to various *maliks* and *amirs*. The old men of Delhi declared with one voice: 'No one remembers, nor has it been recorded in any of the histories of Delhi, that such spoils, elephants and treasures have in any age or generation been brought to the City as after the capture of Ma'bar and Dhur Samandar.' At the end of the same year twenty elephants reached Delhi with a letter from Laddar Deo, the Rai of Tilang. 'I hold in readiness,' the Rai wrote to the Sultan, 'the money which I promised before the royal red canopy, and concerning which I have given a deed to the *Malik Naib*. If allowed, I will hand over the money at Deogir to anyone commissioned to receive it. I wish to carry out the obligations of my treaty and compact.'

III. *FERISHTA*

A large army had once before been sent to Arangal by way of Bengal, but unable to effect anything, it had returned dilapidated and ruined. In the year A H. 709 the Emperor sent the *Malik Naib* with an enormous army on a second expedition to Arangal, but this time by way of Deogir. 'If Laddar Deo, the ruler of Arangal,' such were 'Alauddin's directions, 'gives up his treasure, jewels and elephants, and promises to pay an yearly tribute, rest content with it and do not try to conquer the fort of Arangal or the territory of Tilang. Consult Khwaja Haji in the direction of affairs. Do not put the *amirs* to task for small offences. If a trooper's horse is killed in battle, stolen by a thief or otherwise disabled, give him a better one in its place.' The *Malik Naib* and Khwaja Haji reached Deogir by continuous marches. Ram Deo came out to receive them with many presents and wonderfully fulfilled all the duties of a host. He sent the shopkeepers of his own army to the *Malik Naib's* troops and directed them to sell their wares at the Imperial tariff-rates. He personally came to pay his respects before the red canopy every day. When the *Malik Naib* started from Deogir for Tilang, Ram Deo accompanied him for a few stages; then leaving a part of his horse and foot with the *Malik Naib* to keep guard over the army and show the way to Tilang, he returned with (the *Malik Naib's*) permission. Moreover, he ordered the merchants, *raiyats* and corn-dealers of his kingdom to continue their duty of carrying grain and all other necessaries to the army and to see to it that the (Delhi) troops were not put to trouble on any account. When the *Malik Naib* reached the *pargana* of Indore on the frontier of Tilang, he ordered his troops to kill and plunder without stint. A terror surpassing all description took possession of the inhabitants, and the *rais* of the surrounding country collected round Laddar Deo from fear of the Muslim army. When the invaders approached, Ladder Deo took refuge in the inner fort of Arangal, which was of stone while the other *rais* remained in the very extensive outer fort of mud. The *Malik Naib* invested the fort and closed all exits; but the infidels raised the banner of defence and a great number of men fell every day. After a long time and with great effort, the outer fort was at last conquered and most of the *rais* and *zamindars* were captured with their women, children, families and tribes. Laddar Deo was now helpless. He offered three hundred elephants, seven thousand horses, plenty of jewels and cash, and promised to pay an yearly tribute. The *Malik Naib* (accepts it) and prepared to return. When the news reached the Emperor, drums were beaten in Delhi, the message of victory was read from the pulpits and all the ceremonies of thanks-giving were duly performed. On the *Malik Naib's* arrival, 'Alauddin came out of the City and

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sat on the Chabutra-i Nasiri near the Badaun Gate, where the *Malik Naib* presented his spoils and became the object of unprecedented royal favours.

It is said that whenever 'Alauddin sent his army in any direction, posts (*dak chaukis*) called *bam* in the language of former times, were stationed from Delhi to the camp of the army. Two swift-running footmen, known in Hind as *paiks*, were placed at every *karoh* and clerks (*navisandas*) were stationed at every city and town on the route to despatch a daily written report on the events of the place. Now, while the *Malik Naib* was besieging the fort of Arangal, the roads became dangerous owing to the large number of Telangi soldiers and the posts were swept away. For some days no news of the army arrived. The Emperor was perplexed and sent Qazi Mughisuddin of Biana and Malik Qara Beg to Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. 'Give my respects to the Shaikh,' he said, 'and tell him that my mind is weighed down by the non-arrival of any news from the army. He has even a greater concern for Islam than I have and if he has come to know anything about it through the revelations of the inner light, request him to give me some hints. And tell me exactly whatever comes to Shaikh's lips in answer to this, without adding or subtracting anything.' When the two messengers reached the Shaikh and conveyed their message, the Shaikh referred to an emperor of the past and related the story of his conquests; in the course of conversation he remarked that he (the Shaikh) expected other victories in addition to the conquest of Arangal. 'Alauddin was extremely pleased and felt sure that Arangal had been conquered. As providence would have it, that very afternoon messengers brought the message of victory from Arangal. The Emperor's faith in the Shaikh increased; though 'Alauddin never evinced any desire to see the Shaikh personally, yet by the despatch of messengers and letters he gave evidence of his sincerity and friendship and invoked the Shaikh's blessing.

'Alauddin had conquered all forts from the frontiers of Sindh and Kabul to the border of Bengal, and also the forts of Gujrat and the Deccan; the hereditary dominions of the *rajahs* had come into his hands; and there were not ten *bighas* of land in the inhabited parts of Hindustān where his *khutba* was not read. He now began to aspire for the coast of the Sea of 'Umman (Indian Ocean) and the remotest corners of the south. The *Malik Naib* and Khwaja Haji were despatched in A.H. 710 to subjugate Dhur Samandar and Ma'bar. The temples of those lands were full of gold and precious jewels and their *rais* had a great reputation for the wealth of their treasuries. When the two generals reached Deogir, they found that Ram Deo was dead and had been succeeded by his son. Not reposing the same trust in the loyalty of the son as they had in the loyalty of the father, they left an officer of their own near the town of Jallahpur on the bank of the Ganges (Godavari) before proceeding further. This time they tried to slay the infidels more than ever before, and marched on riotously till after a journey of three months they reached the destined ports. They overpowered Bital (Bilal) Deo, *rajah* of the Carnatic, plundered his country, broke the temples and seized all idols which were set with jewels. They also built a small mosque of stone and plaster, in which they gave the Prophet's call for prayers and read the Emperor's *khutba*. The mosque still exists in the suburbs of Sit Band Ramisar and is known as the Masjid-i 'Alai ('Alauddin's mosque). It can be seen from there that the port of Dhur Samandar, situated on the shore of the Sea of 'Umman (Arabian Sea), has now been destroyed by the innundations of the sea. It is said that the infidels, out of respect due to a house of God, have refrained from destroying the mosque. But, according to others, it is written in the books of the infidels that this land, as well as the whole of the inhabited globe, will finally come under the sway of Muslim rulers; consequently their divines have not permitted the Hindus to destroy the mosque. Be this as it may, the *Malik Naib*,

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having seized the treasure of the Rai, prepared to depart. The Brahmans of the place had been spared by the victors and were living with the army. On the night before its departure, some of them took out a part of the treasure, which was buried under the temples; but while dividing it among themselves, they began to quarrel and disputed very loudly. A Mussalman, who came to know of this, informed the *Kotwal*. *The Kotwal* arrested all the Brahmans and brought them before the *Malik Naib*. The Brahmans, from fear of the rack and torture, gave up all they had; they showed where the treasure lay concealed, and also six other spots in the forest where treasures were buried. The *Malik Naib* acquired a world of wealth from those places, loaded it on elephants and started for Ma'bar. Here, too, he broke the temples and seized the cash and jewels, which the *rais* had hoarded for thousands of years. Then, loaded with booty, he started on his return journey and reached Delhi in A.H. 711. He presented to the Emperor before the Hazar Sutun Palace three hundred and twelve elephants, twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, being equivalent to about ten *karores* of *tankas*, and caskets of pearls and jewels beyond all computation. The Emperor was mightily pleased to see the treasure, before which the '*bad awurd*' of Parwiz was a trifle. Contrary to his usual practice, he opened the door of his treasury and gave five and ten *mans* of gold to each of his *amirs*; the divines, *shaikhs* and other deserving persons got a *man* or half-a-*man* each while smaller people also received presents in proportion to their deserts. The rest of the gold was melted in the Emperor's presence and the Alai mint-mark (*muhr*) was put upon it. Since silver has never been referred to in the spoils brought by *Malik Naib* from the Carnatic, it would seem that no particular value was attached to silver in those lands and that it was not current (as a coin). Even now most people in those parts use gold (as a circulating medium). Not to speak of the rich, the very beggars feel ashamed of wearing silver ornaments while most men of the middle class dine in plates of gold.

APPENDIX B

Mughal Invasions Omitted by Khusrau—Kutlugh Khwaja, Saldi and Targhi

As I have explained in the introduction, Khusrau avoids all reference to events that were not to 'Alauddin's credit. Thus he simply ignores the two invasions in which the Mughals invested Delhi and 'Alauddin's position became precarious. They were, probably, omitted by the *Fath-i Namah* also. Barni, however, describes them in greater detail than is his habit, for the great historian had little love for military men and their ways. I give below some extracts about the three Mughal invasions Khusrau has ignored.

I. *INVASION OF KUTLUGH KHWAJA*

"'Towards the end of the same year (i.e. in the fourth year of 'Alauddin's reign), Kutlugh Khwaja, son of the accursed Zaidu, invaded Hindustan with twenty *tumans* of Mughals. They started from Mawaraun Nahr equipped and ready for a great war, crossed the Sind (Indus) and by stages reached the neighbourhood of Delhi. Since they intended to capture Delhi, they refrained from attacking the forts on their way and did not plunder the country through which they passed. The coming of these wretches with an army numerous as ants and locusts spread consternation through the City. Young and old were equally dismayed, for they had never been through such a crisis before. All the

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inhabitants of the neighbouring towns fled for refuge to the old fort Delhi, which had not been repaired. The City was fearfully overcrowded ; the mosques, streets and lanes could hardly hold the people. The price of commodities in the City rose very high for the *caravan*-routes had been blocked.

'The Sultan marched out of Delhi with great pomp. The royal camp was pitched at Siri, and the *maliks*, *amirs* and soldiers were summoned to Delhi from all quarters. My uncle, 'Alaul Mulk, *Kotwal* of Delhi, was one of the Sultan's confidential advisers, and when the Sultan left Delhi, he assigned the *harem*, the City and the Treasury to my uncle's care.

'Alaul Mulk, who had gone to Siri to bid the Sultan farewell, represented to him : "Kings and ministers, who have governed the world in the past, have shunned great battles in which it is not possible to foresee on which side victory will lean or what any moment will bring forth. They have advised that wars between equals should be avoided, for such wars are dangerous both to the king and to his subjects. War, it is written in the wills of kings, is like the scales of a balance ; the weight of a few coins will raise one scale and depress the other ; and everything may in a moment be ruined beyond repair. Though a defeat is not ruinous to monarchs in ordinary warfare and matters can be patched up again, yet kings have been very nervous about a war between equals, in which the whole country is played for at a single stroke ; and they have, so far as possible, averted by diplomacy and the formation of strong leagues the mortal danger, which they were unable to face. This is why kings send ambassadors and envoys to each other without hesitation.

' "Your Majesty should send in front, in order to block the Mongol advance, the camel-riders, who are as strong as a hundred thousand horse, while you yourself stop here with your army and postpone for a few days an engagement with the enemy, who is swarming like ants and locusts. Beguile them for a while, so that we may see what they are at and how the situation develops. We can give them battle, if there is no other alternative left. But they are not stretching their hands in plunder ; they have collected their men together and crept into the forts. How will their immense army, from which they do not allow ten men to be separated, find fodder? How will they live? If a few days are spent in the coming and going of ambassadors, we will be able to discover their intention. It is possible that they might become tired, take to plunder and withdraw ; and then Your Majesty can pursue them for a few stages.

' "I am an old and tried servant," Alaul Mulk continued, "I have always placed before Your Majesty my views concerning the management of affairs and Your Majesty has rewarded me for doing so. But the wisest course is that which Your Majesty prefers. The judgment of the great king is superior to the judgment of other men. I have also thought out some schemes for putting a stop to the invasions of the Mughals and shall place them before Your Majesty at a moment of leisure. But this time the wretches have come with an immense multitude, and though God has given us a large and well-equipped army, yet most of our soldiers are Hindustanis, whose lives have been passed in fighting the Hindus ; they have not encountered the Mughals before and are ignorant of their tactics and their deceitful retreats and ambushes. If the Mughals, by some wise measure, could be induced to retreat on this occasion, it will be possible for us to organize the army of Delhi so efficiently that our troops will be only too glad to meet them in future."

'The Sultan commended 'Alaul Mulk's well-meant advice for its loyalty. Then he summoned the great *Khans* and *Maliks* to his presence and addressed them as follows : "You know that 'Alaul Mulk is a *wazir* and a *wazir-zada*. He is a well-wisher of mine and has been my counsellor from the time when I was a *malik*.

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He deserves the *wizarat* (ministership) by right, though owing to his corpulence I have only given him the *Kotwalship*. At this moment he has expressed some strong views and brought forward lucid arguments to dissuade me from joining battle with the Mughals. I wish to give him my answer in the presence of you all, for you are the pillars of my Government."

'"'Alaul Mulk!" continued the Sultan, turning towards the *Kotwal*, "You are an old and faithful servant. You lay claim to the *wizarat* of the state and to wisdom. Now hear from me, your patron and your king, the judgment that is wise and true. There is a well-known saying: 'One cannot steal a camel and escape in darkness.' Neither can one retain the Empire of Delhi by following such advice as yours—by shunning war and seeking refuge behind the camel's backs. It would be unbecoming for me to avoid battle by deceit or fraud. Contemporaries as well as posterity will laugh at my beard if I act on your advice, specially when my enemies have marched two thousand *Karohs* from their own country and challenged me to a combat beneath the Delhi Tower. On an occasion like this you ask me to act like a coward, to send my camels in front, while I sit, like a hen or a duck on her eggs, hatching schemes by which my enemy may be subdued. To whom will I be able to show my face, if I acted thus? With what manliness will I be able to go into my *harem* again? Of what account will I remain to the people of my country? How will my bravery and courage keep my turbulent people in obedience? Happen what may, to-morrow I will move from here (Siri) to the plain of Kili and fight Kutlugh Khwaja and his men till it is clear to which of us two God grants victory and success.

'"'Alaul Mulk! I have given you the *Kotwalship* of Delhi and entrusted the City, the *harem* and the Treasury to your care. It is your duty to kiss the keys of the Treasury and the gates and lay them before the victor, whoever he may be, and serve him faithfully. But do you not, with all your wisdom and experience, see that war could only have been avoided by diplomacy before the enemy had surrounded us. But when he comes before me with such an army, I have no other alternative, no other plan, but straightway to knock him down, and, at the risk of my own life, to take the breath out of his body with the blows of my axe and sword and spear. The household tales you tell me are of no use in the market-place. Subtle things, which may be nicely told on the four yards of a clean carpet at home, are inappropriate on the field of battle, where a stream of blood has to flow from both sides. As to the plans you have thought of for stopping the Mughal invasions, I will hear them the day after the battle is over and I have discharged its duties. You are a learned man and the son of a learned man. By all means tell me everything that comes to your mind concerning this problem."

'"I am an old servant," 'Alaul Mulk replied, "and I have never hesitated in placing my views before Your Majesty."

'"You are a faithful man," the Sultan assured him, "and I have taken your well-meant advice in proper spirit. But the situation before us is one in which discretion has to be thrown to the wind, and there is no course for us but to risk our lives and offer battle, to draw our swords and fall upon the enemy."

'Alaul Mulk kissed the Sultan's hands in farewell. He then returned to Delhi and closed all entrances except the Badaun Gate. Young and old in the City were seized with dismay and lifted up their hands in prayer.

'Sultan 'Alauddin marched with the army of Islam from Siri to Kili and encamped there. Kutlugh Khwaja also came forward and encamped opposite. People were struck with amazement and wonder, for in no previous generation or age had armies so large opposed each other in battle. Both armies were arrayed in order and stood waiting for the engagement to commence. Zafar Khan, the

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commander of the right wing, and his *amirs* drew their swords, rushed forward and fell upon the enemy. The Mughals were unable to withstand the onslaught; they broke and fled and the army of Islam followed in pursuit. Zafar Khan, the Rustam of his generation, continued the chase; with the blows of his sword he made them fly before him, while he cut off their heads. He pursued them for eighteen *karohs*. The Mughals were so frightened that they could not distinguish their bridles from the crupper of their saddles and had not the courage to turn back. But Ulugh Khan, who commanded the left wing and had many *amirs* and a large army, did not stir from his place. He hated Zafar Khan and would not move forward to help him.

'Now the accursed Targhi with his *tuman* had been placed in ambush as a reserve. His Mughals climbed the trees and discovered that no horsemen (from the army of Delhi) were moving forward to support Zafar Khan. As soon as he found this out, Targhi attacked Zafar Khan from behind and surrounded him on all sides with a ring of Mughal forces. Zafar Khan was hailed with a shower of arrows and unhorsed. But the brave hero, though on foot, continued to fight; he took out his arrows from his quiver and brought down a Mughal at every shot. At that moment Kutlugh Khwaja sent him a message: "Come to me. I will take you to my father, who will raise you to a higher dignity than the king of Delhi has done." But Zafar paid no attention to his offer. Kutlugh Khwaja tried to capture him alive, but as this proved impossible, the Mughals attacked him from all sides and he was martyred. Then they slew his *amirs*, wounded his elephants and killed the elephant-drivers.

'The increasing darkness saved the Mughals that night. But Zafar Khan's attack had filled their hearts with terror; they fled from the battle-field in the early hours of the morning and did not pitch their tents again till they had marched thirty *karohs* from Delhi. Then by marches of twenty *karohs*, and without resting at any stage, they reached their own frontier. But they remembered Zafar Khan's attack for years. "It must have seen Zafar Khan," they would say whenever their cattle refused to drink water. An army so large never came again to give battle in the suburbs of Delhi.' [1]

Ferishta does not add anything substantial to Barni's narrative: 'Towards the end of the same year, Kutlugh Khwaja, son of Dawa Khan, came from Mawaraun Nahr with twenty *tumans* of Mughals, i.e., 200,000 horsemen, resolved upon the conquest of Hindustan. After crossing the river Sind (Indus), he considered the towns and villages on his route as belonging to himself and consequently refrained from injuring them. On reaching the bank of the Jumna, he laid siege to Delhi. Innumerable people had fled to Delhi from the "New City" (Kailugarhi) and the surrounding towns and villages from fear of the Mughals; the crowd was such that in the mosques, markets, streets and quarters of the City there was no place either to sit or stand. Men were sick of the overcrowding; the prices of all things rose exorbitantly as the roads for bringing corn and provisions were closed. Sultan 'Alauddin summoned his *maliks* and *amirs* and began to get his army ready. Some of the *amirs*, however, were against giving battle; they urged that the army of Hindustan was weak and hinted that war was a doubtful business, which may have either of two results. The Emperor refused to accept their advice. "It does not become famous kings to shun war and battle," he replied.

'Consequently, entrusting the safety of the City, the *harem* and the Treasury to the *Kotwal*, 'Alaul Mulk, and closing all entrances except the Badaun Gate, 'Alauddin marched out of Delhi with imperial pomp. He had, according to the

[1] Ziauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi*, Persian text, pages 254–61.

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correct narrative, 300,000 horse and 2,700 elephants. The two armies beat their drums and arranged their ranks on the plain of Kili. Never since the elevation of the Muslim standard in India, had armies so large met each other in battle; nor have they since then till now, A.H. 1015. In short, the Second Alexander placed his army in order of battle. The right wing was entrusted to Hizhabruddin Zafar Khan, one of the greatest generals of the day, who held the territories of the Punjab, Samana and Multan. The left wing was assigned to the Sultan's brothers, Ulugh Khan and Rukn Khan, while the Emperor, with Nusrat Khan, took charge of the centre with 12,000 young and brave horsemen and many fierce elephants. All the imperial officers were placed in suitable positions. Zafar Khan first attacked the enemy lines in front of him and overthrew them with the onslaught of his elephants and the blows of his sharp sword; then he fell on the lines that confronted his colleagues and broke them also. The Mughals fell dead in heaps in the forest and plain and reduced to helplessness, they took to flight. Zafar Khan pursued them for eighteen *karohs*. But Ulugh Khan, who commanded the left wing, was jealous of Zafar Khan and did not advance to support him. Seeing that Zafar Khan had gone forward alone and that no troops were advancing to his help, the Turkish leader of the Mughal left, who had formed an ambush in the way, suddenly came behind Zafar Khan and surrounded him on all sides. They wounded his horse, but Zafar Khan, though on foot, placed the arrows from his quiver on the ground and shot down a large number of the enemy. Kutlugh Khwaja sent him a message: "Come to me and I will raise you to a position greater than you enjoy." But Zafar Khan did not heed it and kept on shooting his arrows. Kutlugh Khwaja tried to capture him alive, but that having proved impossible, he ordered arrows to be showered on Zafar Khan till he was martyred. The *amirs* of Zafar Khan's army were also slain. Kutlugh Khwaja was so frightened by the Hindi attack that he did not draw his bridle till he had marched thirty *karohs* on that very day; then by continuous marches he moved on to his own country. Zafar Khan's courage and generalship became proverbial among the Mughals, and if one horse refused to drink, they would remark that it had seen Zafar Khan. The Emperor, who was afraid of Zafar Khan, considered his martyrdom a second victory, and returned from Kili to the City, where he gave himself up to rejoicings and pleasures. Those who had behaved bravely in the battle were rewarded with robes of honour and promoted in the service, but an *amir*, who had fled to Delhi from the camp, was paraded through the streets of the City on an ass.'

II. *INVASION OF SALDI*

To 'Alauddin's dislike of Zafar Khan, we may also attribute Khusrau's omission of another struggle with the Mughals, which took place sometime before the invasion of Kutlugh Khwaja. 'In the same year that Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were sent to Gujrat, Zafar Khan was despatched against Siwistan (Sehwan), which had been captured by Saldi and his brother and other Mughals. Zafar Khan invested the fort of Siwistan with a large army and made a way into it with the blows of his axe, sword, javelin and spear. No *maghribis*, *manjaniqs* or *'iradas* were brought into action; no *pashib* or *gargaj* was constructed; and though the Mughals from within shot such a shower of arrows on all sides, that even the birds of the air could not go near the fort, yet Zafar Khan captured it with his sword and axe. Saldi and his brother and all the other Mughals with their women and children were sent in yokes and chains to Delhi. This exploit established Zafar Khan's prestige in the public mind and 'Alauddin began to look askance at his generalship and fearless courage, which showed that a second Rustam had appeared in Hindustan. Ulugh Khan, whose achievement (the

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conquest of Gujrat) had been surpassed, also concieved a hatred for Zafar Khan. This year Zafar Khan held the territory of Samana. 'Alauddin, who was extremely jealous by nature, was thinking of getting rid of him in one of two ways—*either* by showering favours on him and sending him to Lakhnauti with several thousand horse, so that he may seize that territory and send the Sultan's elephants and tribute from there, *or* by having him poisoned or blinded.'[1]

Ferishta adds little to the above account. He calls the Mughal leader Chaldi and says that the Mughal captives sent to Delhi, apart from the women and children, numbered seventeen hundred.

III. *INVASION OF TARGHI*

'No sooner had Sultan 'Alauddin returned (from Chitor), than the Mughal danger arose once more. The Mughals in Mawaraun Nahr heard that Sultan 'Alauddin had gone to lay siege to a distant fort and that there were no troops in Delhi. Targhi collected twelve *tumans* of horse and by forced marches reached Delhi before he was expected. In the same year, when 'Alauddin had marched to Chitor, Malik Fakhruddin Jauna, the *Dad-bek-i Hazrat* and Malik Chajjū, nephew of Nusrat Khan and governor of Karra, had been sent to Arangal with the *amirs* and horse and foot of Hindustan. But when they reached Arangal, it began to rain in torrents, and harassed by the rainy season, the army of Hindustan could achieve nothing there. Towards the beginning of the winter, it returned to Hindustan, greatly reduced in numbers. It had lost all its baggage. The army of Sultan 'Alauddin had also lost its baggage at the foot of the Chitor fort in the siege operations and the rain.

'The Sultan had not been in Delhi for a month, no muster of the troops had been held and the *material* lost had not been replaced, when Targhi, all of a sudden, arrived with thirty or forty thousand horsemen and encamped on the bank of the Jumna. The people of the City, therefore, found their communications with the outside world cut off. The condition of Sultan 'Alauddin's army was pathetic. The Sultan, as explained above, did not get sufficient time to replace the horses and *material* he had lost at Chitor. Malik Fakhruddin Jauna returned to Hindustan after losing his army and its *material* in Warangal, and as the Mugals had so encamped as to close all the roads, no horse or foot from the army of Hindustan could reach the City. At Multan, Depalpur and Samana there was no force strong enough to break through the Mughal lines and join the Sultan at Siri. The army of Hindustan was summoned, but as the Mughals had captured all the fords, it was compelled to remain at Koil (Aligarh) and Barran (Bulandshahr).

'Sultan 'Alauddin, therefore, came out of the City with the few troops he had and encamped at Siri. He laid aside all thought of open battle and dug a trench round his camp; on the outer side of the trench he constructed a wooden defence of stakes made from the doors of the houses of Delhi in order to prevent the Mughals from breaking into his camp. He ordered the garrison to be watchful and awake; they were to keep an armed guard at the trenches, so that the Mughals may not be able to cross them, and five armed elephants were made to stand in the trench of every detachment. The Mughals swarmed round the camp and wished to make a sudden assault on the Sultan's army. Never before had the Mughal danger been so great in Delhi as in this year, and if Targhi had remained for another month, there was a great likelihood that the Citizens, growing sick of the situation, would have submitted (to him). The Mughal danger weighed heavily on all hearts; no water, grass or wood could be brought to the City from outside; and the *caravan routes* of the corn merchants had been closed. The Mughal horsemen came

[1] *Barni*, Persian Text, pp. 253-4.

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to the *Chautra-i Subhani*, Muri and Kudhi; they often alighted on the embankment of the Royal (Shamsi) Tank, where they held their drinking parties, and sold the corn and provisions of 'Alauddin's stores at a very cheap rate. This prevented an excessive scarcity of corn in the City. Two or three skirmishes took place between the mounted foraging parties of the two armies, but neither side gained a decisive victory; Thank God! the accursed Targhi did not succeed in breaking into the Sultan's camp and annihilating his army. After two months the prayers of the helpless (were heard by the Almighty) and Targhi collected his spoils and retired to his own land.

'This deliverance of the City and the army of Islam from the Mughals appeared a strange thing to experienced men. The Mughals had come at the proper time and in sufficient numbers to capture the City; they had closed all roads for the entrance of soldiers and provisions; the Sultan's army had no equipment and no reinforcements could reach it; and yet the Mughals were unable to overcome or prevail.'[1]

Ferishta, who contents himself with summarising Barni, is pleased to add: 'The Sultan, in his excessive anxiety, appealed to Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. That very night, it is said, Targhi, who had besieged Delhi for two months, was overpowered by a strange terror and retreated in haste—an action for which no material reasons can be found. The people of Delhi considered it to be the result of the Shaikh's intervention and numbered it among his miracles.' Targhi's apparent success, it must not be forgotten, had been due to the rapidity of his movements. 'Alauddin's defence of Siri for two months must have given the *amirs* of the Doab and the Punjab time to collect their forces. It is difficult to explain the 'strange terror' that took possession of Targhi's mind, but his communications were in danger and he may not have felt himself strong enough to meet the forces which were sure, sooner or later, to march for the relief of Delhi from all sides.

APPENDIX C

Chronology of Important Expeditions

[The conversion of dates from the Hijra to the Christian Era is based on Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras*. Appendices C and D have been compiled by my friend, Mr. Saed Zaman, M.A.]

1. Accession of Jalaluddin Khilji—June, 1290.
2. Rebellion of Malik Chajju, battle of Kulaibnagar; Malik 'Alauddin Khilji appointed Governor of Karra-Manikpur (Allahabad)—1291.
3. 'Alauddin plunders Bhilsah—1294.
4. Malik 'Alauddin marches to Deogir without the Sultan's permission; Ram Deo's submission; 'Alauddin returns with the spoils—winter of 1295-96.
5. Assassination of Sultan Jalaluddin on the bank of the Ganges near Karra, July 19, 1296; 'Alauddin is proclaimed Emperor and marches on Delhi—rainy season, 1296.
6. Ulugh Khan and Zafar sent to Multan; siege of Multan; Arkali Khan and Ruknuddin Ibrahim submit and are imprisoned—winter of 1296-97.
7. Invasion of Kadar; Ulugh Khan sent against the Mughals; Battle of Jaran Manjur, February 6, 1298.
8. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan conquer Gujrat and Cambay; Bhim Deo is defeated and his *harem* captured; revolt of the 'New Muslims' while the army was returning—winter of 1299-1300.
9. Zafar Khan recaptures Siwistan (Sehwan); Saldi and his Mughals are brought captive to Delhi—winter of 1299-1300.

[1] *Barni*, pp. 299-302.

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10. Invasion of Kuttugh Khwaja ; battle of Kili—1300.

11. 'Alauddin besieges Rantambhor—Summer of 1301 ; Akat Khan attempts to assassinate the Emperor at Tilpat ; rebellions of 'Umar and Mangu in Badaun and Oudh and of Haji Maula in Delhi ; fall of Rantambhar—June 29, 1301. The rebellions during the siege led 'Alauddin and his council to promulgate a series of administrative reforms for the suppression of rebellions, the better government of the country and the reorganization of the revenue system.

12. 'Alauddin marches to Chitor and lays siege to the fort ; fall of the fort—August 25, 1303.

13. Malik Fakhruddin Jauna is sent by way of Bengal to Arangal but returns to the Doab after losing his men and *material*—1303.

14. Targhi, the Mughal, marches from Mawaraun Nahr ; Sultan 'Alauddin entrenches his camp at Siri—winter of 1303-4. The retreat of Targhi was followed by the famous economic regulations, which kept prices stable and enabled 'Alauddin to muster an army of 450,000. The forts on the route of the Mughals were repaired and garrisoned.

15. Invasion of Ali Beg, Tartaq and Targhi ; battle of Amroha—December 30, 1905.

16. Conquest of Malwa ; defeat of Kuka Pardhan ; 'Ainul Mulk Multani captures Mandu—November 24, 1305.

17. Invasions of Kapak, Iqbal and Tai Bu—*probably* the winter of 1306-7, but authorities differ and give no exact dates. (See *note* at the end of Chap. III.)

18. Campaign of Arangal—the army is absent from Delhi from December 31, 1309 to June 10, 1310 ; the *Malik Naib* reaches Deogir, December 28 ; Siege of Arangal commences, January 19, 1310 ; the Imperialists capture the outer fort of mud—February 6, 1310 ; Submission of Laddar Deo ; the army starts from Arangal with its spoils—March 20, 1310.

19. 'Alauddin starts for Siwana—June 10, 1310 ; fall of the fort, *probably* August 19, 1310.

20. Kamaluddin Gurg reduces Jalore—1310.

21. Campaign of Ma'abar and Dhur Samandar—the army is absent from Delhi from November 20, 1310 to October 30, 1311 ; Siege of Dhur Samandar (Dwara Samudra)—February 11 and 12, 1311.

22. The *Malik Naib* invades Deogir—*probably* winter of 1314 and 1315. Barni refers to this invasion, but no detailed record of it has been given by any of the Khilji historians.

23. Death of Sultan 'Alauddin—February 3, 1315.

APPENDIX D

Concordance of Dates

TABLE I

First day of the Hijra Era	Corresponding date of the Christian Era
696	October 30, 1296.
697	October 19, 1297.
698	October 9, 1298.
699	September 28, 1299.
700	September 16, 1300.
701	September 6, 1301.
702	August 26, 1302.

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TABLE I—(*continued.*)

First day of the Hijra Era	Corresponding date of the Christian Era
703	August 15, 1303.
704	August 4, 1304.
705	July 24, 1305.
706	July 13, 1306.
707	July 3, 1307.
708	June 21, 1308.
709	June 11, 1309.
710	May 31, 1310.
711	May 20, 1311.

TABLE II

Hijra Era	Christian Era
19th Rabi II 695.	February 25, 1296.
28th Rajab 695.	May 4, 1296.
16th Ramazan 695.	July 19, 1296.
22nd Zil Hijjah 695.	October 23, 1296.
22nd Rabi II 697.	February 6, 1298.
20th Jamadi I 699.	February 10, 1300.
3rd Zi-qa'd 700.	June 29, 1301.
11th Muharram 703.	August 25, 1303.
5th Jamadi I 705.	November 24, 1305.
12th Jamadi II 705.	December 30, 1305.
19th Ramazan 706.	March 24, 1307.
25th Jamadi I 709.	October 31, 1309.
19th Jamadi II 709.	November 24, 1309.
26th Rajab 709.	December 30, 1309.
16th Sha'ban 709.	January 20, 1310.
11th Muharram 710.	June 10, 1310.
26th Jamadi II 710.	November 20, 1310.
13th Ramazan 710.	February 3, 1311.
17th Ramazan 710.	February 7, 1311.
23rd Ramazan 710.	February 13, 1311.
5th Zi-qa'd 710.	March 26, 1311.
11th Zi-qa'd 710.	April 1, 1311.
15th Zi-qa'd 710.	April 5, 1311.
4th Zil Hijjah 710.	April 24, 1311.
14th Jamadi II 711.	October 30, 1311.

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[The Editor very much regrets that he is compelled to hold over a certain number of reviews to the next number. A number of articles printed here are longer than usual and likely to suffer by division. He hopes to be able to set apart more space for reviews in the next number.]

Reviews

'THE PICTORIAL LIFE OF SHIVAJI' [1]

We have great pleasure in welcoming the appearance of the three volumes of the illustrated Album of Shri Shivaji Maharaj recently published by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh. These volumes, though intended to be brought out at the time of the tercentenary of Shri Shivaji, have really a permanent interest and not merely a temporal or local interest. The Chief Saheb of Aundh has been well known to all scholars in India as a person who takes the intensest interest in Art. His earliest appearance in the field of pictorial illustration was in the field of Mythology when he produced the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata in beautiful pictures. The stories of the Mahabharata have lately occupied the attention of the Chief Saheb from another point of view also, namely that of the reality of dresses, costumes, manners and so forth, which might be inferred as prevalent at the time of the Mahabharata from their nearest traces in the earliest works of Art in India. These would be embodied in the volumes of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Institute. Shrimant Balasaheb's interest in Art has carried him to the field of Archaeology also, and we expect that the volumes on 'Verul' and 'Ajanta' with pictorial illustrations of architecture, sculpture and painting will soon see the light of day. It is not necessary to forestall our remarks upon these volumes as they will be made at the time when these volumes come to be published. In the sphere which is the subject-matter of the present review, Shrimant Balasaheb appears as a pictorial presentor of History, having taken for his field one of the sublimest topics of Maratha history, viz., the life of Shivaji

[1] The Shivaji Album in three volumes by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, with the co-operation of other Artists, the Aundh State Press, Rs. 4-8-0 the set.

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Maharaj. We thus see how Shrimant Balasaheb has engaged himself in Mythology, Archaeology and History, and has depicted all of these in pictures, so that the story which is otherwise told by the pen may here be told by the pencil.

As Principal Rawlinson observes in his foreword to the volumes, Shivaji deserves to be regarded as a national hero by Hindus and Muslims alike, just as Akbar and Aurangzeb might also be regarded as heroes by both the communities. In fact, as Principal Rawlinson points out, even within 12 years of the close of the Great War, the English have ceased to regard with rancour the exploits of the Hindenburgs and the Ludendorfs, and the Fochs and the Haigs have become the possession of mankind. It is from this point of view that we must look at the pictorial representations in these volumes, and let us hope that they pass into the possession of every lover of India.

It is no doubt true that there is a subjective element as well as an objective element in our judgments about aesthetic productions, as there is a subjective element and an objective element in our moral judgments. It may be that one critic's remarks may not tally with those of another. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that it is always best in the interest of the development of aesthetic and moral judgments that a man must bring into play his own aesthetic and moral sense, and judge accordingly. We distinctly remember a gentleman who regarded the Taj as an ugly product; but the concensus of opinion is against that view; and the objectivity annuls and cancels these subjective judgments into itself. It may well be that the same might be the case as regards the present volumes. One Art-critic might like one picture more than another, or differently from another; but on the whole, there is no gainsaying the fact that there would nevertheless be an objective element in judgments about these pictorial representations, and from that point of view we might say that the pictures in the volumes in question are a distinct contribution to the development of the pictorial art in India. Let us hope that this procedure of depicting movements and actions by means of pictures may be adopted in India more generally than has been the case hitherto.

The pictures in Vol. I which we regard as specially worthy of mention are those in plates, Nos. 3, 5, 6 and 10. In plate No. 3, the baby

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Shivaji is shown in the hands of his mother Jijabai, and with the plumpiness natural to his age, the young Shivaji looks a beautiful baby indeed in the hands of his loving mother. In plate No. 5 Shivaji looks exceedingly beautiful as a young prince. He is gathering together the Mavalas and presenting them with blankets and swords. This is one of the best pictures in the volume. Plate No. 6 gives us pictorial representation of the oath of Svarajya taken by the Mavalas in the presence of Shivaji and Shankara. The illuminative effect of the picture is very good; but to all apperances, Shivaji looks too plumpy for his historical description. Otherwise, the picture is a good one. Plate No. 10 is a very fine presentation of the moral heroism of Shivaji, when, in the presence of the daughter-in-law of the Mahomedan Subhedar of Kalyan who had been brought to him as a gift, he says publicly that if his mother had been so beautiful, he would himself have been equally beautiful. Shivaji's moral heroism here merely matches his physical heroism which he exhibited on other occasions. The Subhedar of Kalyan's daughter-in-law represents faithfully the appearance of a married Mahomedan lady without a purdah, and the whole assembly gapes at the moral courage shown by Shivaji.

The pictures worthy of mention in Vol. II are Nos. 13, 14, 16, 19, 20 and 21. The 'Tiger's Claws' represented in plate No. 13 is again depicted in fine colour, though one of the chief defects in the picture is absence of movement. Shivaji and Afzulkhan look like statues instead of living beings fighting with one another. Only one of the attendant Mavalas shows some movement; the other is again like a mute and dumb statue. In plate No. 14, Afzulkhan is excellently represented, especially as Shrimant Balasaheb has access to the original picture of Afzulkhan which he obtained at Bijapur a few years ago, and which he has at present kept in his Museum. The picture of Shivaji in this place is not so good as that of Afzulkhan. The sword which Shivaji has lifted does not show any movement, as the one which Afzulkhan lifts. Otherwise, it is a good presentation of the fight between the two great heroes. In plate No. 16 the incidents at the Chodkhind or the Indian Thermopylae, are well depicted. It is a very beautiful presentation in colour. Shivaji looks very handsome, real, and illuminative. Even the dog that stands by is life-like. Baji Prabhu, however, is not all that one would wish to see. We do

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not think, therefore, that the picture, though good, can be regarded as the best in the three volumes. Plate No. 19 which contains Aurangzeb's Darbar in the Diwan-i-am at Agra is a very life-like and realistic presentation of the scene that took place at Agra when Shivaji was brought into the presence of Aurangzeb. Those who have seen the Darbar Hall in the Agra Fort can very well testify to the reality of the scene; but Shivaji looks a little too proud in this picture, and Sambhaji waves his hands for nothing. Otherwise, the Rajput nobles of Aurangzeb have all been well depicted, though the Mahomedan Shiledar of Aurangzeb has a South Indian appearance instead of a North Indian one. Also there is a paucity of Mahomedan Sardars in this picture. It seems from the picture that the Rajput nobles and Shivaji were all that made Aurangzeb's Darbar at the time. This is not entirely true. Plate No. 20, which shows us Shivaji's imprisonment at Agra, is a very fine picture indeed. It may be regarded as one of the best in the volumes. Shivaji, with his sinewy arms and with foresight and courage, Sambhaji whiling away his time somehow in the closet, the architectural work of the windows which is a faithful representation of the work to be seen at Agra, the anxiety about the future shown by one of Shivaji's attendants, and the fortitude and the recklessness and the faith in right which is shown by the other, are all life-like presentations, though the manner in which Shivaji places his arms has more an English appearance than an Indian. Plate No. 21, wherein Shivaji is shown as escaping from Agra, is also a good picture, showing us the Taj at the background, and the river Jumna flowing nearby. Sambhaji on a big horse is not all that one would wish to see, though Shivaji has rightly more of a North Indian dress than Southern.

Almost all the pictures in Vol. III are good. Plate No. 22 gives us a beautiful representation of Shivaji in the dress of a mendicant returning to Rajgad after his escape from Agra and his long travels through Mathura, Allahabad, Gaya, Jagannath, Bhaganagar and Gokarna Mahableshwar. The present writer has not seen Rajgad, and therefore has no opportunities of saying whether the picture of the hill is realistic. It is, however, beautiful, and in any case, the way in which Shivaji has been painted in this picture is almost sublime. Jijabai in plate No. 23 shows a contrast with Jijabai in plate No. 22 in which latter, she looks haggard, careworn, and old. In plate No. 23,

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which carries on the movement of the story, she looks young again. This is a defect which might be remedied in a second edition of the Album. In this latter picture, Shivaji looks very beautiful, and Tanaji who is taking a vow in the presence of Jijabai is the same intrepid man of history, and looks as life-like. Plate No. 24, which depicts the capture of Sinhagad is a beautiful picture in colour; but Shivaji's portrait is a little too dramatic instead of historical. In plate No. 25, we have to commend to the attention of our readers the picture of the beautiful horse of Shivaji, when he was proceeding to Sinhagad after hearing the report of the capture of the fort and the death of Tanaji. Shivaji's dejected appearance is also noticeable. In plate No. 26, wherein Ramadasa offers spiritual advice to Shivaji in a grove, Ramadasa has been very well depicted, though we cannot say the same thing about Shivaji as he appears in the picture. Plate No 27, which contains a portrait of the Coronation of Shivaji, is again one of the best pictures in the volumes. The only defect that appears to us in the picture is the Bengali face of Sambhaji; but Shivaji looks beautiful, the galaxy of his Sardars, and the white umbrella and the chauris, are absolutely life-like, and the scene of coronation is generally very impressive. Then again plate No. 28 is a very good representation of the procession of Shivaji after his coronation to Bhuvaneshvara. Shrimant Balasaheb is accustomed to such processions, and he therefore can depict a procession like this very well. One of the Sardars who rides on a horse beside the elephant of Shivaji with his white mustaches and black turban is exceedingly life-like. The women taking the waving lights in their hands, the band marching ahead, the cavalry and the elephants which may be seen at the far distance, the beautiful and sinewy elephant on which Shivaji rides, the hazy appearance imparted to Shivaji and the Mahut on account of the movements of the elephant are all very life-like. In fact, this procession of Shivaji after his coronation reminds one of two similar accounts, one given by Jnanesvara in the eighteenth chapter of the Jnanesvari of the 'King who has Conquered', and another given by Plotinus in his Enneads of the 'Prince who is on a march'. Picture No. 29, in which Shivaji holds his Coronation Darbar is yet again another of the best pictures in the Album. We are shown with what humility Mr. Henry Oxenden presents himself before the king in the Durbar. Shivaji grants the request of Mr. Oxenden on behalf of the

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English merchants of 'a duty-free admission of their merchandise' in Shivaji's territory; but he refuses, and rightly as would befit a great ruler, the acknowledgement of 'the currency of English coinage' in his kingdom. This latter would have involved a parallel Government to Shivaji's own, which Shivaji could not tolerate, though he would allow all facilities to the English merchants. Finally, we have to notice again the very same features of Ramadasa, and the same humble posture of Shivaji, when after having been crowned King, Shivaji offered his kingdom as a gift to his Guru. Ramadasa, as would befit a great Saint, rejected the offer of Shivaji, and advised him to take care of it himself. He told him also that his best duty would lie in the discharging of his regal functions.

We have travelled breathlessly through the three volumes of the Album. We expect that the fourth would soon come out, and would give us an account of the post-regal life of Shivaji, as well as an account of the forts he had built or conquered. We know that the Chief Saheb of Aundh has taken especial trouble in visiting some of these forts, and we are sure that his representation of these forts would be life-like and real. Considered as a whole, the three volumes of the Album are a splendid monument of the devotion which the Descendant of a great Hereditary Officer of Shivaji bears to the great Maratha Emperor, and let us hope that he has been able to instil into the minds of the young and the old a love and knowledge of Shivaji's exploits by a pictorial representation of the red-letter scenes in the life of the great King.

R. D. R.

'THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM OF MOSLEM INDIA A HISTORICAL ESSAY WITH APPENDICES'

BY

W. H. MORELAND

[Cambridge, W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1929, price 15 *s.* net.]

THIS historical account of the Indian revenue institutions and agricultural dues to the State traces how the early Moslem conquerors and rulers of India adapted the existing agrarian system to their times and needs, and how gradually a full-blown scheme was developed under Akbar and his successors, together with an indication of the first

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stages in the transition from the Moslem to the British agrarian systems. The learned author cautions the reader against the ambiguous fluidity of the terminology that was used by early historians and that persisted even to later times and enjoins that both time and place operate in conditioning the interpretation of particular passages and terms. The synthetic correlation and interpretation of relevant passages and contexts has been a laborious task; and the material now available does not enable a final treatment of the topics taken on hand and will have to be supplemented by a large body of literature which remains still to be discovered and utilized.

The first important basis on which the author proceeds is that the system of measurement of the produce and of the collection of a share of it by the State which was one of the main foundations of the Hindu system had come to continue into Moslem India from the thirteenth century onwards. He could not be definite as to whether the concurrence of the Hindu and Moslem systems is a matter of fortuitous coincidence or can be explained on historical grounds; and he supposes that the rules regarding tribute-land which were enforced on Hindu cultivators were first worked out by the early Muslim conquerors to meet the situation arising from their conquests towards the East and that 'it would not be a matter for surprise if the indigenous institutions of these regions resembled those of India.'

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries during which the kings of Delhi ruled with something like continuity over a large portion of Hindustan, we find the kingdom divided into provinces of fairly permanent boundaries and the villages grouped in *parganas*; but there is not sufficient evidence for the existence of the district or group of *parganas* as an intermediate administrative unit. In some villages the provincial governor's officials would be functioning, in others there would be resident grantees or assignees of revenue and in the great majority there would be indigenous chiefs, called by various names, the headmen of *parganas* and villages, to whom the governor would ordinarily look for the collection of his revenue. In the course of the thirteenth century the authority of the chiefs was kept fairly under control. Even in the areas managed by Moslem officials the position of the headmen of villages was recognized and respected. Mr. Moreland interprets that when Zia Barni wrote of the Hindus in connection with Alauddin's agrarian measures, he was thinking of the upper

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classes of Hindu landholders who were chiefs and headmen of *parganas* and villages; and that the historian thought of the kingdom as consisting not of two elements, but of three, Hindus, Moslems and the 'herds' (*lit Raiyat*) or peasants. The Sultan's agrarian policy was designed to deprive the Hindu chiefs of a large part of their resources and to draw the bulk of what may be called the producer's surplus into the royal treasury. The result was to draw the peasants into more direct contact with the administration. Such measures were immediately possible only in the home provinces (i.e. those round Delhi) and resulted in a large increase in the number of officials which in turn produced extortion and corruption. Alauddin's market regulations lead the author to the view that the peasants of Northern India had been already accustomed to a cash nexus, collections having been already made in cash and not in produce, through the thirteenth century; and thus he would conclude that 'prices were a matter of interest to the peasant at least as far back as the thirteenth century.'

In the time of the Tughlaqs we find the sharing of the crop being substituted in the place of the measurement of the area sown or matured; and under Ghiyasuddin measurement which was promoted by Alauddin as the standard method of assessment disappeared, to be restored two centuries later by Sher Shah. And possibly at the same time the incidence of land-revenue was reduced to save figure below Alauddin's claim of half the produce. Zia Barni, the principal contemporary authority for the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, was not either very prejudiced against, or eulogistic of, the king; and his final position is declared to be 'not one of uncritical eulogy, nor yet of prejudiced detraction, but of astonishment and perplexity (p. 46). As regards the Sultan's agrarian measures, there is no reason to distrust Barani's statement of facts. The assignment of the Sultan differed from that of the Mughal Empire in that it represented only the personal salary of the official concerned and not the cost of maintaining troops; and Alauddin's decision to pay his troops in cash still represented the working rule at this period. The evils of speculative farming of revenue and the consequent processes of periodical audit and attempts at recovery of arrears existed side by side with the increasing practice of assignations which should have been based on some sort of calculation and record of the standard or average income which villages and parganas could be expected to

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yield. Firoz Tughlaq's reign saw the first actual record of a general valuation which could be found in the chronicles. In Firoz's time there is evidence of the emergence of the idea of a proprietary right in grants which was broken in the Mughal period by the practice of arbitrary resumption. By his irrigation works he made a specific contribution to the tradition of agricultural development; the assessment of his irrigation-revenue would complicate the sharing-method, but the valuation, once made in the beginning of the reign, was not altered in the rest of it. The death of Firuz marked the end of an epoch during which, according to the author, the idea persisted that cultivation was a duty to the State, not a right of the individual, and the village organizations did not present any serious administrative problem, except for the troubles created by the chiefs which were more political than administrative. Productive land was available for men with adequate resources; and the primary object of the administration was an extension of cultivation 'with an immediate increment of revenue accruing from each field brought under the plough.'

Under the Sayyads conditions were made for diversity of practice in assessment and collection, and each governor or assignee dealt with the peasants very much as he chose. The Afghan Lodis developed further the institution of assignment, each assignee being bound to maintain out of the assigned income a body of troops available for the king. The assignees even set up a claim to treat their holdings as heritable; and though the claim was not conceded, they had a free hand in the management of the lands and the peasantry. Sher Shah first allowed the two methods of assessment on the basis of the produce gathered and of the area sown, to exist side by side, and he recognized that the latter could not be carried out entirely without reference to the yield. Later, when he became king, he changed his views and imposed the method of measurement on practically the whole of his dominions. Collection in grain which was introduced under the Lodi dynasty should have been changed for collection in cash which was the rule in the early years of Akbar's reign.

The long chapter on Akbar's revenue methods and reforms is instructive in many points. The author points out the heterogeneous character of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* which must be regarded as 'a collection of official papers contributed by the various administrative

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departments, edited by Abul Fazl, and containing occasional matter from his pen; but in essence consisting of what the departments furnished and the author did not reject.' He furnished in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1918, a complete view of the theory of land-revenue held at the head-quarters of Akbar's administration, which was found in the regulation or *zabti* system under which individual cultivators were in direct relation with the revenue officers, while the functions of the latter were so fixed as to facilitate superior control; while the demand was fixed and known as soon as the statements showing the areas of the growing crops were available. An important fact is noticed in the book, viz. the beginning of the administrative dyarchy between *Diwani* and *Faujdari* which was to continue into the beginnings of the British period and under which the revenue administration of each province was conducted directly under the orders of the revenue minister and independently of the officers charged with the revenue administration. At the end of the reign whatever might have been the variations in the outer provinces, the regulation system, in which the revenue-demand was regulated by schedules of cash-rates to be applied to the area sown in each season, obtained in the six older provinces (Multan and Lahore, Delhi and Agra, Oudh and Allahabad) which formed the heart of the empire. It is conjectured by the author that between A.D. 1594 when the *Ain* was completed and the accession of Aurangzib, either unrecorded changes were formally made, or more likely, Akbar's revenue institutions naturally decayed. The *āltamgha* grant (grant-under-seal) given to officers, of their home villages and *parganas* was begun by Jahangir and seems to have been avowedly copied from Central Asian practice; it was not largely used; but the grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal to the East India Company was termed as an *āltamgha* grant. The frequency of changes in assignments to which Hawkins, Pelsaert and others bear testimony produced great agrarian instability.

The interpretation of Aurangazib's two *farmans* issued from the revenue ministry and first published with translations by Prof. J. N. Sarkar shows that the latter relates specifically to Islamic law and imports into the Indian system exotic terminology, terms, ideas and institutions like the *muqāsama* and *muwazzaf* tenures, the distinction between tithe-land and tribute-land, etc. It stresses on the need for keeping and for obtaining peasants and for securing the return of

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absconders which is confirmed by Bernier's observation, that the peasants were being driven by administrative pressure into other occupations or into regions outside the Mogul administrative pale and that the oppression was practised by officials, farmers and assignees alike. In the decline of the eighteenth century, *de facto* possession came to count for much more than title and the different classes of intermediaries came to be assimilated to one type, whether officials, chiefs or assignees. Assignments declined in importance and farms of revenue came to be given for longer terms, tending in practice to become hereditary.

The practice in vogue in the Hindustan provinces at the opening of the nineteenth century is put down very clearly, particularly the type of village organization prevailing and the way in which the revenue-demand was collected. A chapter is devoted to an account of the agrarian development in the different states into which the Delhi Sultanate broke up by the fifteenth century, in which the system of assessment introduced by Malik Amber in Ahmadnagar is detailed and supplemented by a notice of the work of Murshid Kuli Khan. Information is available only in a fitful manner for the bulk of the Deccan States. The account of Bengal's agrarian history is given fairly fully from the sixteenth century. The general conclusion arrived at is that the farmer and the assignee who were not mutually exclusive, formed the backbone of the whole development of the agrarian system which ordinarily comprised both the *Zamindari* and *Ryotwari* elements. Political and social factors were not favourable for the fruition of the idea of agricultural development which was not however forgotten. A gloss of Indo-Persian revenue terms is supplemented by notices of the position of governors and by the annotations of historians' extracts bearing on the agrarian system of the fourteenth century and of Akbar. The author takes care to say, with reference to the scope of his treatment, that in the Moslem period the ryots were more dominated by the pressure of duties than by a sense of rights. This and other points of comparison with the British agrarian system, favourable of course to the latter, are the unconscious outcome of the Civil Service temperament and tradition, strongly characteristic of one type of Anglo-Indian historians. The great value of the book which deals with an obscure, but very important topic is obvious to all readers.

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'THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS'

(With a brief account of their maritime activities.)

BY

DR. SURENDRANATH SEN,

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[The Book Company, Ltd., Calcutta, 1928, pp. xi and 297]

THIS book is a supplement to the author's treatise on the civil institutions of the Marathas (*Administrative System of the Marathas*), published about ten years ago which has recently undergone a second edition. The conclusions that form the coping-stone, as it were, of the arch of his treatment are; first that the decline and fall of the Maratha power were not primarily due to the accentuation of caste-differences which became marked in the eighteenth century, nor to the defective nature of their civil institutions 'which were no worse than similar institutions in contemporary Europe,' nor again to their policy of aggression, but to the increasing inferiority in their discipline, equipment and command which was an inevitable accompaniment of the feudalization of their polity under Shahu and the Peishwas; and secondly, 'the rejection of Shivaji's ideal of racial amity on a religious basis in favour of the principle of personal aggrandizement' led to the denationalization of the Maratha army; and lastly there was the marked failure of the Maratha leaders to keep pace with the scientific progress made in the military art in other parts of the world. With regard to the last argument, Balaji Rao supplemented the traditional Maratha army with new battalions trained on European lines; but the newly forged weapon, though it ensured success at the battle of Udgir, proved, in the disaster of Panipat, its incompatibility as a weapon for simultaneous use with the traditional Maratha tactics. Mahadji Sindia continued, more successfully and on a larger scale, the experiment thus begun. The *gardi* as the foreign mercenary adventures who were employed were called, were not always faithful to the state that employed them; and the powerful battalions of de Boigne and Sindia proved useless as against the British. As Sir Alfred Lyall has remarked, it was a misfortune and a deceitful snare for Indian princes to play the game of war with European methods, to keep a costly equipment at the necessary sacrifice of their other fundamental needs; while the

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Company, with its large reserve of well-trained officers, its unlimited command of men and money and its corporate existence could suffer defeats with impunity and survive victoriously even in a simultaneous struggle against a combination of Indian princes. Military history from the days of the Parthian struggle against Rome down to the Boer War has demonstrated repeatedly the sustained vitality of a weaker and more primitive power against the attacks of a stronger and better-developed and equipped power and that the best chance of survival of the former lay in its clinging to its traditional and tried methods of warfare.

In the case of the Marathas, unlike as with Ranjit Singh, Europeans were employed, as is well pointed out by Dr. Sen, not to teach and train Maratha soldiery for a period of transition, but to occupy a permanent place in their army organization. The Marathas did not make the least distinction of nationality in their choice of European military officers, while the Company shrewdly encouraged British subjects to enter native service in order to safeguard their interest and to counterpoise French influence which was feared till the end of the epoch of the Napoleonic Wars; and the inconstancy of many European officers gained for them the unenviable epithet of *Daghabaz* (or traitors) from Jaswant Rao Holkar.

Another aspect of the changes in military equipment deals with the introduction of the Pindhari (spelt Pendhari) element which had became a common feature by the time of Balaji Rao. It is perhaps too much to postulate the continuous existence of robber bands like the Pindharis from the times of the Kautilya *Arthasastra* and the *Sukranitisara* and to draw a close parallel between the employment of trained robbers to harrass an enemy recommended by Kautilya and the part played by the Pindharis in the latter part of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries. Forts and fortifications were propped up on an elaborate machinery of vigilance and control which was built up carefully by Shivaji; and his arrangements ceased to function with effect soon after his death.

Many forts fell into the hands of the feudal chiefs who began to garrison them with Arabs and non-Maratha Indians. No improvement marked Maratha military architecture in the eighteenth century; and Lord Valentia who visited India in the beginning of the nineteenth century was of the opinion that the defective knowledge of fortification

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of the Marathas had considerably impaired the strength of Raigadh. Dr. Sen aptly remarks: 'Had the artillery men and miners of the time been more efficient, there might have been a greater necessity on the part of the military architects to use their brain and improve upon the traditional scheme of fortification they had received from their ancestors.' Artillery was always a very ineffective weapon in Maratha hands; but they had great faith in it, in spite of its often proving a source of great and unmixed inconvenience. British superiority in artillery was one of the chief reasons of their final success; and the Marathas were foiled by their inability to assimilate the use of this scientific weapon or to master its technique.

The damages committed by Maratha troops on the march are perhaps overdrawn by writers like Acworth and Scott; but the soldiers' plundering propensity was a universal feature common to Maratha and Mughal alike.

There are more than two opinions about the wisdom or otherwise of the Maratha tactics and equipment which came into operation at Panipat, as Rawlinson, the editor of *Kasi Raja Pandit's narrative* (in translation) has remarked; but there is no gainsaying the truth of the fact of the impracticability of combining two totally distinct methods of warfare, while Dr. Sen adds to this defect, the evils arising from the feudal organization of the army and the chronic financial needs of the State that compelled the deviation of energy to minor expeditions and to the ignoring of the really essential issues.

In the matter of naval equipment to which more than eighty pages of the book are devoted, Dr. Sen proves that the Maratha navy remained stagnant where Shivaji left it and even under the Angrias, the Maratha navy had not yet emerged from the primitive galley stage and remained 'a child of arrested growth'. The Marathas knew and acknowledged the superiority of Europeans at sea but they made 'no effort to learn, improve or invent'. Dr. Sen rightly protests against the usually accepted denunciation of the Angrias and other naval chiefs as pirates and declares that the seizure of unlicensed ships was in those days a lawful exercise of sovereignty on the seas; and in this respect the Maratha captains did not act differently from their European counterparts.

One peculiar service done by Dr. Sen in this book is the tracing of the origin of *chauth* out of a precedent found in thePortuguese practice

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in their northern province when it was deemed to be a remuneration for the performance of certain police duties. The *chauth* that Shivaji demanded was however different from such a pension paid by a superior power in consideration of service rendered; it was a military contribution paid by the defenceless subjects of enemy territories, claimed as a consequence of superior force. In Shahu's time *chauth* was received by the Marathas as a pension and connoted an acknowledgment of the Emperor's suzerainty, while in Aurangzib's time its demand indicated a defiance of imperial authority. In origin as well as in character, *sardeshmukhi* differed from *chauth*. Shivaji claimed to be the hereditary *sardeshmukh* of Maharashtra and *sardeshmukhi* as his rightful *watan*; and in theory this claim did not conflict with the sovereign rights of existing governments. This exhaustive examination of the origin, application and theory of *chauth* should give a quietus to the various views propounded by scholars like Ranade.

The examination of the fundamental causes of the military decline of the Marathas has been done thoroughly and with authoritative materials, carefully selected and arranged with reference to their values, etc. The bibliography includes an examination of the different archives, etc., preserved in London, Goa, Lisbon, Paris, etc. We congratulate him on this useful production which is an effective *critique* of the various theories put forward as to the causes of Maratha decline.

C. S. S.

'BRITISH ROUTES TO INDIA'

BY

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[Published by Longmans, Green and Co., New York and London, 1928, pp. xiii and 494, price 30*s.* net.]

ONE conspicuous feature of the Eastern question is the existence of certain broad natural highways leading from the Mediterranean towards the jealously-guarded confines of India. Attention is concentrated in these pages on the development of the lines of communication along these highways whose significance has been greatly accentuated by the jealousies and conflicting activities of

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European imperialism, while their international bearings have become more and more important. First the growth of the British interest in Egypt is traced from its beginnings in the last part of the eighteenth century, prior to which England had little desire to return to the Mediterranean, having become masters of the ocean passage to India. The European wars of Turkey together with the rise of Ali Bey in Egypt to independence gave rise to new and far-reaching ideas in France and England, the former preferring negotiations with the Porte direct and the latter taking up the matter with the local authorities. Warren Hastings first planned to utilize the Red Sea-Egypt route for the transmission of despatches; and James Bruce succeeded in getting from the Egyptian despot some concessions for trade; while George Baldwin succeeded in co-ordinating the sending of despatches from London and the three Indian Presidencies by 1777. At that time the British Government or the Levant Company or the East India Company had not the slightest thought of undertaking the conquest of Egypt, while the real designs of France looked forward to the French conquest of Egypt as a means of competing with Britain on more nearly equal terms in India and the East. Baron de Tott's visit to Cairo in 1777 was with a view to effect a French conquest of Egypt and to re-open the ancient canal between the Nile and the Red Sea for that purpose. The English even thought of an alternative to the Red Sea—Suez route, viz. that from Aleppo through Mesopotamia to Basrah and thence to Bombay. This latter route did not develop and was employed only on occasions, notably during the years of the French occupation of Egypt in the years 1798–1801. The route to Suez was practically given up by the English in 1780 and was made for some years the subject of international rivalry. In 1792 the new-born French Republic found it essential in the face of a hostile European coalition, to maintain both postal and commercial contact with India by way of the Red Sea; and soon it began to think seriously of the plan to send a military and naval expedition to Egypt. The Napoleonic expedition of 1798 was 'the logical outcome of a generation of French policy in the Levant, translated into action by peculiarly favourable circumstances both in Europe and in the East.' It did not spring solely from the ambition and genius of the Corsican. It rendered the route through Syria hazardous and a counter campaign by the British in Egypt inevitable. Mehemet Ali's friendly senti-

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ments for the French and the *rapprochement* between Napoleon and the Czar opened for the French the diplomatic road to Constantinople and rendered probable another French expedition to Egypt. Napoleon was careful enough to perceive that his approach to India should not be altogether dependent upon a vulnerable line of sea communications but there seems to have been, according to our author, no definite proof that he seriously contemplated making use of the route through Persia at any time, ' though his actions prior to the Treaty of Tilsit would seem to show such an intent.' The situation presented by the simultaneous missions of Sir Harford Jones and Sir John Malcolm to the Shah of Persia was peculiar, as the former came from England direct intent on the undoing of France ; and the latter represented Calcutta, obviously to check the advance of Russia. Till the close of the Napoleonic wars, the relations between Britain and Persia were direct and close. The fears created by Napoleon's projects did much to destroy British confidence in the adequacy of the Cape route to India, which could not also function satisfactorily for purposes of communication. The author clearly points out how it was not the search for new channels of trade, so much as the desire for improved lines of communication that led to the development of the Suez route. The growing efficacy of the steam vessel, though it first attempted to make use of the all-sea route by the cape, had to recognize the value of the Suez route, however much it might be attended with small difficulties. Madras and Bombay were interested in the problem in directly opposing ways. Madras and Calcutta were the logical termini of the cape of Good Hope route, while the passages from the Mediterranean, whether through Egypt or Syria, would find in Bombay their logical objective. 'Hence it is not strange that the Government and mercantile community of Calcutta, generally aided and abetted by official and mercantile elements of Madras, preferred to agitate for the establishment of steam communication *via* the Cape of Good Hope, rather than to contribute to the rise of a rival Presidency.' The Cape Route remained a subject of academic discussion as a possible steam route until the opening of the Suez Canal put ' a final quietus on its consideration as a principal artery of British communications in the East.'

The chapter dealing with tentative trials of the Suez passage tells us how the ground was broken for a steam route by way of the Red

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Sea by the illustrious Mountstuart Elphinstone who commenced a series of systematic surveys and was warmly supplemented in his efforts by his successor in office, Sir John Malcolm. For long the financial weakness of the East India Company delayed the projection of an official plan for the development of the Red Sea route.

The events of the Greek War of Independence and the Treaty of Adrianople revived the fear of a Russian invasion of India. Russia had contrived to penetrate far into Turkey and Persia; France managed to hold diplomatic sway in Egypt and extend her control over the Turkish province of Algeria. But Mesopotamia was still open for European enterprise; and British enterprise was directed to the navigation of the Tigris and the Euphrates, particularly the latter route which was warmly supported by Lord Palmerston. The Euphrates expedition which is described in detail, though it failed to bear fruit and postponed for a time the development of the Red Sea route, would be useful as a line for the rapid transmission of despatches between Bombay and London, should the route through Egypt be closed for any reason.

C. R. Low, in his *History of the Indian Navy*, describes at length the activity of the Bombay Marine Service (later designated the Indian Navy) both as a scientific as well as a fighting service ; and Mr. Hoskins maintains that its survey of the Red Sea and chartings of the southern coast of Arabia was one of the factors that paved the stability of the Suez route. The acquisition of Aden was one of the last steps in its definite establishment and 'the logical culmination of the long series of surveys which had characterized the first third of the century in eastern waters'. The passage through Egypt had still to be tackled ; and this portion of the route had failed to keep pace with improvements effected elsewhere, in spite of improvements effected by the steam service companies. By 1843, definite steam communication had been effected between Calcutta and London which were brought within forty days of each other. The Suez Canal question has had a long and varied series of antecedents described by writers like E. H. Warmington and H. G. Rawlinson. Napoleon's scientists planned a direct connection of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, whereas all the ancient undertakings were limited to a communication between the Red Sea and the Nile. The English were, for a time, warm over the construction of a railway across the Isthmus of Suez and opposed the canal scheme.

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'The Egyptian railway had sewed to counterbalance the Suez Canal idea for a time, and French hostility to the railway justified British intolerance of a navigable water-way.' A project for a railway between the Mediterranean coast and the Persian Gulf complicated the issues for some time. This was definitely shelved by the settlement of the Turko-Egyptian problem in 1841 and by the official opening of the overland route through Egypt; particularly the Mesopotamian route pointed out only to India alone. The Euphrates Valley Railway scheme was finally abandoned by Lord Palmerston, because he felt compelled to abandon the railway, rather than accept the canal scheme.

The evolution of the Suez Canal scheme led to the result that the canal was constructed and operated by a French Corporation, it became a British highway from the very beginning ; and the transfer of a large share of the pecuniary interest in the company to the British Government effected by a coup of Disraeli, was scarcely anything more than a confirmation of a fact already operating, viz., 'The Suez Canal from the outset was intrinsically British, commercially by virtue of the volume of British trade and politically because of British hegemony in the East.' This statement may be regarded as the central and pivotal point of Mr. Hoskins' theme which takes in an outline of the improvement of telegraphic and cable communications and of the chief shipping companies like the P. and O. which had to pass through various vicissitudes.

He is careful to point out that the continued fear of Russian aims led to the starting afresh of several projects for railways across Mesopotamia. The Suez Canal has justified its appellation of 'a second Bosphorus', being one of the most important of the waterways of the world. It has so far required no alternative route between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, in spite of the turmoil caused by the world-war and the anomalous position that Britain continued to occupy in Egypt till recently. The book is a close study of the various aspects of the problem of communications between Great Britain and the East, both in the imperial and commercial aspects. The treatment is strongly and effectively documented, but the sequences are not continuous, marked by breaks from one topic to another and justified neither on the basis of chronology nor on that of subject-matter, while the ending is somewhat abrupt.

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'A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE'

[Blackie & Son, Ltd., London, pp. xxii, 780; price 25*s*. net.]

THIS is the collective work of several distinguished scholars, both laymen and clerics. The names of a few of the contributors,—such as Prof. Gilbert Murray, Sir Frederick Kenyon, Prof. C. C. J. Webb, Prof. R. S. Rait, the Most Rev. William Temple, Archbishop of York,—will convey to the reader a sufficient idea of the high value of the production. The book is divided into five parts treating of the world into which Christ was born, the life of Christ and the early records of it, the early church, its history up to the reformation, and that subsequent to the reformation. The parts, which contain anything from three to seven chapters each, are bound to vary in interest to all but the professed student of the history of religion. The various chapters are distinguished by scholarship, clear thinking and breadth of vision. Mr. Cyril Bailey treating of the State Religion of Rome, traces the growth of that religion from an agricultural religion to an imperial cult and attempts to account at the same time for the Roman indifference to other religions, and its hostility to Christianity. 'Polytheism' he says, 'is never intolerant and rarely apt to proselytise'; hence the indifference of a Pilate. But Christianity drew its adherents not from one defined class, but from all races and classes; and these renounced all cults except the worship of the one God and His Son Jesus Christ; while professing loyalty to the Emperor they refused to worship him, and a conflict was inevitable.

Prof. Gilbert Murray writes on ancient religion and philosophy. He finds that 'the parts of Christian doctrine which a Levantine pagan would deny are chiefly the historical statements' (p. 76); for, there was a large area of agreement between the creeds, pagan and Christian, e.g. in the ideas of the Saviour, the Mediator, the Trinity, Forgiveness and so on. On the side of moral progress, Prof. Murray can point only to one distinctive achievement, the rejection of superstition. How far Christianity really succeeded in achieving this, is, however, an open question. For, if we are to believe Mr. Bailey (p. 40), Christianity, when it had won its victory, 'turned back on the true Roman religion'; and 'true to the tradition of syncretism . . . .

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the local pagan cults were swallowed up in the worship of the saints.' This would, verily, seem to be a rehabilitation of superstition, rather than its rejection.

The Director of the British Museum contributes two papers of great interest on the Bible as Jesus knew it, and the English versions of the Bible. He holds that the version of the Septuagint is undoubtedly the one which Christ's contemporaries were familiar with, though he refuses to commit himself to the opinion that Septuagint represents the original text, as set down by the authors, more accurately than the Massoretic Hebrew text, possibly fixed by the Synod of Jamnia.

Prof. Webb's history of Christianity in the nineteenth century takes us really from the period before the French Revolution to the beginning of the Great War. The principal tendencies of the period are the gradual abandonment of eighteenth century transcendentalism and deism, the growth of immanentism, the increase of stress on spiritual experience, the growth of a historical sense (enabling the proper appreciation of services rendered to religion by different denominations at different times), the decline of individualism and the growth of socialism, the growth of tolerance and the decay of the Hell-fire doctrine. He holds the principle of immanentism to be central; the working of this in all other branches of development is traced with remarkable clearness, though many of his sentences are characteristically involved.

The Most Rev. the Archbishop of York, writing about Christianity to-day, traces the growth of Christian interference in social evils, from the stage of offering succour to suffering individuals to the organized and sustained attack on systems counted evil in themselves. It is unfortunate that the learned divine should have, in a historical account, permitted to himself the expression of a personal opinion about betting and gambling (p. 749). The lapse is all the more regrettable in that he countenances here the very principle of repression which he does not appear to have any use for in the case of the Drink evil.

The book is exceedingly well got-up, with a number of interesting plates and useful maps. The comprehensive index will be particularly valuable to the thoughtful student of religion or history, to whom, indeed, the book is indispensable.

S. S. S.

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'HISTORY OF PRE-MUSSALMAN INDIA, VOL. I. PRE-HISTORIC INDIA'

BY

PROFESSOR V. RANGACHARYA, M.A., L.T., MADRAS

[The Huxley Press, 1929, pp. vii. and 247]

THIS preliminary volume is the first of an ambitious and comprehensive series designed to trace the history of India from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest. It takes back the reader to the Azoic epoch and the succeeding epochs when India is regarded as having attained her present geographical configuration. Thus our author would trace back human history to the almost unimaginable times which were marked by the *pralayas* and upheavals of which there are vague records in our own Puranas, with similar echoes in the legendary lore of other ancient races. It is impossible even for the most minute writer to take up any definite stand, either in the matter of the computation of the ages, palæozoic, mesozoic, etc., each of which has been subdivided into successive sub-stages, or in the geological evolution of India through the so-called Triassic, Jurassic and Tertiary epochs of European pre-history. The 'saurian' varieties of life, of which a few isolated specimens have been so far discovered in India ceased to exist with the vanishing of the Mesozoic epoch; and this phenomenon has been declared by H. G. Wells to have been the most tremendous feature in the history of the earth, before the appearance of mankind. At the beginning of the cainozoic age, a new order of animals, the mammals, emerged; while the Indian continent had assumed almost its present shape by the close of the tertiary epoch, during which the fast evolving animal life came to be characterized by the family spirit and the principle of social association. The author gives us a fairly good summary of the available conclusions arrived at in this subject; but his bibliography and explanations of the most notable scholars in the field may well have been longer and fuller.

A new set of scholars have arisen who postulate that early man originated in India and put forward theories as to the special locality as to the particular evolution of the mammal into man in India. But our author cautiously says that it is difficult to determine which of

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these positive views can be accepted. The diffusion of eolithic culture, of which no human remains exist, but only implements have been discovered up to now, is not marked by any Indian finds; and it is difficult, in the face of the conclusions of Bruce-Foote and other workers, to say whether any of the numerous artifacts so far discovered in India can be definitely attributed to that age.

Mr. Rangacharya discusses, on the basis of available literature, the age of important Indian discoveries like the pre-chellean Godavari chip, and also the proto-Negroid specimen of humanity, and the 'synchronous rise of the long-headed type' which soon penetrated into the mainland of Asia. His conclusion regarding the place of India in the ethnographic evolution of the eolithic age is that 'India was the meeting-place, apparently, of both the brachy-cephalic and dolicho-cephalic varieties of the earliest man; of both the proto-Negroids of Africa and East Asia, and of the dolicho-cephalic races of Western Asia and the Mediterranean region on the one hand and the Indonesians and Australasians on the other, the pre-Dravidians being the intermediate link between them.' These conclusions, particularly the last, require further elaboration and critical examination before they can be thus synthetically put forward.

In the treatment of the Paleolithic Age, the author discusses as to whether there was a glacial epoch in India or not. The Himalayan region was alone subject to great glacial pressure; paleolithic sites and implements are many; and the region in the immediate neighbourhood of Madras and Chingleput has come to be regarded as the classic land of paleoliths, while Bengal and Bihar have very few relics. Indian paleolithic culture is very similar to that of Europe and can be traced in all its stages marked by a wide variety of implements and weapons, geometrical forms and distinct attention to colour. There have not been any finds similar to the European Aurignacian remains, about which so much has been written by Burkitt, Van Loon and others; but the Vindhyan slopes are regarded to be the ground pregnant with the possibilities of fresh finds of primitive art.

The correlation of ethnology to paleolithic artifacts has not been elaborated in our country. The transition to the Neolithic age is

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based on, or at least largely coloured by, speculations on the origins of the so-called pre-Dravidians and Dravidians. The author describes the various theories held on these questions; and he only asserts that, according to the bulk of learned opinion, the Dravidian race was not autochthonous to the land. He summarizes the ethnological condition of the land at the beginning of the neolithic age. According to him the Dravidians (or the Mediterraneans) migrated into the land about the ninth or eighth millennium B.C.; and their culture continued to spread during the next four or five millenniums; the Aryans were not physically much different from the Dravidians; and they probably belonged to the same original ethnic stock, but came to fall apart by large cultural and small ethnic differences. These latter conclusions are bold, but have got to be substantiated a great deal more than at present, before they can be accepted and admitted into the field of probable hypotheses.

The book gives a good summary of the neolithic sites and finds of the land, points out the similarity between Indian and European neoliths and postulates a common origin for the neolithic cultures of both Europe and Asia. It makes a clear distinction between the occupational differences and geographical ones. The marital exogamous and endogamous regulations should have begun to operate in this period. Caste is said to be a pre-Aryan institution in its essence, but it was given a new vitality and impulse by the Aryan advent. The author's note on neolithic culture is valuable; but he seems to miss the true meaning of Hodson's *Lectures on Primitive culture.*

Passing over the discussions as to the existence of a bronze age in India, he comes to the consideration of the newly discovered Indus Valley civilization and of its probable affinities with the Heliolithic culture of Egypt and relation to the Sumerian, though the final word is still far off from any one of these speculations. Theories about the early home of the Aryans, and about the date and epoch of Aryan culture beginnings and Vedic civilization bring this volume to a close; the book, though the conclusions put forward in it may not all of them be acceptable, and though in places it displays a lack of clear synthesis is densely packed with valuable information and bears eloquent testimony to the erudition and tireless industry of the author even in the uninviting field of pre-history.

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'SOURCE BOOK OF MAHRATTA HISTORY'

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S.

Principal, Deccan College, Poona.

[Publishd by the Bombay Government]

EVER since a new interest has been created in Mahratta history by the pioneer work of the late Justice Ranade, the author of the small, but important work, *The Rise of the Mahratta Power*, interest in Mahratta sources for Mahratta history has been gradually rising. Enthusiastic students of the Mahratta History, most of them sons of Maharashtra, had gone on exploiting these sources and accumulating a mass of material that would enable ultimately the writing of a comprehensive and complete history of the Maharattas in collation with such sources other than Mahratta of which a considerable volume is available in one form or another. They had, however, made up their minds to publish these in Mahratti exclusively almost, and put other students of Mahratta history-non—Maharashtra students of Indian History—at a very considerable disadvantage in respect of these sources. Serious students of Indian History therefore relating to this period have been feeling the handicap, and suggestions were made more than once in regard to the publication of the Mahratta sources in a convenient general form for use by those outside Maharashtra.

The matter, however, came to a head with the constitution of the Indian Historical Records Commission by the Government of India in 1919. A resolution of that body put forward the need for doing this early. After the usual vicissitudes a committee was constituted with Mr. Rawlinson as Editor. The committee went to pieces in process of time owing to the members constituting it being taken away to new fields of work, and the scheme well-nigh lapsed. It was, however, not allowed to die; and through the efforts of Mr. Rawlinson, who had the assistance of a new colleague in Mr. R. P. Pattavardan, Professor of History, Elphinstone College, Bombay, the scheme was carried into effect, and the first fruit of that is the *Source Book of Mahratta History*, volume I, which carries the history to the death of Shivaji.

The plan of the book is more or less educational, and does not attempt at being exhaustive. Naturally therefore, it is selective in its method of work, and it is only the salient passages from the large

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number of sources that are taken, translated, and published with notes and references to serve the purposes of a source book for University students studying Mahratta history. Notwithstanding the fact that it does not exploit all the sources and provide an exhaustive source book, it is still of the very greatest value, as bringing together a pretty large number of the most important passages from original sources on particular points of Mahratta history. This is all the more urgently needed at present, as the Mahratta sources, pure and simple, have suffered neglect not merely and even undeserved prejudice in many cases,—thanks to a variety of circumstances—prejudices against patriotism not altogether excluded. Histories of the Mahratta period therefore were to a very large extent compiled only from sources generally other than Mahratta, and to that extent were defective. The chances, at any rate, of remedying this defect, if not completely, at least partially, are greater than hitherto with a work like this.

The work is divided into two parts, Mahratta sources and foreign sources. The material is well chosen, the chapters neatly arranged topically and the sources expounded with references to the books referred to. The work presents, on the whole, a much needed hand book on the subject. Principal Rawlinson and Professor Pattavardan deserve to be congratulated upon the production of this work, as also the Bombay Government for their enlightened policy in starting a systematic publication of these sources.[1].

[1] We have since received another brochure bearing on the same subject, but probably issued by the Government apart from this. The series is entitled Selections from the Peshwa's Dufter, and the subject chosen is the letters and despatches relating to the battle of Udgir, 1760. This booklet is illustrated by a map, and is provided with an English introduction, though a brief one, and a number of documents as many, as eighty-eight of these, chiefly letters and despatches as the name indicates. The writer of the introduction compares these short letters and despatches to telephone messages passing between various commanders in a modern campaign, and enables the students who can read Mahrathi to follow the operations both of diplomacy and of warfare clearly. Each letter is followed by a very short English note giving the substance of the letter. It is a little too brief and might have been made a little more full for the benefit of the students not acquainted with Mahratti. None the less, it is a very important addition to the study of the subject of Mahratta history in general and is therefore quite welcome.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (*London*)

April, 1930—

F. W. THOMAS: 'Tibetan Documents concerning Chinese Turkistan.' The Khotan Regions.

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Naiçasakha.'

JWALA PRASAD: 'The date of the Yoga-Sūtras.' According to Jacobi and others, the Yoga Sūtras were a late production. The author criticizes the arguments of Jacobi, and shows that very little can be proved about the date of the Yoga Sūtras from internal evidence.

RAGHU VIRA: 'The author of the Śiva Sūtras.' Traditionally, the Pratyāhāra Sūtras were a revelation to Pāṇini from God Śiva. It is here contended that Pāṇini himself was the author of these Sūtras, the authority being a quotation from the Mahā Bhāshya of Patanjali.

Indian Antiquary

May, 1930—

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Some remarks on the Bhagavad Gītā.'

S. C. HILL: 'Origin of the Caste System in India.'

F. J. RICHARDS: 'Periods in Indian History.'

June, 1930—

BIREN BONNERJEA: 'The Social Life and Ceremonial Life of the Santals' culled from various sources.

PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER: 'Some remarks on the Bhagavad Gītā.'—(*continued*).

HARIHAR DAS: 'Rustamji Manak.' A notable Parsi broker. The author's aim is to shew clearly the part played by Rustamji as interpretor to the English embassy under Sir William Norgate in the time of Aurangzib. Rustamji was born in A.D. 1660 and is said to have descended from the line of Persian kings who were conquered by the Muhammadans.

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LILY DEXTER GREENE: 'Nature Study in the Sanskrit poem Mēghadūta.' This is an attempt to study Sanskrit Literature with particular attention to natural descriptions to exhibit the method which Indian poets have adopted to give a realistic touch to their descriptions.

July, 1930—

PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER: 'Some remarks on the Bhagavad Gītā.'—(*continued*).

LILY DEXTER GREENE: 'Nature Study in the Sanskrit poem Mēghadūta.'—(*continued*).

HARIHAR DAS: 'Rustamji Manak.' A notable Parsi broker.—(*continued*).

PANDIT ĀNAND KOUL: 'Some additions to the Lalla Vakyāni.'

ANUJAN ACHAN: 'A Hebrew inscription from Chenna Mangalam.' This inscription is dated 1581 of the era of contracts. According to M. Winternitz, this era dates from 312 B.C.—the Selucidan era dating from the battle of Gaza. This again furnishes information regarding the feud between the white and black Jews, and also regarding the first disposal of the Jews from their settlement at Anjuvaṇṇam.

PROF. TUCCI-GIUSEPPE: 'Bhāmaha and Diñnāga.' The learned Professor adheres to the view that Bhāmaha was not influenced by the ideas of Dharmakīrti. He examines in detail various considerations and points out that Bhāmaha was prior to Dharmakīrti. In the work of Bhāmaha, a new proof of the influence of Diñnāga and his logic upon Indian Philosophy in general can clearly be seen.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1930

M. H. RAMA SHARMA: 'Vestiges of Kummaṭa.' (Illustrated).

M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR: 'The Apostle Thomas in India,' concludes that Apostle Thomas visited Mysore and Madras.

S. HANUMANTHA RAO: 'The influence of the Religious School of Sri Madhwa on the History of Vijayanagara.'

Rupam, Calcutta Nos. 38–39

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY: 'Buddhist Reliefs from Nagārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvati.'

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Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

September to December, 1929—

The journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan, from October 1810 to April 1811 when carrying out his survey of the district of Bhagalpur : Ed. with notes and introduction by C. E. A. W. Oldham.

K. P. JAYASWAL : 'On the rule of Pushyamitra Sunga.' By freshly interpreting the Puranic references, the writer concludes that the thirty-six years of Pushyamitra cover the rule of his sons during his reign. The constitution, with the eight sons of Pushyamitra ruling together with Pushyamitra over them, was a kind of kingless, constitutional government, indicated by the term '*Vairājyam.*'

P. N. BOSE : 'A new Śilpa work from Tibet.'

B. C. BHATTACHARYA : 'Kalinganagara and Excavations at its Present Site.' Identifies the place with the sea-port Kalingapatam which on excavation reveals remains of a buried city of great antiquity.

G. RAMDAS : Tri-Kalinga country ;—Discusses its origin and progress prior to 800 A.D. and concludes that it was conquered by the Ganga rulers of Kalinga in about 600 A.D.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

VOL. XVI. PART I

March, 1930—

DR. HIRĀNANDA SASTRI : 'Further Notes on the Bhaghela dynasty of Rewah.' Revises some of the statements made in his memoir entitled, 'The Baghela dynasty.'

K. H. DHRUVA : 'Historical Contents of the Yuga Purāṇa.' The last chapter of the Garga Samhita is called the Yuga Purāṇa. According to learned Professor, the Garga Samhita belongs to the beginnings of the first century B.C. This section of the Samhita gives important information regarding some transactions in the second century B.C. Indian History.

K. P. JAYASWAL : 'An important Brahmi Inscription' (Barli stone) Mr. Jayaswal holds the inscriptions to be pre-Asokan on palæographical grounds. It is dated in the year 84. The era referred to is probably the era of the Nandas and hence the date of the Inscription is held to be 374 B.C.

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L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR: 'Prossemy and Ecsemy in Dravidian.'

J. K. SARKAR: 'The Buddhistic conception of Moral Sublimation.'

BINAYAK MIŚRA; 'Hindol plates of Śubhakara Dēva.' It consists of a single copper-plate inscription written in Sanskrit language. It is assignable to the ninth century A.D.

HIRA LAL: 'Bhanja Kings and their Country.' Replies to the criticism of the late R. D. Banerjea to certain Geographical identifications made by the author in his article. On the four Bhanja copper-plates in the Epigraphia Indica.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (London)

VOL. V, PART IV

L. D. BARNETT: 'Matta Vilāsa.' A farce by Mahēndra-Vikrama Varman of Kanchi.

T. W. ARNOLD: 'Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat on the *Harat School of Painting*.'

K. R. PISHAROTI: 'Ramakatha.' A study. Mr. Pisharoti identifies the author of the Ramakatha with Vasudeva of Payyur Bhaṭṭa Mana, the boy protege of the Zamorin Vikrama, and the author of 'Bhringi Sandēśam,' and the grammatical treatise 'Vasudeva Vijaya', thus bringing the date of Ramakatha to the initial years of the sixteenth century.

JULES BLOCH: 'Some problems of Indo-Aryan Philology' being the Forlong Lectures for 1929.

Modern Review

May and June, 1930—

RAJANI KANTA DAS: 'Industrial Reconstruction and Industrial Efficiency'. 'Industrial success of India depends entirely upon the re-construction of her industrial systems in the light of Modern Science and Art.'

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Journal of Oriental Research

VOL. IV, PART II

April to June, 1930—

M. HIRIYANNA, M.A., L.T.: '*Prābhā karas, Old and New.*' The author draws the attention 'to a point of history, viz., the existence of a distinction between an old and new school among the Prabhā karas themselves as may be gathered from the references to jarat-Prābhākarās and Cirantanakhyati Vadins,' occasionally met with in old Indian books of philosophy.

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL, M.A.: 'Studies in the Upanishads.'—(*continued.*)

K. A. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR, M.A.: 'Studies in the Imagery of the Rāmāyana.'

K. RAMA PISHAROTI, M.A., L.T.: 'Glimpses of Cochin History from Literary Sources, 1342–1505.' Here the author attempts to give a connected account of the history of Cochin during the years 1342–1505. He has divided the period between 427–1500 into two parts (1) 427–1342; when the capital of the state was said to have been transferred from Cranganore to Cochin because of the opening of the Cochin Harbour by heavy floods. (2) 1342–1505; He has also added a list of kings who reigned during the said period.

P. T. S. AIYANGAR: 'Saka Pallavas in Indian History.' Deals with the Pallava domination of Northern India.

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'Kini words and Dravidian origins.'

T. G. ARĀVAMUTHAN, M.A., B.L.: 'The oldest account of the Tamil Academies.'

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society

VOL. II, No. II

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAI: 'Shivaji's visit to Benares.' Examines the validity of the statement in Shedvalkar Bhimah's Bakhāra in this connection; concludes that the whole account is wrong.

REV. G. SCHURHAMMER, S. J.: 'Some documents on the Bassein Mission in the possession of the Society of Jesus.'

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M. H. RAMA SHARMA: 'The kingdom Kampila,' concludes that in the first quarter of the fourteenth century there existed a powerful state on both the sides of the Tungabhadra called the kingdom of Kampila—which was the cradle and historically the parent of the Vijayanagar Empire.

PROF. K. G. KUNDANGAR: 'Marmuni copper-plate grant of Western Chalukya Satyasraya.'

CAPTAIN H. BULLOCK: 'Some Colours of the Bombay Regiments.'

B. A. SALETORE: '*Carnāte.*'—Concludes Carnāte of Portuguese writers may be taken to mean the Kārnād of Tuḷuva History.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

NEW SERIES. VOL. XXV. NO. I

J. H. HUTTON: 'Outline of Chang Grammar.'

PROVOSH CHANDRA BASU: 'Head-dress of the Hill tribes of Assam.'

KALIPADA MITRA: 'Originals and Parallels of some Santal Folk-tales.

D. N. MAJUMDAR: 'Race and Adaptability.' Treats about the Kerawas.

KUNYA GOVINDA GOSWAMI: 'The Satak copper-plate grant of King Rama Simha II of Jaintia of 1809 A.D.'

BONARIS BONNEL: 'Geophilid Centipedes from the bed of the Cooum River.'

R. R. HALDER: 'The Chauhans.'

J. C. SINHA: 'Indo-American Trade past and present.'

S. R. KASHYAP: 'Some Geographical Observations in Western Tibet.'

M. M. H. P. SASTRI: 'The Rig Veda in the making.'

J. P. MILLS AND J. H. HUTTON: 'Ancient Monoliths of North Cachar.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Institute

VOL. IV, PARTS I AND II

July and October, 1929—

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR: 'Dravidic Etymologies.'

SATYA NARĀYANA RĀJU GARU: 'Santombovali copper-plate of Nandavarman.' A reply to Ramadas' Review.

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SRI LAKSHMI NĀRĀYANA HARICHANDRAN JAYADEV RĀJA BAHADUR: 'Santombovali plates of Indra Varman (with plates).'

V. PRABHĀKARA SASTRY: 'Sātavāhanas—Were they Andhras? (Translated).' Surveys the evidence to refute the arguments that the Sātavahanas were not Āndhras, and concludes that they were Andhras.

J. RAMAYYA PANTULU: 'Judicial procedure in Ancient India. (Trial by ordeal).'

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA: 'A Short Inscription from Ārang (C.P.)'

PROF. JEAN PRYZLUSKI: 'Hippoura and Satakarni. (Translated).'

C. NĀRĀYANĀ RAO: 'Deva Rayapura plates of Prauḍha Dēva Rāya II (with plates).'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Correspondence between the Honourable The East India Company and the Chandragula family in the eighteenth century.'

C. S. SRINIVASĀCHARI: 'Origin of the Right and Left hand caste divisions.'

O. C. GANGOLY: 'A newly discovered Ms. of Bala Gopala Stuti by Bilva Mangala Swami. (Illustrated).'

R. SUBBA RAO: 'Pulimburu plates of Jayasimha I (with plates).'

S. BHIM SANKARA RAO: 'The evolution of Brahminical hierarchy in Ancient India.'

BHAVA RAJ KRISHNA RAO: 'History of Rajahmundry.'

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA: 'Kadambas of Kalinga.'

Journal Asiatique

VOL. CCXIV, No. 2.

JEAN PRZLUSKI: 'Un Ancien Peuple du Penjab': Les Salva.

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

VOL. XI, No. 3.

R. D. BANERJI: 'The Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions.' Concludes that the former cannot be later than the other, and in the chronological scale these two should be placed in separate groups.

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Bengal Past and Present.

April to June, 1930—

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM: 'Chittagong in 1784.' Relates to the war against Jan Baksh Khan, a formidable dacoit and hill-chief. Letters and Extracts from letters taken from the letter-book, 1784–85 of the Collector of Chittagong are quoted.

H. N. SINHA: 'The newly discovered autograph letters of Wellington.' These seven autograph letters which were written to the British Resident, Elphinstone, cover a period of four months following the close of the second Maratha War, down to the settlement of affairs as outlined in the treaty of Deogaon between the East Indian Company and the Bhonsla Raghoji II. These were lying buried in the mass of Secretariat Records, C. P. till 1928 when the writer discovered them.

D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'The Capture of Gwalior in 1780.' Deals with that part of the history of Gwalior when it was captured by Capt. Popham on August 4, 1780.

T. G. P. SPEAR: 'The Twilight of the Moghuls.'

BASANTA KUMAR BASU: 'A side-light on the life of Daulat Rau Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior.'

B. N. BANERJI: 'The last days of Nana Sahib at Bithoor.'

Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts

June 1930—

ANANDA COOMARASWAMI: Two Pallava Marble Pillars: Indentifies two of the Boston Museum Pillars purchased from C. A. Cumming's Fund as those belonging to the Porch of a Saiva temple in the Guntur District, constructed in whole or part from older materials entirely recut, datable near to the beginning of the seventh centuary A.D. Full page illustration of detail of pillar is furnished on p. 57.

The Calcutta Review

February 1930—

P. K. ĀCHARYA: 'Indo-Persian Architecture.'

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.' (*continued*)

March 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.' (*continued*)

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P. K. ĀCHARYA: 'Indo-Persian Architecture.' (*continued*)

RAKESRANJAN SARMA: 'The Idealism of the School of Diñnāga.'

KALI KINKAR DATTA: 'Asiatic and Inter-Provincial trade of Bengal in the Mid Eighteenth Century.'

April 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.' (*continued*)

SATKĀRI MUKHERJEA: 'Kshana Bhariga Vāda.'

P. K. ACHARYA: 'Indo-Persian Architecture.' (*continued*)

H. C. RAY CHAUDHARI: 'The Decline of the Early Gupta Empire.'

May 1930—

PARIMAL RAY: 'History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

June 1930—

D. BHATTĀ CHARYA: 'Ancient Hindu tradition and the present age of the Earth.'

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA: 'Nepal's relations with the outer world.'

July 1930—

R. W. BROCK: 'Economic tendencies in India.'

GOKUL DAS DE: 'Manipulation and Antiquity of Jatakas.' 'Whatever might have been the shape of the Jātakas afterwards the verse jātakas can be traced to the times of the Buddha if not earlier.'

O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY: 'Banker's Bank for India.' Formulates a scheme for a Central Reserve Bank—the main object of which should be the control of the currency now in the hands of the Imperial Bank.

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA: 'Nepal's relations with the Outer World.' (*continued*)

Annals of the B. O. R. Institute

VOL. XI, PART II

DR. NALINĀKSHA DUTT: 'The place of Ārya Satyas and Pratītya Samutpāda, in Hinayāna and Mahāyāna.

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D. R. BHANDARKAR: 'Slow Progress of Islam Power in India.' Dr. Bhandarkar points out that in reality the opposition of Rajput Princes to Islamic advance was real and effective in the early stages. It held back the Muhammadan invaders for a pretty long time. The Hindu Confederacy to oppose Mahmud is held to be a figment of the imagination. It is authoritatively pointed out that the success of Mahmud was due to a rare combination of good generalship with the necessary caution. In the author's words 'The story of the confederacy formed by the Hindu Rajas to expel Mahmud as a sacred duty thus seems to be nothing but a myth which was concocted later to impart a sacred character to his intentions. Finally the views of Dr. Smith regarding the ultimate success of Muhammadans are discussed and criticized. The point is that they hardly make the real reasons. For four centuries and a half the Rajputs held the Muhammadans at bay.

K. B. PATTRAK: 'On the date of Sāmanta Bhadra.' Santa Rakshitā's Reference to Kumarila's attacks.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR: 'Epic Studies II.' (Further critical notes.)

P. K. GODE: 'Exact date of Dinakara's Commentary. Gūḍhaprakāsikā—on Upachārasāra of Mukunda Daivagna.—Velankar placed it in the eighteenth century. The exact date is here held to be 1818 A.D. 1740. Saka.

C. CHAKRAVARTHY: 'Madhusūdana Saraswathi—His life and works—A Rejoinder.

DURGĀCHARAN CHATTERJEA: 'A note on Pramāna Samucchaya.'

DURGĀCHARAN CHATTERJEA: 'Two quotations in Tattva Sangrahadīpikā-panjikā.'

Indian Historical Quarterly

VOL. VI, No. I

March 1930—

Articles

DR. B. M. BARUA: 'Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh Gaya.'

DR. N. N. LAW: 'The Machinery of Administration in the Kauṭilīya.' Deals mainly with the system of spies in the Kauṭilīya.

PROF. LOUIS DE LA VALLE POUSSIN: The two Nirvāṇadhātus according to Vibhāsha.

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PROF. D. C. BHATTĀCHARYA: 'A newly discovered copper-plate from Tipperah.' This plate brings to light the name of a new King Mahā Raja Vainyagupta as having reigned in Bengal belonging probably to the Gupta line dated 506–7 A. D. Mr. Bhattacharya agrees with the view of Mr. Pathak—who holds the Gupta dates as expressing expired and current years. Here is an instance which supports the same view.

J. C. GHOSH: 'Grant of Bhāskara of Kamarupa and the Nāgara Brahmins.'

MANORANJAN GHOSH: 'Problems of the Nātya Sāstra.'

REV. G. SCHAUZLIN: 'Birbhuru and Western Bengal in the Eighteenth Century.'

A. GOVINDA WARRIAR: 'Literary Patronage under the Zamorins of Calicut.'

DR. P. C. BAGCHI: On the Tantraic texts studied in Ancient Kambhōja.'

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI: 'Antiquity of Tantraicism.' Concludes that Tantraicism and Tantraic deities were quite well known at least before the first century A.D., if not earlier.

K. V. KRISHNA AIYAR: A short sketch of the second dynasty of the Zamorins of Malabar.

S. K. MUKHERJEA: 'Śankara on the relation between the Vedas and Reason.' Here an attempt is made to show that Śankara while he accepted the authority of the Vedas did not sacrifice freedom of thinking. A categorical statement follows to illustrate the same.

Miscellany

JEAN PRYZLUSKI: 'Pre-Dravidian and Proto-Dravidian.'

PROF. H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI: 'A note on the Chronological relation of Kanishka and Rudradaman.'

PROF. D. C. BHATTĀCHARYA: 'Pāla Chronology—a reply to Prof. Banerji.'

PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTĀCHARYA. 'Dharmapada and Ahirbudhnya Samhita.'

PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA: 'The date of Śankarāchārya.' Holds the opinion that Śankara can in no way be assigned to a date earlier than Diñnāga. The author bases

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himself on the fact that Śankara has quoted a kārika from the Ālambana Parīksha of Diñnāga.

PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA: 'Is it Caryācarya Vinischaya or Ascarya Carya Changer?'

PANDIT VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA: 'Śankara's reference to a Buddhist Passage.'

EKENDRANATH GHOSE: 'The twin Gods Asvins of the Ṛg Vēda.'

VIBHUTHI NATH JHA: 'Bharata Vākya.'

CHINTAPARAN CHAKRAVARTY: 'Some new facts about Matsyēndra Nātha,' concludes that the age of Matsyēndra Nātha must have been much earlier than the eleventh century.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR: 'A note on Paurajānapada.' Mr. Dikshitar reiterates the existence and points out the function and importance of the Paurajanapada as an agent of the King—even for punishing his own son.

N. N. LAW: 'Reply to Mr. Dikshitar's Note.' Refutes the arguments of Mr. Dikshitar regarding the Paurajānapada.

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The Round Table

Summary of the articles in the June Number to be published on May 30, 1930

THE first article in the June number of *The Round Table* 'Towards Peace or War?' is about the Naval Conference. People differ as to whether the Conference was a success or a failure. The *Round Table* view will be evident from the opening section, but the really important thing is whether the agreement is to be a beginning or a full-stop, and the article makes clear the fundamental conditions which may make it either. Is it to lead on to real international peace, or are men going to step back into the old morass which bound sooner or later to land the world again in war? Attention is drawn to the lessons which history, peculiarly instructive in so far as the present is concerned, in the nineteenth century has to teach. But the writer is not content with generalities. He explains the significance of the results aimed at in the sphere of detail. He deals with ships and guns and shows what the agreement means in both for the three oceanic Powers, and also for France and Italy who still fail to see eye to eye, and are talking of building programmes which are bound to affect others as well as themselves. Lastly, the *Round Table* turns to the proposed amendments of the Covenant of the League of Nations. It explains their purport and, quite apart from any question of their intrinsic merits, it suggests some grave objections to pushing such reforms through at this particular juncture. The concluding words of the article are a quotation from Bacon. 'It is good not to try experiments in States, except the necessity be urgent and the utility evident.'

The second article is entitled 'Puritans and Profligates in Finance', and its subject is the budget. It is difficult as one reads to shake off an uncomfortable conviction that the breaking point may have already been reached in taxation. The writer here, too, turns to history for a parallel to illustrate his argument. This time it is to the Napoleonic wars; in some ways, as he shows, the parallel is a remarkably close one. Some helpful comparative figures are also given to enable the reader to gauge the true significance of the present position. But it

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must not be supposed that the article is a simple protest on the part of the idle rich. The whole point is that the real harm is to British trade, to the resources of capital upon which it is necessarily vitally dependent. A dispassionate survey is made of the whole economic situation, including the psychological side, at this particular moment certainly not the least important one.

The third article is 'The Gandhi Movement' and, with the Simon Report due in June, probably no other article will be more widely read. It endeavours to explain the true character of Mr. Gandhi's campaign, and the writer gauges the results which it has achieved. The picture is a stormy one, but the account ends in a hopeful note.

Next comes 'The Problem of Japan', obviously from the pen of a writer in a position to appreciate the true inwardness of the situation in the Far East. Japan has, since the war, cut almost as important a figure in our foreign relations as she did in the old days of Anglo-German rivalry. First, there was the question of the renewal of the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance and later the Washington Conference and the question of naval disarmament, and the Geneva failure in 1927. The *Round Table* article does not go into these problems, but it will enable the reader to understand Japanese policy in a way he could not do before, for it will help him to put himself in the position of a Japanese and to appreciate the force of local conditions.

The next article is from Madrid about 'King Alfonso and the Crisis in Spain.' The hitherto successful passage from full dictatorship back, if not to normality, at all events as far as the half-way house on the road there, is bound to have a special interest for post-war Europe, and history comes in here too. A lucid account is given of the rise of free institutions in Spain and the conflict between the Cortes and autocracy from the twelfth century to our own. But possibly the personal note will be the most attractive one for the British reader. Our people have always felt a fondness for the King of Spain. He has often visited this country and his escapes from assassination have aroused so much sympathy that an account of the part which he took in the 1923 coup d'état and the régime of the late Dictator is sure to be read with interest. A concluding chapter considers the future in the light of the national character.

The next subject comes from East Africa upon whose problems the Government is at last about to publish its decision. 'An

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Experiment in African Education in Kenya' strikes a lighter note than the other articles, but none of them is likely to be more instructive. It is a picture of a personal experience which brings out one of the most promising ways which has yet been tried of helping the African native to rise in the scale. The usual articles on affairs in Great Britain and Ireland follow. The first deals with the recent Liberal-Labour collaboration, and sums up the present position of the Government in the light of its domestic difficulties and its achievements in foreign affairs. The article from the Irish Free State describes the political crisis Mr. Cosgrave recently weathered so successfully, and there is an interesting Irish view of the report of the recent Conference on the Operation of Dominions Legislation and Merchant Shipping Legislation, which is to come before the next Imperial Conference. The new Irish budget is also described, and there is an account of the economic situation.

Among the articles from the Dominions the British reader will for this June issue naturally turn first to the Canadian and Australian contributions to read about the new tariff changes, so depressing though necessary in Australia, and so hopeful, from our standpoint, in Canada; but in all the articles there are points of interest, the attitude of Parliament, for instance, to the native question in South Africa and the description of the economic position both in that country and in New Zealand. The issue closes with another chapter on Samoa.

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1. *The Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, Deccan, Gymkhana P.O., Poona.
2. *Bharat Itihasa Samshodaka Mandala*, Poona City.
3. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient*, Hanoi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama,' Luz, Mylapore.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Kern Institute*, Leiden, Holland.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
20. *The Yale Review*, Washington, U.S.A.
21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
22. *The Modern Review*, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.
23. *The Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar*, Gurudatta Bhavana, Lahore.

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24. *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Office of the Archæological Survey, Anuradhapura (Ceylon).
25. *The Historical Studies*, Accession Department, University Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
26. *The Indian Review*, Esplanade, Madras.
27. *The Servant of India*, Servant of India Society, Poona City.
28. *The Shrine of Wisdom*, *Aahlu*, 6 Hermon Hill, London, E. 11.
29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
32. *The Young Men of India*, The Thottam, Salem.
33. *The Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
34. The Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.
35. *Social Science Abstracts*, 611, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.
36. '*Tarikh*' *Kotlah Akbar Jah*, Hyderabad (Deccan).
37. The Superintendent of Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.
38. Verlag Der Asia Major, Leipzig C1, Scherlstr, 2.

International Congress of the History of Science and Technology

The Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology is announced to take place in London in July, 1931. It is the particular desire of the President of the Congress that its work should be linked with that of the general historian. The Headquarters is at the Science Museum, South Kensington, London, S.W.7, and further particulars can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, Mr. H. W. Dickinson.

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EDITOR

RAO BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR,
HONY. PH.D., F.R. HIST. S., etc.
Honorary Correspondent, Archæological Survey of India

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History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān

BY
ABDUL AZIZ, *Barrister-at-Law*
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Book II

CHAPTER II

The Mughal Army

IT must be understood at the outset that in theory all able-bodied citizens of the empire were potential soldiers of the imperial army. In the Account of the Twelve Provinces (*Aḥwāl-i-duwāzda Ṣūba*) in *Ā'īn*, I, 387–596, Abū'l-Faẓl, among other things, gives the number of cavalry and infantry respectively (with an occasional mention of elephants, artillery and boats in some cases) which can be raised from every *sarkār* and from every province; separate figures for each *maḥal* being also given in many cases. Naturally enough the cavalry in these estimates is vastly outnumbered by the infantry.[1] This constituted the total effective man-power in the country, which was calculated by Abū'l-Faẓl as over forty-four lakhs (Text, I, 175).

Horn's remarks on the subject are just: 'Allerdings ist eine solche Truppenmasse niemals wirklich gleichzeitig verfügbar gewesen, und

[1] 'The high figures for infantry in each district and province, shown in volume ii of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*,' says Irvine, 'can only be accepted under considerable reservation. These numbers can only represent the men called on to render strictly local duty, and they must have consisted almost entirely of villagers armed with long pikes, or swords and shields, perhaps even with only an iron-bound bambu staff (*lāthī*)' (*Army*, 162).

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andererseits wäre doch die Zahl der waffenfähigen Männer damit nicht erreicht worden, da dieselbe zweifelsohne mehrmals grösser gewesen sein muss.' (p. 40).

These figures refer to a sort of military reserve corresponding roughly to militia levies in England or to *landsturm* in Germany.

In practice, however, the army was recruited according to well-defined rules, and the numbers of the soldiers actually enrolled were regulated by an elaborate system, a brief outline of which has already been placed before the reader.

Speaking in modern language, the Mughal army was composed of cavalry, infantry and artillery. But the importance attached to each of these arms of the service in Mughal times, and the efficiency of each were so unequal that it is better to follow Abū'l-Faẓl's classification of the army into (1) *Manṣabdārs* (with the horsemen under them), (2) *Aḥadīs* (gentlemen-troopers), and (3) *Piādagān* (infantry, which was a great miscellany including, among other things, artillery).[1]

Cavalry, which was constituted by (1) and (2), was by far the most important part of the army—the chief factor determining the fighting strength of the empire. Irvine's remarks on the subject cannot be improved upon: 'The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Moghuls from beyond the Oxus were accustomed to fight on horseback only; the foot-soldier they despised; and in artillery they never became very proficient. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the French and the English had demonstrated the vast superiority of disciplined infantry, the Indian foot-soldier was little more than a night-watchman, and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march. Under the Moghuls, as Orme justly

[1] This is for brevity. If we wish to be more exact, there were three other classes of cavalry also: (1) The *Barāwardī* troops, 'worthy but poor; they receive the means of keeping a horse, and have lands assigned to themselves, without being obliged to mark their horses with the Imperial brand.' (Blochmann, 231). It is probably these troopers that are referred to again in *Ā'īn* 5 (Blochmann, 250–51). (2) The *Dākhilī* troops. 'Some Commanders,' says Abū'l-Faẓl, 'who find it troublesome to furnish men, get a number of such soldiers as accept the Imperial brand. Such troops are called *Dākhilīs*'. (Blochmann, 231). (3) *Kumakīs*. 'Some Commanders also receive auxiliaries. Such reserves are called *Kumakīs*.' (Blochmann, 232).

But these three classes are so insignificant that in a general estimate like that of Shāh Jahān's total forces by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī (*B.N.*, II, 715) for instance, they are not considered worthy of mention.

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says "Hist. Frag.," 4to, p. 418, the strain of all war rested upon the numbers and goodness of the horse which were found in an army.' (*Army*, 57).

I. *MANṢABDĀRS* AND THEIR FOLLOWERS

Much the greater part of the cavalry consisted of *Manṣabdārs* and their *Tābīns*.

The quality of the Mughal army, therefore, depended upon the leaders chosen under the *manṣabdārī* system and the soldiers recruited and presented by them. The government, speaking generally, rested upon their loyalty and their efficiency.

The way in which the *manṣabdārs* were selected and promoted, and the horsemen recruited and presented is well described by Irvine:

'Single men who resorted to the Court in the hope of obtaining employment in the army, were obliged first to seek a patron. A man generally attached himself to a chief from his own country or of his own race: Mughals became the followers of Mughals, Persians of Persians, Afghāns of Afghāns, and so forth. On this point there were certain customary rules, which are thus stated by Khūshḥāl Chand, Berlin MS. 495, fol. 1072*b*. A noble from Māwarā-un-nahr recruited none but Mughals; if from Īrān, he might have one-third Mughals and the remainder Sayyads and Shekhs, or if he took Afghāns and Rājputs, of the former he might entertain one-sixth and of the latter, one-seventh of his total number. Nobles who were Sayyads or Shekhs might enlist their own tribe, or up to one-sixth they might take Afghāns. Afghāns themselves might have one-half Afghāns and the other half Mughals and Shekhzādahs. Rājputs made up their whole force of Rājputs.' (*Army*, 36).

Again, 'according to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank (*manṣab*) assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *silaḥdār* (literally, equipment-holder), and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bārgīr* (burden-taker). The horses and equipment were as often as not procured by borrowed money; and not unfrequently the chief himself made the advances, which were afterwards recovered

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from the man's pay. The candidate for employment, having found a patron, next obtained through this man's influence an introduction to the *Bakhshī-ul-mamālik* or *Mīr Bakhshī*, in whose hands lay the presentation of new men to the emperor, and on his verdict a great deal depended as to the rank (*manṣab*) which might be accorded.' (*Army*, 36–37).

The remarks of Bernier, who is nearer to our period, are equally interesting. 'It must not, however, be inferred,' he says, 'that offices of trust and dignity are exclusively held by those of the *Mogol* race, or that they alone obtain rank in the army. These situations are filled indifferently by them and strangers from all countries; the greater part by *Persians*, some by *Arabs*, and others by *Turks*. To be considered a *Mogol*, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mahometanism; in contradistinction to the Christians of Europe, who are called *Franguis*, and to the *Indous*, whose complexion is brown, and who are *Gentiles*.' (p. 3).

Again the same writer: 'These armies are composed either of natives, such as *Ragipous* and *Patans*, or of genuine *Mogols* and people who, though less esteemed, are called *Mogols* because white men, foreigners, and *Mahometans*. The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real *Mogols*; but is a medley of *Usbecs*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Turks*, or descendants from all these people; known as I said before, by the general appellation of *Mogols*. It should be added, however, that children of the third and fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of this country of their nativity, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy, if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry or cavalry.' (p. 209).[1] Yet we are told in the sequel that the Mughals 'form the principal force of the kingdom.' (p. 211).

We might go further back: The way in which candidates in general were presented to the Emperor and their appointments sanctioned is thus described in *Ā'īn* (Text, I, 158). The procedure applies to

[1] On this question of the bearing of a fair complexion on patronage and promotion, the following extract from the same author is amusing: 'The women [of Kashmīr] especially are very handsome; and it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the *Great Mogol*, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the *Indians* and pass for genuine *Mogols*.' (404).

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enlistment of horsemen directly recruited[1], to *aḥadīs*, to *manṣabdārs*, and to officers of the imperial workshops; and does not in any case refer to servants drawing a lower monthly salary than Rs. 50 :

Men from Tūrān, Īrān, Turkey and Europe, and from India and Kashmīr come in search of appointment. The officers fix their salary ; and the *Bakhshīs* present them to the Emperor.

The horsemen, on joining, do not bring their own horses; the *Aḥadīs* being the only exception. The salary originally proposed is suitably altered and sanctioned, being often increased. A number is presented every day, sometimes more, sometimes less. On Monday the candidates left over in the preceding week are inspected.

Special *Bitikchīs* (writers) similarly present *Aḥadīs*.[2]

The *umarā* often solicit a *manṣab* for some of their servants. Suitable candidates are accepted.

Employees (*parastārān*) of every workshop (*kārkhāna*) have their salaries fixed in this meeting, and their duties pointed out to them.[3]

The delegation of the duties of recruitment and administration of the army to the *manṣabdārs*, while it relieved the central government of the expense and worry of a heavy establishment, offered a strong temptation to corruption and abuse. 'False musters,' says Irvine, 'were an evil from which the Moghul army suffered even in its most palmy days. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needy idlers from the bazaars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that came to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers.' (*Army*, 45).

Even as early as the reigns of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khaljī and of Sher Shāh—the *manṣabdārī* system was an old one—the need had been felt for an effective supervising and checking system, which should ensure an efficient army without needless waste of money. The institution of *dāgh-o-maḥallī* had, therefore, been inaugurated by those kings, as Budā'ūnī tells us (II, 190) ; and, like so many other reforms popularly

[1] It is difficult to say which class these horsemen belong to, unless they are the ones spoken of in Book II, *Ā'īn* 5, *viz.*, *Barāwardī*, or again, possibly, the *Dākhilī*, troops.

[2] For the rest about an *Aḥadī*'s appointment both in this *Ā'īn* and in *Ā'īn* 4 (Book II) see elsewhere.

[3] Blochmann's translation of this *Ā'īn* (pp. 161-2) is disappointing. What we have given is a summary rather than a translation, and is drawn directly from the text.

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ascribed to Akbar but really earlier institutions, the old *dāgh* system of verification and identification was only reintroduced or effectively reinforced by Shahbāz Khān Kambū, the *Mīr Bakhshī*, in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign. The measure produced much irritation and discontent; but it appears ultimately to have been fully enforced even in the succeeding reigns.

The procedure adopted in Akbar's time was as follows:

When a new man was appointed to a *manṣab* it was his duty to enroll the number of horsemen required under the rules; and these were examined at a muster to make sure that men, horses and accoutrement came up to the required standard. In strictness the recruit furnished his own horse, but in practice the *manṣabdār* often supplied him with horses and equipment.

For the sake of identification of the men and the horses the following rules were strictly observed:

'A *Chihrah* or descriptive roll of the new *manṣabdār* was first of all drawn up, showing his name, his father's name, his tribe or caste, his place of origin, followed by details of his personal appearance.' (*Army*, 47-48).

The *manṣabdār*'s *chihra*, however, is not mentioned in *Ā'īn*. Was it introduced later?

The troopers' roll (*Chihra-i-Tābīnān*) was then prepared. The procedure is fully described in the *Ā'īn*. It applies apparently not only to a *manṣabdār*'s, but to all, cavalry:

His Majesty 'ordered that upright *Bitikchîs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. . . .

Every one who wishes to join the army, is taken before His Majesty, in whose presence his rank is fixed, after which the clerks make out the *Ta'līqah*.

Dākhilī troops are admitted on the signature of the Mançabdárs.

His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay. His Majesty has the men assembled in an open place, and receives the several descriptive rolls, when the men with their horses are handed over to the above five officers. The amount of their pay is then entered at the bottom of the descriptive rolls, and is

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countersigned[1] by those officers, which serves as a proof, and prevents fraudulent alterations. Each roll is then handed over to the inspecting Dárogah. He takes them in the manner described above to His Majesty, who orders the pay to be increased or decreased. . . . . When the roll is thus certified, it is also signed by the *Wáqi'ah Nawıs*, the *Mîr 'Arz*, and the officer commanding the guards.[2] On the strength of this certificate, the Dárogah of the *dágh* (brand) marks the horses.' (Blochmann, 255 ; Text, I, 190-91).

The specimen of the *Chihra-i-Tābīnān* copied by Irvine from a *Dastūr-ul-'Amal* (B.M. MS. No. 6599, fol. 163a) gives the name of the soldier, his father's name, and his personal appearance ; to which is appended a brief description of the horse. (*Army*, 48). This apparently represents later practice.

Last of all came the *Chihra-i-Aspān* (Descriptive roll of horses). It was an elaborate description of the horse or horses, setting forth in detail the class to which the horse belonged in a highly elaborate system of classification, and describing minutely the marks on the horse's body.

But in the case of the horses the descriptive rolls were not a sufficient safeguard against fraud. For 'horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones.' (Blochmann, 256). So the imperial brand was placed on the right thigh of the horse, while the *manṣabdār* had his own brand imprinted on the left. (*Storia*, II, 376 ; Blochmann, 256). For a description of these brands at different periods see Blochmann, 139, 255, 256, and Irvine, *Army*, 49–51.

This proceeding was known as *Dāgh-o-maḥallī*, or simply *Dāgh*.

These brands and descriptive rolls were obviously meant for reference when the same *manṣabdār's* cavalry was presented for review a second time. There were elaborate rules for periodical musters : Every *manṣabdār* who held a *jāgīr* had to present his horses after three years[3], failing which his *jāgīr* was docked to the extent of $\frac{1}{10}$. The officer who drew his salary in cash had to renew his *dāgh* every

[1] I should substitute 'sealed' for 'countersigned' ; '*sikka*' is the word in the text.

[2] This is not quite accurate. It appears from the text that the *Wāqi'a nawīs* signed while the other two officers only affixed their seals.

[3] Not 'every year', as Blochmann translates by a slip (p. 256), and Irvine uncritically copies (*Army*, p. 54).

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eighteen months. The *umarā* whose *jāgīrs* were situated in a remote place were given a concession: the interval between two *dagẖs* was not to exceed twelve years in any case[1]. Yet, after a lapse of six years they lost $\frac{1}{10}$ of their *jāgīr*; so the free concession really extended to six years only.

If a man gets an increase of *manṣab*, and three years have passed since the muster he draws his enhanced *ẕāt* salary from the date of increase, but his additional cavalry cannot receive any pay until it has passed through the *dāgẖ*[2]. (*Ā'īn*, Text, 191–92).

The second and later musters were technically known as *dāgẖ-i-mukarrar* or repetition of the brand (*lit.* repeated brand.)

Within a *manṣabdār's* division there was no classification into regiments. All were immediately under the *manṣabdār*, with whom every soldier had personal relations—which formed the basis of the entire system. As Dr. Paul Horn rightly remarks, 'Nummerisch bestimmte Verbände, unseren Compagnieen, Bataillonen u.s.w. entsprechend, gab es nicht.' (p. 11).

Nor was the numerical strength of each arm placed on anything like a regulated basis. The numbers of archers, sabremen, etc., were not fixed. 'Für die Stärkeverhältnisse der einzelnen Waffengattungen unter einander', says the same writer, 'waren bei Bildung einer Armee, keine Regeln vorgeschrieben.' (p. 43).

It is to be noted, however, that lower *manṣabdārs* could serve under higher *manṣabdārs*. Under an amir of 10,000 personal rank could serve a *manṣabdār* of up to 1,000 personal rank, under one of 8,000 up to 800, under one of 7,000 up to 700, under one of 5,000 up to 500, and under a *manṣabdār* of 500 an officer of up to 100 personal rank. In case of ranks lower than 500 such inclusion was not admissible (*Ā'īn*, Text, 175). Perhaps this rule applies only to disposition of forces in the battle-field.

The *manṣabdārs* and their followers, looked at as a whole, were a composite body, each unit of which had certain distinguishing characteristics of its own. We have no doubt the Emperor knew well how to make appropriate use of each. We have already seen in a quotation

[1] Blochmann (257) is tripping here again.

[2] The rules given by Irvine (p. 54) are somewhat different and more elaborate. We omit them, since they are drawn from a *dastūr-ul-'amal* of 1118 *A.H.*, and probably embody later amendments.

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from Bernier why and under what circumstances the Rājpūts and Pathāns were considered specially valuable as a source of military strength. Apart from those reasons, the Rājpūts were highly prized both for their fighting qualities and for their staunch fidelity and a delicate sense of honour.

Again, the Bārha Sayyids had acquired from the time of Akbar, a right to fight in the vanguard,[1] which they must have won by special distinction in the method of warfare peculiar to that position in the line of battle.

Babur's remarks are interesting in this connection. 'Among the Moghuls', he says, 'the Institutions established by Chingiz Khan have continued to be strictly observed down to the present time. Every man has his appointed station; those appointed to the right wing, the left wing, or the centre, have their allotted places, which are handed down to them from father to son. Those of most trust and consequence are stationed on the extremities or flanks of the two wings.' (*Memoirs*, Leyden, Erskine, and King, I, 165–66).[2]

Besides we know that different peoples not only had different ways of fighting, owing to their national peculiarities, but in some cases specialized in the use of certain arms. This must have qualified them for certain special operations, and for certain positions in the army drawn in battle-array.

The composition of a unit, *i.e.*, of a *manṣabdār's* regiment, differed according to the two rules known to be in existence. Irvine, relying on *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, II, 118, tells us that 'the *Tābīnān*, if horsemen, must be one-third Mughals, one-third Afghāns, and one-third Rājputs; if infantry, two-thirds archers, and one-third matchlockmen.' (*Army*, 9).

Manucci is totally unreliable on this subject; yet the following quotation from him seems to support the above statement: 'A man getting the pay of a *hazārī* in the first class is obliged to keep two hundred and fifty horsemen of different races—that is to say, sixty-four Paṭhāns, sixty-four Mughals, sixty-four Rājpūts; the remainder are Saiyids, Shekhzādahs, and so forth. The regulation still observed up to this day was made by King Akbar.' (*Storia*, II, 375).

[1] Blochmann, 391.

[2] M. Pavet de Courteille, who in translating from the original Chaghatāī, renders the last sentence differently: 'Les plus estimés parmi ceux de l'aile droite sont stationnés aux extrémités de cette aile.' (*Mémoires de Baber*, I, 218.)

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Irvine has already[1] given us certain rules about the classes and respective numbers of men to be recruited by *manṣabdārs* of different nationalities or tribes. The authority on which he draws bears date 1161 *A.H.* The *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* was written in 1174 *A.H.*

Another class of horsemen is to be noticed, which has had no place in our classification, but formed part of the cavalry,—*viz.*, the *Rozīnadārs*, *i.e.*, men with daily salary. '*Rouzindars*', says Bernier, 'are also cavaliers, who receive their pay daily, as the word imports; but their pay is greater, in some instances, than that of many of the *mansebdars*. It is, however, of a different kind, and not thought so honourable, but the *Rouzindars* are not subject, like the *mansebdars*, to the *Agenas*; that is, are not bound to take, at a valuation, carpets, and other pieces of furniture, that have been used in the King's palace, and on which an unreasonable value is sometimes set. Their number is very great. They fill the inferior offices; many being clerks and under-clerks; while some are employed to affix the King's signet to *Barattes*, or orders for the payment of money; and they scruple not to receive bribes for the quick issuing of these documents'. (pp. 215–16.)

Manucci in the same strain: 'There is still another mode of payment called *ruzindar* (*rozīnah-dār*)—that is, pay by the day given to infantry and cavalry. Yet, although they have this name, they are not thus paid: several months are allowed to elapse.' (*Storia*, II, 377).

II. *AḤADĪS*

The *Aḥadīs* were gentlemen troopers, a special class of horsemen, who were generally round the Emperor's person, and owed allegiance to no one else.

Probably a higher standard of efficiency and general worth was set up for an *Aḥadī* than for an ordinary horseman in a *manṣabdār's* ranks. In Akbar's reign, many *Aḥadīs* drew a salary of more than 500 rupees *per mensem*. We learn from *Tūzuk* (p. 5; R. and B., i, 10, top) that Jahāñgīr, on his coronation, raised the salary of the *Aḥadīs* by fifty *per cent*. At a late period—in 1120 *A.H.* (=1708 *A.C.*)—enlistment of 4,700 extra *Aḥadīs* was ordered at Rs. 40 a month. (Irvine, *Army*, 44).

[1] See p. 281 above.

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The *Aḥadī* could muster up to five horses in Akbar's reign; the maximum in Jahāñgīr's time, however, was apparently only four (De Laët, p. 113); though Hawkins places the limit at six (Purchas, iii, 30).

Horn is not far wrong when he describes the *Aḥadīs* as 'ein besonderes Gardecavallerie-corps' (p. 20). We agree with Irvine however, that though this is partially true, there was not any formal recognition of them as such. (*Army*, p. 43). The duties of the *Aḥadīs* were of a more miscellaneous character than those of Emperor's body-guard, properly so called. 'Most clerks of the Imperial offices,' says Blochmann (p. 20, f.n. 1), 'the painters of the court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops, etc., belonged to this corps.' 'Many of them [the *Aḥadīs*],' he says elsewhere (p. 246), 'were on staff employ in the various offices, store-houses, Imperial workshops; others were employed as adjutants and carriers of important orders.' 'Unter Akbar wurden sie', says Dr. Horn, 'nur sehr selten in grösserer Masse im Kriege verwendet, besonders nicht, wenn der Kaiser nicht selbst mit im Felde war, und dienten gewöhnlich einzeln als Feldjäger u. dgl.' (p. 20).

Practice in this respect seems, however, to have varied, for we notice that in Shāh Jahān's reign *Aḥadīs* were often sent into the fighting line, where they were well distributed over the different parts of the army. As many as 5,000 *Aḥadīs* accompanied each one of the three expeditions sent by the Emperor to Kandahar (1649–53 *A.C.*). The numbers thus contributed generally consisted of *Barq-andāz* and *Tīr-andāz Aḥadīs*, half and half.

Irvine speaks of the *Yakka-tāz*, which term was possibly used as an equivalent for an *Aḥadī*. Again, the bodyguard, or defenders of the imperial person, he tells us, were the men called *Wālā Shāhī*, and these he further proceeds to distinguish from *Yasāwals* or armed palace guards.

The household troops, he says on the authority of *Siyar*, amounted, towards the end of the eighteenth century, 'to 40,000 men, all cavalry, but usually serving on foot in the citadel and in the palace. They consisted then of several corps besides the *Aḥadīs*, such as the *Surkh-posh* (wearers of red), the *Sulṭānī* (Royal), the *Wālā Shāhī* (High Imperial), the *Kamal-posh* (Blanket Wearers).' (p. 44).

We do not meet with these names in histories of the earlier period. The presumption is that these bodies came into existence in the later Mughal times.

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The number of *Aḥadīs* in Akbar's time is not known. In Jahāngīr's reign the number was, according to De Laët (*Empire of the Great Mogol*, 113), 4,441, and, according to Hawkins (*Purchas*, iii, 30), 5,000.

We know from *B.N.* (II, 715) that the total number of *Aḥadīs* in Shāh Jahān's time, or rather at the end of the 20th regnal year, was 7,000.

There was a separate establishment for the *Aḥadīs*, with a *Dīwān*, a *Bakhshi*, and the rest. At their head was one of the great amirs.

The candidates were presented direct to the Emperor. In case of acceptance the usual procedure of *yād-dāsht* and *ta'līqa* was followed, descriptive roll was prepared, and the salary fixed. Then the security was taken; and once more the applicant was presented to the Emperor, who often increased the salary originally fixed.

The *Aḥadīs* were mustered every four months.

The *Aḥadī* generally found his own horse at the beginning of service; but later, if a substitute became necessary, it was supplied by Government, either free or at a price. Horses of *Aḥadīs* who were dead[1] were often thus given away to other *Aḥadīs* who had lost a horse. (*Ā'īn*, Text, I, 158; Blochmann, 161–62).

III *PIĀDAGĀN* OR 'INFANTRY'

As a part of the fighting strength of the empire, this arm of the service was insignificant. But it is not really correct to render the word '*Piādagān*' by 'infantry'. It is true that these *Piādagān* included the force called *Piāda tufangchī wa bāndār*, which often accompanied the rest of the army to the battle-field, and also some *Dākhilī* troops. But the *Piādagān* included also many other classes of men who had no more to do with fighting than a modern civil servant. Irvine, following the historians of the later Mughal period, translates 'infantry' by '*Aḥshām*'—a word not used in this technical sense in the earlier period. We are following Abū'l-Faẓl in retaining the term *Piādagān*.

We give below, in outline, Abū'l-Faẓl's classified description of the *Piādagān*, drawing upon other authorities, where available, for illustration and corroboration:

(1) *Bundūqchīs* (Matchlock-bearers)

[1] *Raftagān* is the word in text.

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A *bitikchī*, a treasurer, and a *dārogha* formed the establishment. The senior *Bundūqchīs* (*Sar-guroh*) got a higher pay—from 260 *dāms* to 300 *dāms p.m.* The salary of the rest ranged from 110 *d.* to 250 *d. p.m.* (*Ā'īn*, Text, 1, 188). It will be noticed that this pay, ranging between three and seven rupees a month, is miserable. See Bernier's remarks about the quality of this service quoted later.

This is practically the only class which may be described as infantry.

The total number in Akbar's time was 12,000 (*ibid.*).

According to *B. N.* (II, 715), Shāh Jahān's army included, at the end of 20th regnal year, 40,000 *tufangchīs*, gunners, and *bān-dārs*, 10,000 of which were at court, the remaining 30,000 being in the provinces and in fortresses.

A number of this infantry, varying from 9,000 to 10,000, accompanied each of the three expeditions to Kandahar already referred to.

Bernier has the following about the matchlock-men :

'The foot-soldiers receive the smallest pay ; and, to be sure, the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times, which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their muskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Even then, they are terribly afraid of burning their eyes or their long beards, and above all lest some *Dgen*, or evil spirit, should cause the bursting of their musket. Some have twenty *roupies* a month, some fifteen, some ten. (p. 217).

These salaries are much higher than the scale quoted from *Ā'īn* above.

Bernier, talking of the infantry, continues : 'I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces.' (p. 219.)

(2) *Darbāns* (Porters).

One thousand of these guarded the palace.

(3) *Khidmatiya.*

One thousand *Khidmatiya* remained alert round the *Daulat-khāna*, and awaited orders.—The caste to which they belonged was notorious for highway robbery and theft. They were formerly known as *Māwīs*.

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Jahāngīr mentions these as *Piādahā-i-khidmatiya* in *Tūzuk*, p. 303 (R. and B., II, 152). Their chief in time of Akbar had the title 'Khidmat Rāi.' In *Tūzuk* Rāi Mān is mentioned as their head (*Sardār-i-Piādahā-i-khidmatiya*). [Text, p. 205 (R. and B., I, 414), p. 268 (R. and B., II, 83), and p. 303 (R. and B., II, 152)].

(4) *Mewras.*

These also numbered one thousand, and came from Mewāt. They were fast runners, could fetch and carry across long distances, and were expert at detective work.

According to Khāfī Khān (*M.L.*, I, 243) Akbar was the first to introduce a regular service of *Dāk Mewras.*

Couriers are thus described by Father Monserrate : 'Amongst the despatch-runners are certain couriers who in one day can run on foot as far as a horseman can ride at full speed. They are said to have their livers removed in infancy, in order to prevent their suffering from shortness of breath. They practise running in shoes made of lead, or train themselves by repeatedly lifting their feet and moving their legs (whilst remaining standing still in one place) till their heels touch their buttocks. When their leaden shoes are removed, they are seen to be magnificent runners, by the help of whose swiftness the King can very rapidly and regularly obtain news or send orders on any matter touching the peace of his realm.' (Monserrate, 212).

Is Father Monserrate here referring to the *Dāk Mewras* we are talking of?

(5) *Shamsherbāz.*

Bravery and agility were their distinguishing characteristics. They could perform remarkable feats of arms. Different classes of these specialized in certain feats and tricks, and in particular ways of offence and defence.

Their skill and courage, on which Abū'l-Faẓl dwells with eloquence, must have made them an acquisition to the fighting line.

Yet the *Shamsherbāz* denotes more a profession than a service; for we are told that the total number exceeded 100,000, of which a picked 1,000 was always ready for service at court.

The *Ṣadī* (commander of 100) of these held the rank of an *Aḥadī* or a still higher one. The monthly salary of a *shamsherbāz* ranged from 80 to 600 *dāms*.

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Sword-play continued to be a favourite profession in India down to quite recent times. For quotations from eye-witnesses of exhibitions of single-stick and sword-play in India as late as the first half of the nineteenth century, see Irvine, *Army*, 186.

(6) Wrestlers.

Persian and Tūrānī wrestlers and boxers, Indian athletes, performers of Gujarāt known as *mals*[1], stone-throwers and others constituted this number. Wrestling matches were daily witnessed at court. The pay of a wrestler was between 70 and 450 *dāms p. m.*

(7) *Chelas* (Slaves).

These were originally, apparently, prisoners of war, or children rescued from famine—in many cases Hindus converted to Islam.

The *Chelas* were divided into sections, subjected to a systematic training at court, and finally brought up to a career of useful service. Many from each section were promoted to other ranks of the army, and some even attained to an amirate.

The pay of a *Chela* ran from a *dām* to a rupee *per diem*.

Is Manucci referring to these *Chelas* when he says:

'It is the habit of these kings to have usually in their service seven thousand slaves of different nations, and some among them are established as chiefs to govern and guide the rest. The king gives them names, and in my time these chief slaves were called as follows.' After a list of names he continues: 'These are the names of the king's principal slaves. They are all gentlemen troopers, and have good pay. Set over all the slaves are two captains, and the horsemen are three thousand in number, the foot or infantry four thousand. They have various employments, both within the household and in other duties connected with it. They are resorted to when some *coup* has been decided on; it is they who write about it, and execute the royal commands. In addition, they are used as spies to report what is going on, as well among the nobles as the common people.' (*Storia*, II, 357-58).

It appears that the *Chelas* were entertained not only by the emperor but also by the princes and the nobles. 'Among the slaves of the princes are some who are gentlemen soldiers and hold good positions. Some are purchased, others offer themselves to serve in

[1] *Mal* is 'a professional wrestler or boxer (the offspring of an outcast Kshatriya by a Kshatriya woman), a pancratiast; prize-fighter; an athlete; a gymnast; a tumbler; an acrobat.' (Platt, 1061).

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that station.' (*Storia*, II, 412). 'As a counterpoise to the mercenaries in their employ', says Irvine, 'over whom they had a very loose hold, commanders were in the habit of getting together, as the kernel of their force, a body of personal dependents or slaves, who had no one to look to except their master. Such troops were known by the Hindī name of *chelā* (a slave). They were fed, clothed, and lodged by their employer, had mostly been brought up and trained by him, and had no other home than his camp. They were recruited chiefly from children taken in war or bought from their parents during times of famine. The great majority were of Hindu origin, but all were made Mahomedans when received into the body of *chelās*. These *chelās* were the only troops on which a man could place entire reliance as being ready to follow his fortunes in both foul and fair weather.' (*Army*, 11),

(8) *Kahārs* (Litter-bearers).

These bore the *bālkī*, the *singhāsan*, the *chaudol* and the *dolī*. Their special skill lay in the fact that they carried their heavy burden up hill and down dale with the utmost comfort to the rider.

The best *Kahārs* came from the Deccan and from Bengal.—Several thousand *Kahārs* were always at court.

Pay of the head *Kahār*: 192 *d.* to 384 *d.* Pay of an ordinary *Kahār*: 120 *d.* to 160 *d.*

(9) *Dākhilī* foot-soldiers.

A number of these, though paid by the state, were handed over to the *umarā*. Though really infantry, they were classed as *nīma-suwārān* (half-cavalry), and their descriptive rolls kept.

One-quarter of the number were matchlock-bearers, and the rest mainly bow-men—the odd proportion being made up by such miscellany as carpenters, blacksmiths, water-carriers, and pioneers[1]—useful camp-followers.

A non-commissioned officer (*sar-guroh*) of the matchlock-men drew 160 *d.*, and the common matchlock-men only 140 *d.* The *mīrdahas* of the archers got from 120 to 180 *dāms*, and the common archers from 100 to 120.

Irvine tells us (*Army*, 160) that these *dākhilī* troops are not heard of from Aurangzeb's reign on.

[1] The duty of these *beldārs* was to sink wells for the royal camp and to dig trenches, etc. In hilly tracts the *beldārs* were sent in advance of the rest of the army to make the way.

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IV. ARTILLERY

Artillery was not an important branch of the army prior to Aurangzeb's time.

Humāyūn's artillery at the battle of Kanauj (1540 *A.C.*) is thus described :—

'Among the equipments which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (*gardun*), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (*zarb-zan*), which discharged a ball (*kalola*) of 500 *mithkáls* weight. I, myself, saw several times that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (*bi-khatá*) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight[1] pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass weighing 5,000 *mithkáls*, and the cost of each was 200 *mithkáls* of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a *parasang*.' (*Tarikh-i-Rashidi* of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlát, trans. by E. D. Ross and N. Elias, London, 1895, p. 474.)

In Akbar's time this arm of the service was so unimportant that Abu'l-Faẓl has not much to say about it in the *Á'ín*. The scholar-minister talks rather grandiloquently of large pieces of ordnance, which took several elephants and thousands of bullocks to transport, and the balls of which weighed twelve maunds ; and speaks thus of certain inventions of Akbar : 'He made a gun which, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put again together when required. By another invention, His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match.[2] Again, he made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant ; such guns have the name of *Gajnáls*. Guns which a single man may carry, are called *Narnáls*.'[3] (Text, I, 124 ; Blochmann, 112–3). 'His Majesty has made special guns,' continues the author, 'for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements ;

[1] Irvine reads 60 for 8.

[2] Apparently a precursor of the *Arghan* or *Arghūn* 'which is composed of about 36 gun barrels so joined as to fire at once' (Irvine, *Army*, 138), cognate with a *mitrailleāse*. (Horn, 30).

[3] Dr. Horn is presumably quite right in holding that the *Narnāls* 'waren wohl keine Kanonen sondern nur eine Art shwererer Musketen' (p. 28).

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while those fit for the imperial camp accompany the Emperor.' [1] (Text, I, 125).

The personnel of the artillery is briefly disposed of thus : ' Amírs and Ahadís are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *d.*' (Text, 125 ; Blochmann, 113).

It strikes one as strange, however, that the artillery and its personnel, which obviously formed part of the army, finds no place in Book II of the *Ā'īn*, which deals with the Army. The artillery and some matchlock-men are included in Book I, while such unmilitary classes as porters, valets (footmen), runners, gladiators, wrestlers, slaves and litter-bearers, who never served in, or even behind, the fighting-line, are grouped together under *Piādagān* in Book II.

Irvine's explanation (*Army*, 155 and 160–1) that all officers and men borne on the books of the imperial household are included in Book I, while Book II comprises only the part of the army which was not paid direct from the imperial treasury, but through the intervention of the *manṣabdār*, is insufficient ; since *Aḥadīs* and all the *Piādagān* were paid direct by the Emperor and yet figure in Book II. On Irvine's hypothesis only *manṣabdārs* and their followers should be in Book II, while *Aḥadīs*, artillery and *Piādagān* should all be included in Book I.[2]

Irvine's position that ' the artillery was much more perfect and numerous in ' Ālamgīr's reign, than it was under his great-grandfather, Akbar,' (p. 116), is unassailable. There is no doubt that the development of artillery in the Mughal army which began in Aurangzeb's reign, was due in the main to contact with the European armies and the service of Portuguese gunners.

In Jahāngīr's reign, we are told [3] that Patr Dās, on being appointed *Mīr Āṭish* (Master of Ordnance), was ordered to have in the Artillery of the Stirrup always ready 3,000 pieces of ordnance, with 50,000 gunners ;—a large number, one would think, for the Stirrup Artillery, but not impossible, since it seems to have been a special measure, and for the maintenance of it, as Shāh Nawāz Khān tells us (*M.U.*, II, 140), the revenue of 15 *parganas* was assigned.

[1] For this sentence I am preferring my own translation to Blochmann's, which seems to me inaccurate.

[2] It has been suggested to me as a possible explanation that artillery was not yet recognized as a separate arm.

[3] *Tūzuk*, 9–10. R. and B.'s translation (I, 22–3) is defective, but is faithfully copied by Blochmann (p. 470).

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The number of guns with which Humāyūn and Jahāngīr are credited would suggest that the Mughal artillery was in a high state of efficiency, and furnished a formidable weapon. This, however, was not the case. 'Of this arm of the service,' says Irvine, 'it is doubtful whether the Moghuls knew much before they descended into the plains of India under Bābar. What they did know was probably borrowed from the Turks and from Constantinople. Nor could the art and science of gunnery have been very advanced in India itself, when the Moghuls arrived in that country in the first half of the 16th century. In the earlier Moghul period, at any rate, the emperors were dependent for their artillery on the help and instruction of Rūmīs, that is, Mahomedans from Constantinople, or of Farangis, principally runaway sailors from Sūrat, or Portuguese half-castes.' (*Army*, 152).

Considerable bodies of the Portuguese continued to be enlisted up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dr. Horn thus in similar strain: 'Das Artilleriewesen (*Tupchâne*), war unter Bâber durchaus nach türkischem Muster eingerichtet, wie denn die Türken hierin im muhammedanischen Orient überhaupt die Lehrmeister gewesen sind.....Noch unter Akbar ward das Geschützwesen mit Vorliebe Türken anvertraut, bis an deren Stelle dann allmählich Europäer traten.' (p. 29.)

The artillerymen, says Bernier, 'receive great pay, particularly all the *Franguis* or Christians,—*Portuguese*, *English*, *Dutch*, *Germans*, and *French*; fugitives from *Goa*, and from the *Dutch* and *English* companies. Formerly, when the *Mogols* were little skilled in the management of artillery, the pay of the *Europeans* was more liberal, and there are still some remaining who receive two hundred *roupies* a month: but now the King admits them with difficulty into the service, and limits their pay to thirty-two *roupies*.' (p. 217).

Abū'l-Faẓl, as we have already seen, speaks respectfully of Turkey's artillery; and we hear a great deal of Portuguese and other European gunners in state employ throughout Mughal history.

The artillery consisted of the 'heavy' and the 'light'.

The heavy artillery, early in Aurangzeb's reign, consisted, according to Bernier, of 'seventy pieces of cannon, mostly of brass'. (p. 217). Under heavy artillery were also included 'from two to three hundred light camels, each of which carried a small field-piece of the size of a double musket, attached on the back of the animal, much in

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the same manner as swivels are fixed in our barks.' (pp. 217–18). These were *Shutarnāls*. So 'heavy artillery' was only a technical term, and was not confined to the larger pieces.

'The Moghuls', says Irvine, 'were very fond of large ordnance, but such pieces were really more for show than use; and as Fitzclarence truly says, 243, the oriental idea seems to have been "to render this destructive engine from its size more powerful than those of the Western world." In this direction they proceeded even to extravagant lengths. These huge guns made more noise than they did harm; they could not be fired many times in a day, and were very liable to burst and destroy the men in charge.' (*Army*, 118.)

The large pieces had often high-sounding, mouth-filling names, and usually bore on them inscriptions giving the name of the founder and place and date of manufacture. See the long list of names of the principal cannon at Mughal court in Aurangzeb's time in *Storia* (II, 365–66). For an inscription on the gun, *Jahāñkushā*, made at Dacca in the reign of Shāh Jahān, see 'Translation of an Inscription on a Gun at Moorshedabad with Remarks', by Major St. G. D. Showers in *J.A.S.B.*, xvi, 589–92.

Field-pieces were, generally speaking, heavier than fort- and siege-guns.

The Light Artillery, otherwise called *Topkhāna-i-rikāb* or Artillery of the Stirrup, is thus described by Bernier: 'The artillery of the stirrup, which also accompanied the *Mogol* in the journey to *Lahor* and *Kachemire*, appeared to me extremely well appointed. It consisted of fifty or sixty small field-pieces, all of brass; each piece mounted on a well-made and handsomely painted carriage, containing two ammunition chests, one behind and another in front, and ornamented with a variety of small red streamers. The carriage, with the driver, was drawn by two fine horses, and attended by a third horse, led by an assistant driver as a relay. The heavy artillery did not always follow the King, who was in the habit of diverging from the highroad, in search of hunting-ground, or for the purpose of keeping near the rivers and other waters. It could not move along difficult passes, or cross the bridges of boats thrown over the rivers. But the light artillery is always intended to be near the King's person and on that account takes the name of Artillery of the Stirrup. When he resumes his journey in the morning, and is disposed to shoot or hunt in game

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preserves, the avenues to which are guarded, it moves straight forward, and reaches with all possible speed the next place of encampment, where the royal tents and those of the principal *Omrahs* have been pitched since the preceding day. The guns are then ranged in front of the King's quarters, and by way of signal to the army, fire a volley the moment he arrives.' (p. 218).

What has happened, one might ask, to the 3,000 pieces of light ordnance, which Patr Dās had placed on a permanent footing in obedience to Jahāñgīr's orders early in his reign? Was the number cut down later?

We have already noted that all the pieces included under 'heavy' artillery were not heavy. Irvine's remark, therefore, that the Artillery of the Stirrup was rather a sub-division of the light artillery than identical with it (*Army*, 133) is fully justified.

The artillery was one of the imperial workshops, and, as the workshops formed part of the imperial household (which was controlled by the *Khānsāmān*), the head of the Artillery, *i.e.*, the *Dārogha-i-Topkhāna* or *Mīr Ātish*, was under the *Khānsāmān*. It is to be noted, however, that this applied only to the manufacturing department and the magazine or ordnance department. In case of the field artillery in actual use and of guns in use in fortresses the *Mīr Ātish* held independent charge. (*Army*, *113*). Again, 'all reserve artillery and stores were kept in certain great fortresses, such as Āgrah, Dihlī and Lāhor, in the charge of the special commandant (*qila'hdār*), who was an officer appointed direct from court and in no way connected with or subordinate to the provincial governor (*nāzim* or *ṣūbahdār*).' (*Ibid.*, 156–7).

ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE ARMY

Having surveyed the various departments constituting the Mughal army, we naturally feel inclined to ask what was the total strength of the military organization. The question has been examined by various writers such as Blochmann (pp. 244–7 and pp. 528–37), Paul Horn (pp. 39–45), and Irvine (*Army*, pp. 59–61).

Blochmann's conclusions about Akbar's army (pp. 245–6), on which both Horn and Irvine rely, are vitiated by certain fundamental misapprehensions, and seem arbitrary. Neither Blochmann nor later

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writers seem to have noticed that the list in *Ā'īn* 30 of the *Ā'īn* refers only to the *ẕāt* rank, and is therefore utterly useless for any calculation of the strength of the army.

The same remark applies to the list in the *Ṭabaqāt*.

The figures for the reign of Jahāñgīr have not been attempted by any one. The numbers of the *manṣabdārs* in that reign given by De Laët (113), if correct—and we have no means of checking them—refer in all probability to the *ẕāt* rank, and therefore give no help towards calculation of the cavalry.

Since we have not sufficient data to arrive at even tolerably satisfactory results regarding the reign of Akbar or of Jahāñgīr, and since we are more immediately concerned with the reign of Shāh Jahān, we propose to concentrate our attention on an estimate of the army during the latter reign.

Mullā 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, surveying the imperial army at the end of the twentieth regnal year, informs us with business-like succinctness and precision so usual with him, that the army (excluding the numbers appointed with *faujdārs*, *karorīs* and *'āmils* to administer the *parganas*) amounts, under the one-fourth rule, to 200,000 horse, which comprise 8,000 *Manṣabdārs*, 7,000 *Aḥadīs* and *Barq-andāz* horsemen, 1,85,000 horsemen (followers of Princes, *Umarā* and *Manṣabdārs*), and 40,000 infantry (*tufangchī*, *top-andāz*, *gola-andāz*, and *bāndār*), out of which 10,000 were at court, and the rest in the provinces and in forts. (*B. N.*, II, 715).

The carefully-prepared list of the *Manṣabdārs* at the end of twentieth regnal year given on pp. 717–52 of *B. N.*, II, practically constitutes the Army List of the empire for that date, and is an invaluable document. This list includes names of all officers of the rank of 500 and above, whether dead or alive at the time of its preparation, showing in each case whether the officer is alive. The list, as usual, is arranged in the order of the *ẕāt* rank; but the *suwār* rank is carefully given in all cases where that rank is enjoyed.

From such a list it is possible to construct the total strength of the cavalry; while it enables us to check the totals of the war effective given by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī in the passage quoted above.

For the purpose of estimating the cavalry we ignore the *ẕāt* rank, and add up the *suwār* ranks of all the officers living at the time, excluding

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for the moment the *du aspa sih aspa suwār* rank. We find that the total of *yak aspa* horse rank amounts to 3,70,825.—Next we take the *du aspa sih aspa* figures. These total 76,000. As we know, this figure has to be doubled; so that it means 1,52,000 'horse'.

The sum total of the *yak aspa* and *du aspa sih aspa* ranks, therefore, is 3,70,825+1,52,000=5,22,825 'horse'. The reader knows well that this figure does not represent the number of cavalry actually entertained, but only the sum total of the horse rank. The actual number can be obtained by the one-third, one-fourth and one-fifth rule. The one-fifth rule was probably a concessionary measure; while the one-third rule applied to a small number. Calculating by the one-fourth rule, therefore, we arrive at 1,30,706 as the number of horsemen. Making allowance for the few who held appointments in the provinces where their *jāgīrs* lay, and who were governed by the one-third rule, 1,35,000 will be a safe figure for the total cavalry.

We should not forget that this is the total following of the *manṣabdārs* of 500 and above only. Counting up the names of those reported as alive in the list, we find that this following belonged to 445 officers. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Lāhorī has already informed us that the total number of *manṣabdārs* was 8,000, while their total *tābīns* numbered 185,000. We know, therefore, that the *manṣabdārs* under the rank of 500 totalled 7,555, and their following approximately 50,000.

The results can now also be stated in a tabular form :—

STATEMENT SHOWING TOTAL STRENGTH OF *MANṢABDĀRS* AND THEIR FOLLOWERS AT END OF 20TH REGNAL YEAR OF SHĀH JAHĀN.

Zāt rank.	Total number of *Manṣabdārs* (including Princes).	Total rank.			Actual number of horsemen entertained.
		Yak aspa.	*Du aspa sih aspa.*	Total with *du aspa sih aspa* rank doubled.	
500 and above	445	3,70,825	76,000	5,22,825	1,35,000 (approximately)
Below 500	7,555	...	...	...	50,000 (approximately)
Total ...	8,000	...	...	...	185,000

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We find that the total figures quoted from *B. N.* above fit in beautifully with the deductions from the *Manṣabdārī* list.

These results, again, are on all fours with the following statement in Bernier: 'Leaving out of our present calculation the infantry, which is of small amount, and the number of horses, which is merely nominal, and is apt to deceive a superficial observer, I should think, with many persons well conversant with this matter, that the effective cavalry, commonly about the King's person, including that of the *Rajas* and *Patans*, amount to thirty-five or forty thousand; which, added to those in the provinces, forms a total of more than two hundred thousand horse.' (219).

Again, talking of infantry, the author continues: 'I do not think that in the army immediately about the King, the number can exceed fifteen thousand, including musketeers, foot artillery, and generally, every person connected with that artillery. From this, an estimate may be formed of the number of infantry in the provinces. I cannot account for the prodigious amount of infantry with which some people swell the armies of the *Great Mogol*, otherwise than by supposing that with the fighting men, they confound servants, sutlers, tradesmen, and all those individuals belonging to *bazars*, or markets, who accompany the troops. Including these followers, I can well conceive that the army immediately about the King's person, particularly when it is known that he intends to absent himself for some time from his capital, may amount to two, or even three hundred thousand infantry. This will not be deemed an extravagant computation, if we bear in mind the immense quantity of tents, kitchens, baggage, furniture, and even women, usually attendant on the army. For the conveyance of all these are again required many elephants, camels, oxen, horses, and porters.' (219–20.)

Another way of forming an idea of the military strength of an empire is to take measure of an effort put forth by it on an occasion sufficiently important to be considered typical. The sieges of Kandahar were probably the most serious military operations undertaken by the State during the reign of Shāh Jahān. We give below the details of the army (cavalry, infantry and artillery) and its equipment sent to Kandahar on three several occasions for the purpose of laying siege to that stronghold. For brevity the information is presented in a tabular form:—

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ARMY AND EQUIPMENT SENT TO BESIEGE KANDAHAR (1649–53.)

—	*Manṣabdārs* and their followers	Infantry	*Aḥadīs*	Artillery	Transport
First expedition (1649 *A. C.*)	50,000 cavalry according to one-fifth, or 60,000 cavalry according to one-fourth rule.	10,000 *Tufangchīs* and *Bāndārs*.	5,000		
Second expedition (1652 *A. C.*)		9,000 *Tufangchīs* and *Bāndārs*.	2,600 *Barq-andāz* and 2,000 *Tir-andāz* (archers.)	8 big siege guns. 20 smaller ordnance (which took balls weighing 2 or 2½ seers). 20 *hathnāls*. 100 *shutarnāls*.	3,000 camels: 500 carrying treasure; 500 carrying arms; 2,000 carrying ammunition.
Third expedition (1653 *A.C.*)	56,000 cavalry according to one-fifth, or 70,000 cavalry according to one-fourth, rule.	10,000 *Tufangchīs*, *Bāndārs* and gunners.	2,500 *Barq-andāz* 2,500 *Tīr-andāz* (bowmen).	7 big siege guns, some of which took ball of 2 maunds: (1) 'Kishwar kushā' (ball: 1m. 8s. Akbarī). (2) 'Garh bajhan' (ball: 1 m. 8 s. Akbarī). (3) 'Top-i-klān' (ball: 1 m. 16 s. Akbarī).—These three cast by Dārā Shukoh's orders.—(4) 'Qal' a-kushā.' (5) 'Maryam' and two others sent from court. 7 *top-i-hawā'ī*,[1] made to Dārā Shukoh's order. 30 smaller ordnance.	3,000 camels for loading treasure, ammunition and arms.

1.—A kind of ordnance apparently mounted on a tree or other eminence, and then fired. See *M. L.*, 11,226.

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ARMY AND EQUIPMENT SENT TO BESIEGE KANDAHAR (1649-53)—(*Continued.*)

	Manṣabdārs and their followers	Infantry	*Aḥadīs*	Artillery	Transport
Third expedition (1653 *A. C.*)				25 *gajnāls*. 100 *shutarnāls*. 30,000 cannon balls (large and small) } prepared by Dārā Shukoh. 5,000 maunds of gun-powder. } prepared by Dārā Shukoh. 1,500 maunds of lead (imperial measure). } prepared by Dārā Shukoh. 14,000 *bāns*. } prepared by Dārā Shukoh. In addition to these the artillery which had been used at Kandahar in the second siege had remained at Kabul. At least five of those big guns joined the besieging army at Kandahar, reaching there under Ghairat Khān. Total number of cannon balls discharged during the siege: 27,000.	

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The information summarized here is given almost exactly as found in Muḥammad Wāriṣ, *B.N.*, III, (P.U.L. MS.) ff. 23*b*-24*a*, 61*b*-64*a*, 73*a*-73*b*., etc.

From the entries in the second column it appears that the figures are not those of the roll-call, but are calculated from the total *manṣab* of the officers nominated to serve in the army.

The reader need hardly be told that total cavalry will be obtained by adding up the figures in col. 2 and col. 4.

NOTE

Since writing the above I have seen Mr. Ram Prasad Tripathi's article on 'The Army Organization of Akbar' in *Indian Historical Records Commission* (Proceedings of Meetings), vol. v., January 1923, pp. 56–66. The author does not refer to any new sources, and has made no new use of old ones. In fact it seems he has not succeeded in disentangling himself from any of the misunderstandings that beset all the previous workers we have been discussing in this and the last chapter.

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The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi

BY

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THE sixteenth century is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging-up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdi, to the Hindu with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God.

The beginning of the sixteenth century recorded the advent of two new peoples into India—the Mughals and the Europeans, the one as conquerors, the other as partly conquerors and partly traders. They brought with them their own culture, and tried to impose it on the country; but the Mughal succeeded, and the European failed. That was due not only to the enormous political power that backed the Mughal culture, but to its essentially kindred nature, that endeared it to the people and its suitability to the needs of the time and genius of India. At this time however, India was evolving one of her own, and her task was facilitated by her contact with the Mughals. They supplied the leaven, and the result was the splendid outburst of the literary and artistic genius of India. Indeed in the whole length of Indian history we do not come across another century within whose compass such a gamut of religious movements rose to blend their

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notes and enrich each other. The Vaishnavas, the Mahdavis and the Roshnis propounded great truths and inspired men with new hopes and ideals. They sang of their immortal themes, and preached their priceless realizations with an earnestness and eloquence, that made the very atmosphere throb with feeling. The transient joys and sorrows of life were to be consecrated, the limitations of mortality to be transcended and the follies of man to be forgotten, such were their inspired teachings. Into such an elevating atmosphere entered the Mughals bringing with them their great heritage of culture and refinement. Drinking freely of the fountain of Sufism, they always took a broad and liberal view of life, and developed the habit of thinking freely and thereby detaching themselves from the narrow bounds of orthodoxy. Thus they aided the trend of the times, and exercised a synthesizing influence, helping to produce a new culture, that has lived through centuries, long after their sceptre had crumbled to the dust.

Babar and Humayun showed this trait of their character, but neither of them lived sufficiently long and in peace to make any impression on or take the impress of Indian thought. But Akbar did both ; he took the impress of, and left his impress on, India. In this sense Akbar was essentially an Indian monarch, though a foreigner in India. He inherited great traditions of culture and conquest, and like his father and grandfather had come into close contact with the Sufis. Intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, up-bringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. Thus he was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica. To ascertain therefore the variety of influences that moulded his character, and eventually impelled him to found a novel faith—Din-i-Ilahi, the outcome of his eclecticism, an outline of his heredity and environments is necessary ; for the former endowed him with those qualities of head and heart that prepared him to receive the impress of his environments, and reflect it in the best possible way.

The descendants of Timur have been not only mighty warriors and empire-builders but were men of enlightenment and scholarship. Their zeal for conquest and achievements in the field has not obliterated the æsthetic side of their life. Timur himself was an ideal for his house. If he made wide conquests to increase the glory of his name,

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he extended his patronage as widely to men of learning. Poets and painters, sculptors and historians, philosophers and scientists, all graced his court, and he felt equally at home in their company as in that of his war-hardened soldiers. If he conquered kingdoms, he did so to enrich Samarkand and Bokhara, which became not only the seats of culture in Asia but boasted of beautiful palaces and extensive parks, public baths and garden-houses, colleges and mosques. Even the country around became one stretch of smiling green owing to a network of canals. His unwearied zeal for conquest found ample leisure for conversation with scholars and artists, and great as a builder of empire, he was equally great as a builder of the seats of culture. His son Shah-rukh inherited his father's great qualities. Besides being the ruler of a vast empire he was a great lover of the peaceful pursuits of life. 'Through, India China and Tartary and even some western countries went his emissaries of peace, gathering knowledge for him, inviting scholars to his court, and by well-doing only spreading the fame of the peace-loving Shah-rukh.'[1] Ulugh Beg, his son proved himself not unworthy of his house. He was a great soldier, but his achievements in the field have been eclipsed by his achievements in science. He encouraged the cause of science by building an observatory at the foot of a mountain in Samarkand, that was three stories high, and very well equipped. He also contributed to the advancement of astronomy by compiling some astronomical tables. Abu Sayyid Mirza of Samarkand and Sultan Hussain Mirza of Herat were also famous for their high attainments, and patronage of art, literature and science. As for Babar it is difficult to exaggerate his many-sided genius. Great as a soldier, great as a conqueror, great as a man, he was equally great as a scholar, as a poet and as a writer of spirited prose. Wherever he went, he went to win the love of the people and to make their country beautiful. In Hindustan, in the din of war, he found time to lay out beautiful gardens. In his tempestuous life he snatched moments of peace to write not only his monumental autobiography, but a Turki diwan (collection of odes), a tract on Turki prosody, and several commentaries in the same language. He was also a skilful musician and a *connoisseur* of art. He was thoroughly conversant with Sufism, the Masnavi being a source of perennial

[1] Von Noer, vol. i, p. 134.

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interest for him. Such a combination of wonderful accomplishments has seldom been noticed in any monarch, eastern or western. Though not as accomplished as Babar, Humayun had inherited his faculties in no inconsiderable degree. Besides being a lovable man, essentially good and kind at heart, he possessed a competent knowledge of geography, history, chemistry, music and poetry, as known in those days. He was also a poet of some reputation. And the son of Humayun, grandson of Babar, and the descendant of Timur could not fail to inherit those talents, and tendencies for culture, which are rare among the rulers of men.

But if he was so fortunate on his father's side, he was not less so on his mother's. Chingiz Khan, the greatest conqueror known to history, was not an errant barbarian. He was a learned law-giver, and well-versed in the arts and sciences of the age. Kublai Khan, his descendant, was not only a great conqueror but a versatile scholar. He was no mean linguist, being conversant with Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, Chinese and even Latin. He took immense interest in the progress of art and science, which flourished under his patronage. Yunus Khan, the maternal grandfather of Babar, was again an all-round scholar. His culture had almost wiped off the traces of his Mongol ancestry. He was a poet, painter, penman, musician, scientist, and what not! Akbar's own mother was the daughter of a Persian scholar, who was the descendant of a celebrated saint of Persia. Such were the traditions of the house in which Akbar was born. The culture of the house softened the edge of orthodoxy, and in their attitude towards religion, the later Timurids, especially Babar and Humayun allowed a degree of latitude, that was tantamount to toleration. This was due chiefly to their association with Sufi mystics, many of whom were poets. In order to understand the full significance of the influence of Sufi mysticism on the Timurids, a brief outline of the cult will not be out of place here.

'Most of the Asiatic poets are Sufis' and 'they prefer or profess to prefer, the meditations and ecstasies of mysticism to the pleasures of the world'[1]. Their mysticism is based upon the doctrine that God alone is the absolute reality, that the human soul is an emanation from His essence with which it is to be reunited, and that 'the universe is

[1] *Rose Garden of Persia*, p. 44.

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nothing more than a combination of accidents united in a single essence in the Truth.'[1] God is immanent in all things, and to feel His hallowed presence in them was the heart-felt desire of the Sufis. For this they lived a pure noble life, and discarded all material attachments, and practised deep contemplation or Mushahdah. They had no faith in rituals and, imbued with a deep love for God, they 'held that divine illumination and grace were imparted directly to every soul, and not through the channel of external observances.'[2] That was why Jalal-ud-din Rumi declared 'fools exalt the mosque while they ignore the true temple in the heart.' Their pure and fervent love of God impelled them to reject all hopes of reward either in this world or in the next, and the cheap worldly righteousness that consists in the scrupulous observance of ablutions, prayers, fastings, etc. They aspired for the beatific vision or union with God in an ecstatic state, which has been considered as the quintessence of all happiness. But the true Sufi should not rest content with the union only. He must try to live continuously in that ecstatic state. As the great Sufi theologian Ghazali said 'you must know that the beginning of the path is the journey to God and that journey in God is its goal, for in this latter, absorption in God takes place. At the outset this glides by like a flash of light barely striking the eye; but thereafter becoming habitual, it lifts the mind into a higher world when the most pure essential Reality is manifested, and the human mind is imbued with the form of the spiritual world, whilst the majesty of the Deity evolves and discloses itself.' This in the Hindu mysticism is the highest stage of Yoga. This state is to be attained by continuous striving, by trying to feel constantly His presence in everything, by purging one's own thought, and centring it on God. Such in brief, are the beliefs and practices of the Sufis.

Inspired by the divine presence in everything, the Sufi poets wrote beautiful verses, that breathed celestial beauty. Thrilled by the touch and sight of their Beloved, they forgot the whole world, and sang immortal songs depicting their experience that is at once so evanescent and so eternal. Maddened by the wine of His love they saw life transformed into one unending dream of joy in which the

[1] *Lawaih translated by Whinfield and Kazirni*, p. 33.
[2] *Ibid.*, Preface xii.

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evils of life, its sorrows and tears, had no existence at all. They expressed these ecstatic experiences of theirs through the medium of a symbolism that smacks of sensuousness to the uninitiated. They used wine or wine-cup as a symbol of faith or fervent love for God; the cup-bearer as a symbol of God Himself. God is also symbolized as the rose or rose-garden, and the devotee, the nightingale. Through these symbols the Sufi gave form to his sublimest, and therefore the most impalpable feelings of his heart. Whether it be Moasi, the king of poets (eleventh century) singing of his 'lovely fair' or Sadi the 'nightingale of the groves of Shiraz' (thirteenth century), the great, Maulana of Rum (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) or Omar Khayyam (twelfth century) singing of his wine-cup, roses and fair maidens, the inimitable Hafiz (fourteenth century) or the exquisite Jami (fifteenth century) singing of the love of Zuleika for Yusuf, it is the same theme throughout. Consumed by a deep celestial love, they made everything they touched, lovable, and because of them Persian poetry has become so rich to-day. This poetry breathing the sublimest emotions of the poets, and couched in a form of the highest lyric beauty produced wonderful impression on the reader. The Timurids in general, and Babar, Humayun and Akbar in particular, were deeply imbued with the spirit of this poetry. Cultured as they were they appreciated the liberal and sublime creed of the Sufis and learned to look at the facts of life from their angle of vision. That was how Sufism influenced through its beautiful poetry the mind of the early Mughal Emperors of India.

But far more than this was their personal contact with the Sufis. The rise of the Safwi dynasty in Persia inaugurated a period of persecution for all creeds other than Shiaism. The Safwis rose to power as the champions of this faith, and their orthodoxy and zeal to spread it even outside their dominions were obvious in their dealings with Babar and Humayun. From the dominions of such fanatics as these fled away many a Sufi and found shelter in the more congenial atmosphere at first of Samarkand, Bokhara, Hirat and then of Kabul. Babar must have entertained them in his court after those dominions fell under the sway of the Uzbegs and the Persians. Many might have come to the court of Humayun after 1545 attracted by his love of culture and literary patronage. Further, Balkh a famous centre of learning and culture was under Babar and Humayun for some time,

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and Khorasan, the birth-place of Jami and Hatifi is close by. Prince Suleiman, a kinsman and a contemporary of Babar, Humayun and Akbar, was a great Sufi master, and tradition has it that he had attained to that coveted stage of mystic progress which is called Sahibihal. While Governor of Badakshan, Humayun might have come into contact with the Sufis, and imbibed their teachings, so that we find him often falling into a frame of mind which inclined him to renounce the worries of the world and retire into a secluded life to spend his days in the pursuit of learning or in the company of holy men. He was kept steady however by the reprimands of his father. Akbar, when young, must have associated with Sufis in the court of Kabul, so that he could recite verses from the Masnavi, and Diwan of the 'Mystic tongue' i.e., of Hafiz.[1] Later on he came into contact with Abdul Latif 'a paragon of learning', who was appointed as his tutor by Bairam Khan. Abdul Latif was noted for his moderate views on religion. The guiding principle of his life was 'Sulh-i-kul' i.e. peace with all, and this he must have imparted to his young pupil then only sixteen.

But when Abkar was being prepared by heredity and early associations to rule successfully over diverse peoples of an extensive empire, of which he was the real founder, a great religious ferment was going on in the country. The Bhakti and Mahdavi movements had taken a strong hold of the popular mind and they were supplemented by another of the Roshnis. They all taught and were founded on one great truth, viz., the brotherhood of man. The Vaishnav's was an emotional creed, while the Mahdavi's and the Roshni's was an austere creed. While the former thrilled to think that everything was his Beloved and therefore his very life was a consecration, the latter enjoined rigorous practice of asceticism and constant warfare with the flesh to attain to the beatific vision. These creeds must have exerted tremendous influence on the mind of Akbar. For aught we know of his keen interest in the things about him, it may be surmised that Vaishnavism might have impressed him by its similarity with Sufism, and the Mahdavi and Roshni movements might have prompted him to assume the role of a prophet—the promised Mahdi. A brief outline of these movements therefore is essential here.

[1] *Akbarnama*, vol. i, p. 520.

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The Bhakti movement or Vaishnavism 'owes its origin to the stream of thought which began with the Upanishads and culminated in the east in Buddhism and Jainism, and arose about the time of the latter.'[1] It was based upon 'the ideas of a Supreme God and devotion to Him as the mode of salvation.' This system was started as a counter-blow to the atheistic and rigidly ethical religions like Buddhism. In the fourth century B.C. Megasthenes referred to it as the religion of the people of Sourasena. The most eloquent exposition of its principles is in the Bhagwad Gita, and 'the programme that it proposes is, on the one hand that we purify our minds purging them of all attachments and passions by dedicating all the fruits of our actions to God; and yet on the other hand that we continue to perform all the duties belonging to our particular caste or stage of life. . . . A life dedicated to God and lived for and in love of Him, is a life which is inevitably ennobled to the highest degree.'[2] Self-surrender to and concentration on God are enjoined just as in the Yoga system of Patanjali, but in this idea of love of God, the emotional side is entirely absent. In the Vishnu Puran is depicted the wonderful Bhakti or devotion of Prahlad to Hari for its own sake, not for any reward; but even here the feeling element seems to be absent. Further, the great controversialist of the ninth century A.D., Shankar laid the axe at the root of all emotional love of God and piety when he expounded his famous Maya doctrine, and proved that the world is unreal. Ramanuja however, in the eleventh century most successfully controverted Shankar and laid stress on devotion or Bhakti, in which contemplation and communion were more prominent than any exuberance of feeling.[3] About the same time (eleventh century) we meet with a new idea of this Bhakti in the Bhagwat Purana where it is said to be the supreme source of spiritual enjoyment. It 'is no longer the old contemplation or meditation of God stirred by a deep-seated love. It is this ebullition of feelings and emotions of attachment to God. It manifests itself in the soft melting of the heart and expresses itself in tears, inarticulate utterances of speech, laughter, song and dances, such as can be possible through a mad intoxication

[1] *Vaishnavism and Shaivism*, by Bhandarkar, p. 9.
[2] *Hindu Mysticism*, by Das Gupta, p. 117.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 121.

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of love.'[1] Two principles henceforth form the creed of faith of the Vaishnavas, the one is self-surrender to God, the other a life of God-intoxication. The latter, i.e., the emotional side of Bhakti made a strong appeal to the people, and it permeated the whole society especially when it was presented to them through the symbolism of the love of Radha and Krishna. The mode of presentation was extremely human in its setting, and that was noticed for the first time in the teaching of Nimbarka in the twelfth century. With Nimbarka the way to the eternal beatitude is the Bhakti for the lotus-like feet of Krishna.

'A spirit of sympathy for the lower castes and classes of Hindu society has from the very beginning been the distinguishing feature of Vaishnavism'.[2] But it was Ramananda (1300–1411 A. D.) who for the first time gave the most liberal scope to this sympathy by admitting all classes and creeds into his fold, and by adopting the vernacular of Northern India to teach his doctrines to the common folk. Of his disciples Kabir was one, Rohidas another and Padmavati a woman, still another. Some of his disciples founded different schools and spread the worship of Rama and Sita over an extensive portion of Northern and Central India. At this stage we discern two branches of Vaishnavism—the Rama cult and the Krishna cult. But while the former was based essentially upon the conception of God as the father, supporter and lord, the latter, on the conception of God as the beloved, the nearest and the dearest. Naturally the Krishna cult appealed more readily to the people and attracted more men than the Rama cult. 'The episodes of Krishna's life in Brindaban are spiritualized. . . . They are interpreted as the eternal, timeless and spaceless play of God with His own associates and His energies, with whom he eternally realizes himself in love and friendship.'[3] This LILA of Krishna made his devotees mad with love and joy and Vallabha (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and Chaitanya (1485-1533 A. D.) were the two greatest exponents of this cult. It spread far and wide into all the parts of India, and wherever it went, it proved irresistible in its fascination for the people. Brahman and Sudra, prince and peasant, Hindu and Muslim, all went mad in love for the cowherd of Brindaban. From

[1] *Hindu Mysticism*, by Das Gupta, p. 124.
[2] *Vaishnavism and Shaivism*, by Bhandarkar, p. 66.
[3] *Hindu Mysticism*, p. 128.

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the Muslim lady Taj to Raskhani, from the princess Mira Bai to the beggar Sur Das, all were inspired by a love that levels all distinction of sex, caste, creed or calling. All were equal because they all loved Krishna, and had their being in Him. A reign of all-absorbing love and equality was going to be established and with this great promise dawned the sixteenth century in India.

By the year 1540 all the great religious teachers had passed away. Vallabha must have been dead a few years before or after Chaitanya. Kabir the greatest of the rationalists and a disciple of Ramananda died in 1518. Nanak the founder of Sikhism died in 1538. Thus in this early part of the sixteenth century lived and preached some of the greatest religious reformers of India. They all taught one great cult —the cult of love, and one great truth,—the brotherhood of man. But after the great Gurus or Masters were gone, arose no less illustrious poets who broadcasted their teachings in a more homely manner, and through the more effective medium of vernacular poetry of considerable lyric beauty. They appealed to millions and melted their hearts into love for God. Tulsi Das himself a great Vaishnav, wrote his monumental work of the Ramcharitmanas, in which he depicted Rama as full of the milk of divine mercy and love, and brought him closer to the perception and therefore to the realization of common men. What Tulsi Das did with Rama as his hero, Sur Das did with Krishna. Besides these two great luminaries of the poetical firmament, there shone many a modest star, that added to their lustre, imbued with a deep love they poured forth their feelings in elegant poetry and furthered the cause of Vaishnavism. Keshav Das, Raskhani, Mira Bai, and a whole gamut of poets sang of the celestial love of Radha and Krishna, the verdant groves of Brindaban, the amorous diversion of the Gopis, the Shrawan swing under the Kadamba tree, and a thousand other themes of the enchanting LILA of Krishna. The intense love that the great gurus or masters had felt for God and men, was now objectified, and reproduced in a more homely way which delighted and elevated the toiling peasant, the leisured wealthy, the cloistered scholar, the witty courtier and even the monarchs of the country.

At such a time when the country was thrilling with the glowing ideals of love and human brotherhood, when the scriptures and outward forms of religion were denounced, and sincerity, devotion and purity of heart were exalted, when the poets sang of the sublime

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truths of life in the most touching way, came Akbar to the throne of India. Surcharged as the atmosphere was with these ideals, unsophisticated and inquisitive as Akbar was by nature, indifferent as he was to orthodoxy or fanaticism by heredity, and imbued as he was with the spirit of Sufism, it is no wonder that he made a radical departure from the religious policy of his predecessors in India.

But side by side with Vaishnavism there was another movement agitating the minds of the Muslims. That was the Mahdavi movement, based on the belief that at the close of a millenium, after the birth of Mahamad, a Messiah or redeemer of the sins of mankind would come upon the earth. The belief became very strong towards the close of the fiteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, and there was a great deal of sensation in Arabia, Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Hindustan. In Hindustan the movement was started by Sayyid Mahamad of Jaunpur (born about 1443) who proclaimed himself to be the promised Mahdi. To his numerous followers he was the guide, whom they were to love and obey. They believed that he got inspiration directly from God, and therefore was equal in authority with Mahamad. The Quran, revealed to Mahamad, was to be explained by the Mahdi. The Mahdi taught that the goal of life was the attainment of the beatific vision by meditation on God and of ultimate identity with Him. Like Sufis, they also aspired for the self-annihilation in God. The devotee should renounce all the worldly attachments, lead a poor and chaste life, and depend entirely upon the mercy of God for the attainment of the desired object. The injunctions of the Quran were not binding upon him unless confirmed by the Mahdi, and in fact the rituals had no value for him. The followers joined into a brotherhood in which the members had equal rights and equal shares in the possession of each and all. They were ready to fight if persecuted, and considered as infidels all those who did not believe in the Mahdi. Resembling the Sufis in many of their fundamental doctrines, they differed from the latter in so far as their creed was austere and militant. But on the whole theirs was a faith that did not fit in with the ways of the society and the demands of the state. The spirit of brotherhood and equality, obedience to the authority of the Mahdi alone on earth, communistic tendencies with regard to property and aspiration for super-mundane attainments cut at the very root of the society and state. The believers generally

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abandoned their household and lived in groups professing poverty and practising austerities. They had no anxiety even for the satisfaction of the barest needs of life. In everything they depended upon God, and fasted for days together when they did not get anything by way of charity. 'But in spite of their destitute condition they always went armed carrying a sword and shield or other arms, that they might repel enemies. And whenever they saw any person do what was contrary to their notions of right they, in the first instance, mildly warned him to desist; but if he persisted, they proceeded to compel him by force and violence to alter his conduct.'[1] Thus they took justice into their hands whenever there was an occasion for it without waiting for the state to interfere or take action.

This faith made rapid progress in India because of the two successors of Sayyid Mahamad, viz. Shaikh Abdulla Niazi an Afghan, and Shaikh Alai his disciple. Shaikh Abdulla was a disciple of Shaikh Salim Chisti. After completing his education he made an extensive tour through all the Mahamadan countries, and during his travels adopted the doctrines of Mahdavi faith. Coming back, he settled down in Biana in the neighbourhood of the lowly and poor, and preached his faith with such an earnestness and zeal that he soon won numerous converts. In Biana lived another holy man, Shaikh Alai, a profound scholar and a teacher of the aspirants for the spiritual path. When he came to know of Shaikh Abdulla he met him and became a convert to his views. With him nearly all his followers embraced the new faith, and then began the remarkable career of Shaikh Alai. His persuasive eloquence, burning faith, profound scholarship and sincere zeal made a deep impression on everyone who heard him, and the followers of the faith increased every day. On his way to Mecca he halted at Khawaspur, and converted the celebrated general of Sher Shah, Khawas Khan along with his troops. When Islam Shah ascended the throne, the Shaikh was called to the court, admonished for his heretical doctrines and banished to Handia. At Handia, he converted its governor Bihar Khan Sarwani, with the greater part of his troops. Hence he was again called to the court, condemned as a pretender and preacher of heresies, and sentenced to death in 1553. But before his death he had spread his faith extensively both in

[1] Erskine's *History of India*, vol. ii.

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Hindustan and Deccan, and had won numerous converts to his faith. In Ahmadnagar, the movement had a good number of adherents. Shaikh Mubarak the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi was a believer in the Mahdavi faith with strong leanings towards Sufism. He was a learned man and a reputed teacher of Nagore. He had many disciples, who shared his views, and when he came to the court of Akbar, along with his brilliant sons, he exerted considerable influence on him and had a fair share in the religious experiments of Akbar.

But side by side with the Mahdavi movement in Hindustan there was flowing in Afghanistan, another tide of religious movement that was like the former, an aberration from Islam and based upon almost similar principles. That was the Roshni movement. The Roshnis as the followers of the faith called themselves believed in the coming of a Messiah. They held that God is the absolute reality, from whom emanate 'the Universal All-Reason', and 'the primal elements time and space', i.e., the individual existence and phenomenal universe, and that to God will all these return. 'This return of the sparks of reason after amalgamation with matter, to the pure All-Reason, which is the first emanation of God, is facilitated by an indispensable approach from both sides, first from the All-Reason, and secondly from the soul of the world. Corresponding to this gradation, first the souls of Divine Incarnation absorb the full force of the All-Reason, then those of the Prophets whom the first enlighten, and so in descending measure, the souls of the apostles and emissaries of prophets. As in men and with similar systematic gradation, these same spiritual powers dwell in celestial phenomena; first in sunlight, secondly in rain'.[1] These divine souls incarnate or manifest themselves as historical persons, epoch after epoch and it is the duty of the enlightened to discover or recognize him and proclaim him amongst men. He thus helps individual souls in their return to the source from which they sprang. Thus the Messiah or the divine incarnation is virtually the God on earth and therefore greater than any prophet, e.g. Mahamad, who subordinated himself to God. They, like the Sufis, believed in ecstatic communion with God to be attained by spiritual practices. These practices carry a man forward in the path, and there are eight stages in it before the goal is reached. These doctrines were first expounded by Abdullah Qadah, who

[1] Von Noer, vol. ii, pp. 144-45.

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flourished in the ninth century A. D. The creed developed and won numerous converts in and outside India. In the sixteenth century, there was one great exponent of this creed at Kalinjar by name Mulla Suleiman. He became the spiritual preceptor of Shaikh Bayazid, the 'Pir-i-Raushan' or apostle of light of the Roshnis. Bayazid came of a saintly family, and early in life gave proof of great spiritual predilection. Starting life as a horse-dealer he travelled widely, and on one occasion met Suleiman at Kalinjar. Having become his disciple, he returned to his native country Kaniguram in the Afghan hills between the Gomal and Kurram and practised austerities to behold God. At last he had the revelation and was commanded to teach the truth to men. He proclaimed himself the representative of God and 'the guide of those who err.' Persecuted in his native district, he fled away to that of the Pustus and there he gathered a large following. He meant to unite the scattered tribesmen of the frontier hills, and like Mahamad he assumed the role of the spiritual and temporal head. He issued circular letters to the following purport: 'Come unto me, for I am a perfect Pir; whoever lays hold of the skirt of my garment shall obtain salvation, and whoever does not, shall utterly perish'.[1] Thus he preached not only a new creed but a crusade against all other creeds. Like the Mahdavis, he drew a line of distinction between his faith and others, and considered the followers of the latter as less than men, and when harmful as wolf, tiger, serpent and scorpion. Therefore these were fit for slaughter. Thus the creed of the Roshnis was militant like that of the Mahdavis.

Here was another aberration from Islam, another instance of a man posing himself as God's representative, and playing the role of both spiritual and temporal head. These two movements at the head of each of which was a Prophet—a God's representative, might have suggested to Akbar, that neither of them was the real representative of God and further that if they could pass for Prophets, he also could pass for one and make a new religion and thus become the head of the state and 'church.' But Akbar's idea was really to ensure indivisible allegiance—in matters spiritual as well as temporal, for himself, and here lay his stumbling block. He wanted to make a religion to suit his political needs, and therefore to be acceptable to his subjects

[1] Von Noer, vol. ii, p. 157.

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professing various creeds. In his anxiety to substitute one creed for the many, he was led to adopt an eclecticism that found expression in the Din-i-Ilahi.

In an age characterized by such intellectual ferment and religious ebullition, lived and moved Akbar. Born with a mystic temperament, endowed with an all-comprehending genius, and destined to rule over the most powerful and richest empire of the day, his religious views and political ambition took a deep colouring from the tendencies of the times. His intense interest in human affairs coupled with some sort of a spiritual hankering landed him on a false belief in his prophethood. But in his attitude towards the religions of the Empire he was actuated by a number of cognate motives. Like a great statesman he had early foreseen that in a country where the Mughals were to stamp out the Afghan power and subjugate the Hindus—Rajputs, he could not afford to make the former his political enemy, and the latter religious helots. If he was to build up an Empire in India, he could not offend both. While his co-religionists, the Afghans were to be overthrown, his Hindu subjects should not be persecuted for their religion. The policy that inclined him to conciliate the Rajputs, so that he might successfully hold his own against the enemies of the Mughals in India, led him on to inaugurate a policy of toleration towards the Hindus. With this object in view he remitted the Pilgrim tax in the eighth and the Jaziya in the ninth year of his reign. That was also the real cause of his Rajput marriage. By having Rajput wives he came into intimate touch with Hinduism, for they were allowed freedom of worship within the palace. He must have watched his favourite wife Maryam Zamani performing the Homa or fire-sacrifice and worshipping in her own way in the temple still standing in Fatehpur Sikri, as a witness to his policy of toleration, and must have had many a discussion on Hinduism with that intelligent and learned lady. Thus he must have learnt a good deal about Hinduism.

Apart from his contact with the Hindus, he came into personal relations with a man, who was destined to influence him in no inconsiderable degree. That was Abul Fazl, whose father was a Mahdavi by conviction. He was a prodigy as a boy and a talented scholar and theologian in youth. He was introduced to Akbar about 1574. Before that time his father and elder brother Faizi had come to the court. These two became by their learning and views the eyesore of the

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ecclesiastical heads of the kingdom. It was therefore one of the aims of the latter to ruin the family of Shaikh Mubarak. So it is just possible that when Abul Fazl came to the court and secured the friendship of Akbar, he, like his father in 1573, might have suggested to Akbar the idea of overthrowing the authority of the spiritual heads. Be that as it may, there is no gainsaying the fact that one who aspired for communion with God and spiritual consummation of his life, might have won the admiration and confidence of Akbar. Himself a mystic, Akbar must have appreciated the same characteristic in Abul Fazl. One who could say 'my mind felt no rest and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or the hermits of the Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Tibet or with the Padris of Portugal and the learned of the Zendavasta' surely was no narrow sectarian, no hair-splitting theologian. He considered all religions as various expressions of man's quest for the truth, of his quenchless yearning for God. He knew that in their essentials all religions taught the same truth. Hence he realized the greatness of all religions, and was at home with the saints of all religions. He was thus the prototype of Akbar, mystic like him, eclectic like him. His association therefore must have made a considerable contribution to the religious development of Akbar. And it is significant that the year after his arrival at the court, i.e., 1575, Akbar ordered the construction of Ibadat-Khana for holding philosophical and theological discussions. Whether, in doing so, Akbar imitated the example of Suleiman Kararani or whether the idea originated from him, there is no means of ascertaining. To this Ibadat-Khana were invited at first learned Ulamas representing different schools of religious thought, and Akbar found ample food for religious speculation from their discussions. On Thursday evenings the debates used to commence and continue till late next morning, and the assembly generally consisted of the Shaikhs, Sayyids, Ulamas and Amirs seated according to the order of precedence. Akbar used to listen with rapt attention, and sincerely believed in Islam so far. But when he found that these theological discussions often degraded into vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks, he instinctively felt that the heads of religion—Mukhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdur Nabi, were not only in error, but were not of very great character and attainments. He must also have felt that Islam alone could not satisfy

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his curiosity. Hence just as on the one hand he realized that the Ulamas had no capacity to comprehend the highest principles and deepest truths of religion, he concluded on the other that Islam was certainly not the best of all religions. He naturally wanted to converse with the learned exponents of other religions to know what these contained, and invited them to the Ibadat-Khana. Hence as Abul Fazl remarks, the assembly consisted of 'Sufis, philosophers, orators, jurists, Sunnis, Shias, Brahmans, Jatis, Sinnas, Charbaks, Nazarenes, Jews, Sabians, Zoroastrians and others.'[1] Whether all these men were there or not, certain it is however that Akbar learned a good deal about Christianity, Jainism and Zoroastrianism from the exponents of these religions.

In 1576 Abkar invited Julian Pareira, the Portuguese Vicar-General of Bengal living at Satgaon, to come to the Court. Akbar questioned him about Christianity but he failed to satisfy his keen curiosity. Next year, therefore, another Portuguese, Pietro Tavares was sent for, but with no better result. In 1578 Antonio Cabral was invited from Goa, and he too failed to give him full satisfaction. Hence in 1580 came to his court at his request, a Jesuit Mission consisting of Aquaviva and Monserrate with the Persian interpreter Enriquez. If dissatisfied with Islam (not because Islam was at fault, but because its exponents were not the right type of men) he admired Christianity, much to the annoyance of the Muslims; he did not confine his attention to the latter faith only. He wanted to learn the essentials of Zoroastrianism and Jainism. Impelled by an insatiable thirst for the truth embodied in these religions, he invited to the court in 1578, Dastur Mehji Rana, the religious head of the Parsis at Navsari. He was allowed to take part in the debates, and hold private discussions with Akbar. His influence on Akbar was soon felt to an amazing extent and the latter adopted many practices of the Zoroastrians, e.g., sun-worship, fire-worship, etc. Inheriting a love for everything Persian, he observed their festivals also. A little later, i.e., 1582 the Jains were also invited. Of the three exponents of Jainism, Hira Vijay Suri, Vijay Sen Suri and Bhanu Chandra Suri, the first exerted considerable influence on Akbar, and it was at his instance that Akbar attempted to stop the slaughter of animals in his kingdom.

[1] *Akbarnama*, vol. iii, p. 366.

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In the meanwhile he was not neglecting Hinduism. He used to invite a learned Pandit at night to listen all alone, to his discourses on Hindu philosophy and religion. It is said, since the Pandit would not sit near a Mlechha nor would he enter his apartments, he (the Pandit) used to be seated on a charpai or cot, and pulled up the balcony, where Akbar used to rest for the night. There suspended between the heaven and earth he would explain in all solemnity the unfathomable mysteries of Hinduism to the intently listening emperor. Already in intimate contact with the Hindus, he soon learnt to appreciate a good many of their practices and favoured Hinduism in various ways. Thus his dissatisfaction with Islam prompted him to study other religions by means of discourses and debates, which eventually resulted in his eclecticism.

But his eclecticism led to another result. It has been suggested that he felt disgusted at the mode of the discussion between Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi, and concluded that they were no good as the heads of religion. He was conscious on the other hand of his own superior intellect, magnetic personality, and genuine love for the Truth. These were further wedded to a spirit of robust optimism and boundless self-confidence bred by an unchequered career of conquest in Northern India. Beginning with a precarious claim to the throne and a negligible portion of Hindustan, he had in a score of years fought and conquered powerful enemies, suppressed dangerous rebellions, triumphed over great hardships and established an empire embracing the whole of Northern India. He had, by this time, impressed the people with his genius as a great king and conqueror. At such a time there came a suggestion from Shaikh Mubarak that head of the state as he was, he might be the head of the religion also. It was not an unworthy or novel suggestion. There were at this time so many who called themselves Prophets or Mahdis in different parts of the country. Could he not—Akbar might have thought now—make himself one? Perhaps he was not a whit inferior to them. This idea proved very fruitful in the mind of one, whose domineering nature prompted him constantly to impress his personality on all the activities of man.

But apart from this, Akbar had some political interest to serve by assuming headship of religion. For it is not only that 'so long as the spiritual supremacy over the recluse, which is called Holiness, and supremacy over laymen which is called Sovereignty, were distinct,

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there was strife and confusion among the children of Noah', but that the authority of Ulamas served as the only effective check to Akbar's absolute or unrestrained political supremacy in Hindustan. According to the fundamental principles of Mahamadan polity, the government ought to be in consonance with the Quranic injunctions; and as such the interpretation and application of these injunctions were the province of the Ulamas. They gave the religious sanction to the temporal authority of the king by reading the Khutba in his name. Thus with the king they laid a parallel claim to the obedience of the people. It would have been extremely galling to Akbar, a man of domineering nature as he was, that he could not command the indivisible allegiance of his subjects. Further, it is a veritable cancer to the healthy development of the state. Akbar realized it, and therefore determined not to be thwarted by the parasitical ecclesiastics in the exercise of his absolute sway over the subjects, or enunciating new policies, that might be expedient but not in consonance with the Quranic laws. In this departure from the beaten track of Islamic statecraft, he was not the solitary exception. He had many an illustrious predecessor like Alauddin Khilji, and others, but Abkar proved far more shrewd and capable, and therefore attained complete success. Hence he had taken the suggestion of Shaikh Mubarak in right earnest, and set to destroy ths authority of the Ulamas so that he might step into their place.

But Akbar's ambition for establishing his spiritual headship did not outrun his discretion. He proceeded step by step, broke one link after another of that chain which bound him to the priesthood. He took the first definite step in 1579. A year had passed since he fell into that spiritual trance, that ecstatic communion with God, at the time of the Kamargha hunt in May 1578. He perhaps felt strong enough to defy the religious traditions, and took the place of the preacher at the chief Mosque in Fatehpur Sikri and recited the Khutba in his own name so as to emphasize his new role as the spiritual leader of the nation, i.e., Imam-i-Adil. That was in June 1579, and that was the first blow at the authority of the Ulamas.

The second blow was not long in coming. In September 1579 a document was drafted 'with honest intentions, for the glory of God and propagation of Islam' by which the principal Ulamas and lawyers resigned into the hands of Akbar their authority in matters spiritual.

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This was the Infallibility Decree. It placed Akbar's dispensation and wisdom in matters spiritual and temporal above those of the Mujtahids, and therefore it was laid down that 'should in future a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the Mujtahids are at variance, and His Majesty in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom be inclined to adopt for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point and should issue a decree to that effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.' Akbar's decision was to be final because he would be able to square 'the benefit of the nation' with religious requirements, political expediency with the interest of Islam. Thus according to Akbar the political and religious well-being of 'the nation' was to take precedence over purely religious interest. Hence this Infallibility Decree made him supreme in temporal and spiritual matters.

But many took alarm at this interference in religion. Men like Badaoni thought that he was a humbug, for the time was long past when he 'spent whole nights in praising God', or when 'he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building, which lay near the palace in a lovely spot with his head bent over his chest, gathering bliss of the early hours of dawn,'[1] and now his political ambition eclipsed his love for God. But he was not a pretender. He did not mean to assume the spiritual leadership of 'the nation' without having spiritual attainments. That he believed, he had the mystic communion with God with all sincerity, is a fact; that he fancied he had attained the beatific vision, is a fact; and therefore, that he believed in his superior guidance in matters spiritual, is also a fact. From start to the finish, from ascending the pulpit at Fatehpur Sikri to the propagation of Din-i-Ilahi, Akbar was intensely sincere. His only fault was that he utilized his spiritual attainments for political purposes.

The time chosen for this interference was not inopportune. As has been indicated, on all sides there was a religious ebullition; new cults were preached and new ideals were upheld: the time itself was the revolt embodied—revolt against the old and orthodox creeds. There was nothing novel in Akbar's attitude. Further, a king

[1]Badaoni, vol. ii, p. 203.

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claiming spiritual headship was not a new thing in the Muslim world. The Caliphs had the political power and spiritual guidance in their own person, and the Great Prophet himself had set the example. Akbar knew that the people resented his interference. But if he became the Prophet of a new creed, then he would be on an equal footing with Mahamad, and then the incongruity of spiritual and temporal supremacy resting in the same person would disappear. Hence the next logical step would be the foundation of a new religion. That would place Akbar's authority beyond the reach of mortal men and establish his bona-fides. In this too Akbar was sincere, for he earnestly believed that just as all his subjects paid homage to one sovereign, and lived under one government, so they should obey one Prophet and follow one religion. That would put an end to the rancours subsisting between different religions, and to the divided allegiance between the king and the priesthood. Since Akbar was to be the King and Prophet of India, he should suppress Islam and its claims on the obedience of the king. Islam appeared to be the most uncompromising of all the religions of India, and therefore he determined to render it innocuous before he propagated his Divine Faith, proclaimed his prophethood, and established his indivisible sovereignty.

Having thus determined, he dealt blow after blow at the priesthood in such a quick succession that it was prostrate in no time. The year after the Infallibility Decree, Akbar forbade the name of Mahamad in public prayers. Early that year (1580) he got rid of Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdun Nabi by sending them on a forced pilgrimage to Mecca. In the place of Abdun Nabi the Sadr-i-sadr, was appointed Khwaja Naqsbandi, who proved a pliant tool in the hand of Akbar and bowed to his will in all matters. This step was followed by a remarkable innovation in religion, and that was the substitution of 'There is no God but God, and Akbar is His Vicegerent' for 'There is no God but God, and Mahamad is His Prophet'. If Akbar was the Vicegerent of God on earth, then people must pay devotion to him. In 1580 therefore the four degrees of devotion to His Majesty were prescribed, and they consisted in the readiness to sacrifice property, life, honour and religion for the emperor. At this time Akbar ordered that 'Allahu Akbar' should be substituted for 'Bismillah'. This he did because it means 'Akbar is

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God' besides meaning 'God is Great'. Side by side, a committee was instituted to inquire into the rights of the holders of Siyurghals. That was the hardest blow to the material interests of the Ulamas.

All these created a smouldering but almost universal discontent, which aggravated by the Fatwa of Mahamad Yazdi and disaffection of Bengal and Bihar officers owing to the reduction of their allowances, blazed up into a formidable rebellion. The rebels had actually aimed at the subversion of Akbar's sovereignty, and substitution of Mahamad Hakim's. The rebels had invited Mahamad Hakim, tried to seduce several high officers like Khwaja Shah Mansur and Kasim Khan from their allegiance to Akbar, and attacked and killed no less a person than the Governor of Bengal, Muzafar Khan Tarbati. All this happened in 1580, and towards the end of it, and beginning of 1581, Mahamad Hakim invaded from the North-west. Now was the most critical time for Akbar, and never was his resourcefulness better displayed than at this crisis. Starting at the head of an enormous army on February 8, 1581 from Fatehpur, he struck terror into the heart of the invader, who not only retreated but evacauted Kabul and fled away into the hills to allow Akbar to enter it safely and to avoid a meeting with his brother. Simultaneously, his generals in India defeated the rebels and broke the back of the rebellion in the eastern provinces of the empire. When Akbar returned from Kabul and stepped on the soil of the Punjab, the rebellion had been crushed in blood. This was the last and perhaps the greatest of his triumphs, and naturally enough engendered in him boundless self-confidence and convinced him of his divine destiny. He signalized his triumph by proclaiming the abolition of the office of Sadr-i-sadr. In full flush of triumph, he turned to teach a lesson to the ecclesiastics, and specially the arrogant ones. Shaikh Abdun Nabi and Makhdum-ul-Mulk died under highly suspicious circumstances;[1] Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk and another Mulla got watery graves because their boat foundered; and 'one by one he sent all the Mullas against whom he had any suspicions of dissatisfaction to the abode of annihilation.'[2] Thus did the priesthood lie prostrate under the blows of Akbar.

[1] A. N. iii, 406, note by *Beveridge*; Badaoni ii, 321.
[2] Badaoni ii, 285.

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ
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Now that all opposition had been completely overcome, Akbar resolved, as Bartoli says 'to make himself the founder of a new religion, compounded out of various elements, taken partly from the Quran of Mahamad, partly from the scriptures of the Brahmanas, and to a certain extent, as far as suited his purpose from the Gospel of Christ.'[1] In order to do this he summoned a general council of the theologians and Mansabdars, and impressed upon them the expediency of uniting all the discordant creeds and customs of his peoples, so that they might live in peace and prosperity. 'We ought' he said 'therefore to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be both 'one' and 'all', with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining what is better in another.'[2] That was his idea about a new religion. He wanted to found a religion, just as he had founded an empire. He would piece together the brilliant bits of every religion, and make a new one out of them, in the way he had conquered and annexed province after province of India, and built up one great empire. In his folly he forgot that religions are never made; their elements are not borrowed and pieced together. The great founders of religions, i.e., the prophets never meant to found them. They in their intense love of mankind, sought to impart it their own realizations, their own knowledge about the Truth, God and mysteries of life, and it was their followers who formed themselves into distinctive groups, and thus creeds came into being. Akbar was doing just the other way; he began where religions end. He planned and arranged the details of his Divine Faith, after enunciating its basic principles.

A number of fantastic regulations were issued in 1582, and a large number of Shaikhs, and Fakirs who resisted even then, were exiled to Qandahar and exchanged for horses. The Sijdah was now declared to be the due of the emperor. The fast of Ramzan, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the study of Arabic, of Mahamadan law and of Quranic exegesis were forbidden. Certain rites were prescribed for the converts, who, when they performed these became Darshaniyas or disciples of His Majesty. Many came attracted by material gains, but the faith did not gain popular support in spite of the attempts of Akbar, Shaikh Mubarak, Abul Fazl, and a host of other prominent nobles, and soon

[1] Smith, pp. 211-12.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 212.

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after the death of Akbar his universal religion, Din-i-Ilahi or Divine Faith disappeared.

Thus the Divine Faith constituted out of many faiths, was one of the many institutions of Akbar. His political institutions were more lasting than this, because he was essentially a king, a statesman, a born ruler of men, and superficially a spiritual guide, a dabbler in religion. He was no doubt a mystic by temperament, and had imbibed a good deal of it from his environments; he was a freethinker by birth; he was domineering because of his wonderful talents; and the century in which he lived breathed into him a spirit of revolt against all creedal coercion. What was still wanting was supplied by his unchequered career of conquest. Out of these elements grew the Din-i-Ilahi, and from the nature of its constituents could not survive its maker.

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Buddhist Logic in the Maṇimēkalai

BY

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The account of Buddhist Logic contained in the twenty-ninth chapter of the *Maṇimēkalai* is fairly full, and because of its close correspondence to Diṅnāga's account, particularly of the fallacies, its composition is thought to be post-Diṅnāga.[1] The view deserves to be examined afresh in the light of the material that has been made available to us recently about pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Logic.[2] A consideration of the *Maṇimēkalai* account would seem even otherwise to suggest strongly a rather early date for its composition, for, notwithstanding the elaborate classification of fallacies, the treatment of inference itself would seem to betray a great degree of nervousness about its service as a means of valid knowledge. Thus of the three types of inference recognized—kāryānumāna, kāraṇānumāna and sāmānyānumāna (corresponding to the pūrvavat, śeṣavat and sāmānyato dṛṣṭa of the Naiyāyikas)—, kāraṇānumāna is said to be liable to error; and the possibility of error is demonstrated later at great length. A stage of logical thought where the inference from smoke to fire was held to be essentially fallible, could not obviously have been very advanced; it certainly could not have belonged to the period of Diṅnāga, in whose hands the syllogism had become the perfected instrument of logical thought. The list of fallacies no doubt presents a very strong resemblance to Diṅnāga's exposition, but this, if not traceable (as so far it has not been) to any pre-Diṅnāga work, may well have been a clumsy interpolation by a later hand, who sought to perfect the original account without realizing the incongruity of the later addition with the given basis. Such a

[1] See the supplement to Prof. Jacobi's article to the Hultzsch Jubilee Number of the *Zeitschrift fürIndologie und Iranistik*, (translated and published in the *Maṇimēkhalai*, pp. 31–34). See also 'Problems of Identity, etc.' by Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *Journal of Oriental Research*, I, ii, pp. 191–201.

[2] 'Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga': Tucci, *JRAS*, July 1929, pp. 450–488; also *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources* by Tucci (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 49).

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supposition would gain ground, if other apparently post-Diṅnāga features may be shown to be pre-Diṅnāga especially, in view of the omission of what one may reasonably expect (after line 108 and before line 109), viz., an exposition of sāmāniya anumāna, which comes next in order after the kāriya- and kārana- anumānas, already explained. We shall first set out a translation of the relevant portion of the *Maṇimēkalai*, up to the account of the fallacies.

Translation

The means of knowledge recognized by the ancient Jinēndra are but two—faultless perception and reasoning ; sense-knowledge [cuṭṭuṇarvu, the sensation of the particular] they called perception, and left out name, class, quality and action, since these fall under reasoning. Reasoning is to the cause or to the effect or by analogy ; these, if investigated, (will be found to) err at times; the only (type of) reasoning that does not err is that to the effect, as of smoke from fire. All other sources of knowledge being included under reasoning, they are but (types of) reasoning.

There are five (members), pakkam (pakṣa), ētu (hētu) tiṭṭānta (dṛṣṭānta), upanaya and nikamaṇam (nigamana). Of these, pakka is the statement (thesis) 'this hill is fiery' ; 'because it has smoke' is the suitable ētu ; 'like the domestic hearth' is the tiṭṭānta ; the upanaya is 'the hill too has smoke' ; the nikamaṇam is 'that which has smoke has fire.' The statement 'whatever is not fiery has no smoke, like water' signifies absence from vipakka (vipakṣa), and constitutes the instance of negative concomitance (vaitaṇmiya tiṭṭānta).

Enquiring into the nature of the pure reasoning (which is from the cause) to the effect,[1] the pakka is the statement 'sound is

[1] Tūya kāriyavētuccupāvam āyiṇ. This has been rendered as 'when the real reason (Hētu) is based on identity (Svabhāva)', by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar (*Maṇimēkhalai*, p. 206), possibly under the influence of Dharmakīrti's recognition of three kinds of vyāpti, viz., identity, causalty, and negation : see Stcherbatsky, *La Theorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes Tardifs*. pp. 296–297. There is no doubt that the instances cited and the language used strongly suggest some such classification ; the mention of the non-affirmative type of reasoning is particularly in point. It must, however, be remembered that even what is apparently the connection of identity (svabhāva) is still spoken of in the *Maṇimēkalai* as reasoning to the effect (kāriya vētu), while, according to Dharmakīrti, it is a connection quite distinct from that of cause and effect. In other words, while the latter distinguishes between causualty and identity, we seem to

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non-eternal' ; 'because it is produced' is the statement of pakka-taṇma (pakṣadharma, presence of the ground in the probans) ; 'whatever is produced is non-eternal, like a pot' is sapakkat toḍarcci (sapakṣe sattva, the statement of positive concomitance of the ground with other instances of the probandum) ; 'whatever is not non-eternal is not produced' is the statement denying presence (of the ground in the vipakka, what is not of the same class as the probandum).

This is how the non-affirmative (type of) reasoning brings about (valid) knowledge : 'there is no pot in this unoccupied spot' is the pakka ; 'because it is not seen' is the statement of pakka-taṇma ; 'we see not the horns of a hare, since they do not exist' is the sapakka in that case ; 'whatever exists is open to perception, like the myrobalan in the hand' is the suitable statement in regard to vipakka. This is how the ground (ētu) establishes valid conclusions.

What is it that smoke, as effect, can prove ? If you say that smoke proves fire by the positive concomitance that wherever there is smoke, there is fire, and the negative concomitance that where there is no fire, there is no smoke, then we say since the blackness, that results from smoke and goes up straight or in spirals, is an effect proceeding from the fire so proved, whatever looks black over-head [e.g., a storm-cloud] should of itself prove fire. If it is positive concomitance that proves, then he who on a prior occasion observed the positive concomitance of a damsel and a donkey at the same time and place, should infer the damsel, when he sees the donkey on a subsequent occasion. That cannot be. If it be said that what proves is suitable negative concomitance, as in 'where there is no fire, there is no smoke', then, since in the mane of the donkey, where there is no dog's tail, there is no jackal's tail either, on that very ground it would be hard to infer elsewhere the dog's tail from the jackal's. Hence, that too is not possible.

The upanaya and the nikamaṇam which are connected (with the tiṭṭānta) are included in the tiṭṭānta.

have in the former a distinction between passing from cause to effect and *vice versa*, a distinction reminiscent of that between pūrvavat and śeṣavat, according to one interpretation. The intrusion here of the non-affirmative type of reasoning is as puzzling as the absence of all further exposition of sāmāniya (sāmānyato dṛṣṭa). Is this an indication of a hotch-potch due to compilation by inexpert hands or at different times ?

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Of the pakka, ētu, and tiṭṭānta, there are both valid and invalid varieties. That is settled to be a valid pakka, which has explicit in it (1) a subject (of which the predicate is to be proved), and (2) a predicate to be proved, which would vary in relation to (subjects) other than the present. Such is, for instance, the predication ' sound is non-eternal.'[1] That of which non-eternity is proved is the subject —sound (in the present case). Eternality or non-eternality is the predicate to be proved.

The valid ground (nal-lētu) appears in three forms: being firmly grounded in the declared pakka (pakṣa dharmatā), being present in the sapakka (sapakṣe sattva), abandoning the vipakka, not being present therein (vipakṣe 'sattva). To establish the sapakka: it is for the predicate to conform to the general nature of the pakka (the subject); thus, for instance, if the non-eternality of sound is to be proved, one says, it is similar to the non-eternality of the pots, etc. [which are products, as sound is, and are of the same general nature as sound]. To explain the vipakka: whatever is not non-eternal is not produced, like the ether. To be produced or to appear as the result of an act is present in the pakka (subject) and the sapakka, but absent from the vipakka, and thus functions as the most suitable ground for non-eternality.

Valid tiṭṭānta is of two kinds—sātaṇmiya and vaitaṇmiya. What is called sātaṇmiya is the positive concomitance (of probandum and proof) in ' pot, etc. are non-eternal;' vaitaṇmiya tiṭṭānta consists in the absence of the ground where the probandum is absent. Such are the valid grounds.

[*Note.*—All explanatory remarks are enclosed in rectangular brackets.]

The rather elaborate exposition of the defectiveness of reasoning to the cause cannot but call for notice. Such suspicion of the reasoning process seems unintelligible except at a stage when the idea of necessary connection as determinative of inference had not yet struck root. It is difficult to reconcile such a mental attitude with an exhaustive classification of fallacies, such as we find in the *Maṇimēkalai*. But it seems more proper in any case to take the classification to be a later interpolation than to minimize the significance of the suspicious

[1] I prefer to read ' śattam anittam anittam eṉṟu ', etc.

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attitude to a certain type of inference, an attitude present from the beginning of the exposition and set out with a considerable degree of elaboration.

It may be noted that with the possible exception of the list of fallacies there is no clear indication of post-Diṅnāga authorship. The qualification of perception as faultless (ētamil) is possibly equivalent to abhrānta; but this does not necessarily show indebtedness to Dharmakīrti,[1] for, as Prof. Tucci has shown, Dharmakīrti himself seems to have taken it from earlier Sautrāntika writers[2]; he was re-stating a qualification known to earlier Buddhist logicians, not formulating a new one. The *Maṇimēkalai* could well have come long before Diṅnāga and yet spoken of faultless perception (ētamil pirattiyam).

The attempt to curtail the members of the syllogism, stopping short with the dṛṣṭānta, is old as Vasubandhu and cannot be indicative of a later date.[3]

The doctrine of the trai-rūpya of the liṅga (the three-fold characteristic of the ground) is, again, long anterior to Diṅnāga. Prof. Tucci says[4]: 'we have another text anterior to Diṅnāga in which the trilakṣaṇa theory is clearly enunciated. This text is the *Tarka-Śāstra*, which, if we are to judge from the Chinese sources, enjoyed a very great authority not only in India but also in Central Asia and in China. . . . Paramārtha translated it into Chinese and commented upon it.'[5]

[1] Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri identifies Aravaṇavaṭikal, the Buddhist preceptor of the *Maṇimēkalai*, with Ācārya Dharmapāla, a logician who came after Diṅnāga, and before Dharmakīrti. Partly to support this identification, and in the belief that the qualification 'abhrānta' was first introduced into the definition of perception by Dharmakīrti, the learned Professor twists the Tamil text, and takes ētamil (faultless) to qualify not perception, but knowledge in general. Not merely does this do violence to the text—'ādi ciṉēndiraṉ aḷavay iraṇḍē ētamil pirattiyaṅ karuttaḷav eṉṉa'—but it has not even the merit of bearing the sense the professor seeks to put upon it; for, ētamil construed with aḷavai does not mean samyag jñāna, as the professor says, but samyak pramāṇa. The truth would seem to be that ētamil means not samyak, but abhrānta, while the introduction of this qualification in the definition of perception cannot avail to settle any date, since it is now seen not to have been a distinctive contribution of Dharmakīrti's.

[2] 'Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, pp 470, 472.

[3] 'Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 478.

[4] 'Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 483.

[5] 'Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 483; also the *Tarka-śāstra* in *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources*, p. 13, line 16. The trairūpya of the liṅga is one of the points relied on by Jacobi for assigning a post-Diṅnāga date to the Tamil work; see *Maṇimekhalai*, p. 32.

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The mention of Paramārtha is of some interest. This Buddhist monk translated the *Sāṁkhya Kārikā* too into Chinese. The account he gives there of the scheme of evolution shows many points of agreement with that given in the *Maṇimēkalai*, while it differs from the orthodox or classical account.[1] The sense-organs are derived not from ahaṁkāra, but from the tanmātras by Paramārtha, and from the mahābhūtas in the *Maṇimēkalai* account. The evolution of the organs of action is not clear in the latter; but one possible understanding of the text is that they result from a combination of the mahābhūtas; and Paramārtha says 'The hand, which is composed of five objects, is capable of seizing the five objects, as when it seizes a pot of water. As the hand, so the other organs of action.'[2] The great similarity between Paramārtha and the author of the *Maṇimēkalai* in this respect may lend countenance to the supposition that even the account of Buddhist Logic in the latter was drawn probably from the *Tarkaśāstra*, said to have been translated by Paramārtha, or from some other work of that period. There is reason to think that the account of the Sāṁkhya probably belongs even to an earlier period than that of Paraṁārtha, since it contains no mention of the tanmātras, as such, unlike the commentary translated by the latter.

The absence of all reference to the distinction between svārtha and parārtha-anumāna may also be taken to indicate an early date for the *Maṇimēkalai*. This distinction certainly appears in Diṅnāga, for whom it is anything but barely formal, for svārthānumāna is really judgment.[3] But the difference seems to have been foreshadowed,

[1] See 'The Maṇimēkalai Account of the Sāṁkhya' by the present writer, *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, iii, pp. 322–27.

[2] *BFEO*, iv, pp. 1020, 1021. The words of the *Maṇimēkalai* are ivaṟṟiṟ ṟokku vikāramāy. The present writer understood them to mean that the organs of action were derived as evolutes of the tactile sense (tvak). But in the light of Paramārtha's commentary, which he read since writing the article in the *Journal of Indian History*, he feels that the other interpretation is more probable, viz., that the organs of action are the composite evolutes of the mahābhūtas; for this interpretation has some support from Sāṁkhya teaching, while the other, though not unintelligible, seems to have no known support.

[3] See Stcherbatsky, *La Theorie de la Connaissance, etc.* Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar remarks that the *Maṇimēkalai* 'deals only with the first part,' i.e., with svārthānumāna (*Maṇimekhalai*, p. 71). This is hardly accurate, for the work not merely does not make the distinction, but seems to be innocent of it. In so far as the distinction is significant for Diṅnāga, svārthānumāna means judgment, and it is not this with which the *Maṇimēkalai* deals, through its exposition of the five-membered-syllogism.

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if not made, as early as the time of Asaṅga.[1] Hence, the absence of all reference to it in the *Maṇimēkalai* should suggest for the latter a really early date. It has also been suggested that a consideration of the three types of reasoning seems to indicate priority to Vātsyāyana.[2] Though not one of the indications here pointed out is conclusive, it seems no longer possible to assert that the account of Buddhist Logic is drawn from Diṅnāga. Even if it cannot be proved that the list of fallacies is taken from an earlier author there would appear to be strong ground for holding that part of the text to be a later interpolation, in preference to assigning a late date for the whole account

The hypothesis of interpolation is not as implausible as it may otherwise sound, in view of the other facts above mentioned, viz., the failure to explain sāmānyato dṛṣṭa premised in the opening lines, and the mention of the non-affirmative type of reasoning, not so premised. It has to be noted that what the heroine Maṇimēkalai asks for is instruction in the true doctrine,[3] that this instruction is offered only in Chapter XXX, and that the whole of Chapter XXIX (over 400 lines) constitutes only a propaedeutic to that instruction. Granted that some logical grounding was necessary for metaphysical instruction, that grounding, as such, need not have been so elaborate; nor need the treatment of fallacies have figured so extensively, standing in relation to the exposition of pramāṇas in a proportion of five to one. One may excise from this chapter all the lines from 111 to 471 and do no violence either to the words or the sense. The excision may even better the sense in part, because lines 111 to 146 repeat only what has already been said of the two kinds of example and the three characteristics of the liṅga.[4] One is temped to conclude that the original text ended with line 110, 'tiṭṭāntattilē ceṉṉadaṉgu (m)' followed by the present line 472, 'maiya (*not* laiya) miṉṉi yaṟindukoḷ āyṉden.'

[1] See 'Buddhist Logic before Diṅnāga,' *JRAS*, July 1929, p. 474.
[2] See 'The Maṇimēkalai Account of the Sāṁkhya,' *Journal of Indian History*, VIII, iii, pp. 326-27.
[3] Chapter XXIX, line 45.
[4] The lines correspond to that part of the present translation which begins with 'Of the pakka, ētu, etc.,' right on to the end.

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The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai (1736—1761)

BY

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

VIII

I. EVENTS AFTER THE BATTLE OF AMBUR

WHEN Ranga Pillai resumed his Diary in the beginning of September, 1749, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, the victors of Ambur, were still at Arcot. Many of the *killedars* had submitted; but Mir Asad, the *killedar* of Chetpattu (in the North Arcot District), who had been *diwan* to Nawabs Dost Ali and Safdar Ali, stood out; and he was successful in his resistance, in spite of the fact that a body of 300 Europeans with two mortars and several guns was despatched from Pondicherry to coerce him.[1] Chanda Sahib proposed to leave Arcot for Pondicherry by way of Jinji, accompanied by Muzaffar Jang. The Chetpattu affair seemed to have been settled for three lakhs of rupees and the soldiers and French officers who were despatched to that place returned on September 8. An important event that took place at the time was the rendition of Madras to the English on Monday, September 1. The Diarist thus writes about that event. 'The Brahmans did *puja*, cocoanuts were broken, sheep sacrificed and other Tamil ceremonies performed, before the flag was hoisted; then an extraordinary salute was fired from the Fort and from the (Boscawen's) ships. We do not know where the Tamils were who left Madras and would not

[1] Mir Asad wrote to the English in November, complaining that they had not congratulated him on his successful resistance—(Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 54: of Madras Records)—note by Dodwell on p. 154 of vol. vi, of the *Diary*. Dupleix desired that Mir Asad might come to a settlement with Chanda Sahib and asked the Diarist to write to this effect to Shaikh Muhammad Sharif who was arranging terms (entry for September 4, 1749).

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return in our time ; but when their (English) flag was hoisted, ten lakhs of Tamils, Muhammadans, Lubbays, Pattanawars, coolies, etc., crowded into the town as joyfully as though the Fort and town belonged to each one of them.'[1] Of course the trade of the times was not prosperous. The country trade was dull ; but while Madras was ruined, Pondicherry was not correspondingly benefitted. Dupleix arranged about this time to invite various classes of weavers, *Kaikōlars*, *Sēdars* and *Sēṇiyars* to settle at Villiyanallur in the vicinity of Pondicherry and to advance them ten pagodas a loom, in order to enable them to build houses and construct looms. This was as if an answer were to be made for the English planting of weaving villages at *Kālādipettah* (*originally*, Collettpettah) near Tiruvottiyur and at Chintadripettah to the west of the Island Ground in Madras by Governors Joseph Collett and Morton Pitt in 1719 and 1734 respectively. These two suburban villages of Madras were peopled by weavers, painters, dyers and washers of the Company's cloth intended for export to Europe and were the necessary adjuncts of a trading settlement whose principal occupation was the manufacture and export of calico and other cloth. As early as 1742 the Madras Council wrote that 'the French had expended much money in settling weavers at Pondicherry, just as the English had done at Chintadripet, and with similar ill-success ;' and therefore they argued that it would be useless to attempt such a settlement at Cuddalore.[2]

[1] This is confirmed, as Mr. Dodwell notes, by the Fort St. David despatch to the Company, dated August 30, 1749 (old style) :—The rendition has occasioned 'universal joy among the late inhabitants who thronged there in great numbers, immediately on hoisting the English flag.' 'All French efforts failed to induce them to return ; and the French are mortified at the present token of attachment to the English. Its condition is indifferent ; all the fortifications are undermined and all useful stores have been carried off.' (Despatch from Charles Floyer and Council to the Company, from Fort St. David)—p. 79 of Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches* (*1744–55*)—1920. Ranga Pillai himself grieved that the French were destined by God to rule over Madras only for two years, eleven months and ten days and that Madras had become 'the Little City instead of the Golden City as it was once called'—the wealthy inhabitants of the Black Town being very few when compared with those of the past.

[2] One main reason of the ill-success of these attempts, according to Dodwell, was the relative dearness of grain in the coast towns. Dupleix's attempt to settle weavers at Villiyanallur seems to have succeeded much better, as 1,200 families of weavers were said to have been settled there, till they were scattered by the war in 1752. Dupleix arranged that the weavers should repay the advances given to them at the rate of one pagoda per year ; and they should be free from any tax on their

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Meanwhile news was received that when Nasir Jang heard that Anwar-ud-din Khan had been killed, he cast his turban on the ground in vexation and despatched his younger brother (?) with a small army, recalling in disgrace Sayyad Lashkar Khan who was sent first. Chanda Sahib was planning to raise a large body of horse and foot in order to march with Muzaffar Jang to conquer Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Mysore. Both the leaders had appointed Taqi Sahib who was *killedar* of Wandewash and sometime *diwan* to Dost Ali to be the *naib* and *diwan* of Arcot—a step that Dupleix did not like. Dupleix also desired that Mylapore (including of course San Thomē) should not be delivered to one Muhiud-din Sahib who came with a *parwana* for that place from Chanda Sahib, but should be left in the hands of Father Antony, Padre of Mylapore, for whom a *parwana* was subsequently got from the Nawab.

II. The Victors at Pondicherry

On September 27, the Diarist went to Valudāvur in order to welcome Chanda Sahib and offer him Dupleix's compliments ; and the next morning he made a state entry into Pondicherry, the Governor meeting him at the Villiyanallur gate.[1] The next day Chanda Sahib went out to Valudāvur to meet Muzaffar Jang who was encamped there and to escort him to Pondicherry. His state entry into Pondicherry is described with an apparent relish by the Diarist in his entry for September 30. A number of days were spent in festivities, in the course of which, the Diarist contrived to plead both with Chanda Sahib and with Muzaffar Jang, for the assignation of a *jaghir* to himself 'as a mark of remembrance, besides those stipulated for the

yarn and cotton for the first two years after their settlement. By this, the Diarist tells that Dupleix hoped that ten times as many weavers as went to Chintadripet and Madras would settle at Villiyanallur. For the terms of the *cowl* that was given to the settlers at Chintadripet, refer to the Madras Council Consultation of October 21, 1734, quoted almost in full by Talboys Wheeler in his *Madras in the Olden Time*—pp. 522-5 of the 1882 edition.

[1] Chanda Sahib is reported by the Diarist to have related to Dupleix all his vicissitudes since his release from prison from Satara. He detailed, particularly, the part that he took in the fighting at Chittirakkal Baman where his eldest son, Abid Sahib, perished. Compare this with the conflicting accounts of his doings at Bednore as given by Orme and Wilks and with Dodwell's account, as given in a note on part vi. (J.I.H. Vol. viii, Notes on pp. 154-6).

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French.'[1] The scarcity of money was very keenly felt by the Nawab and by Muzaffar Jang. The latter pressed Chanda Sahib who in turn importuned Dupleix for an accommodation of two lakhs of pagodas. Even thus Chanda Sahib's hopes of supremacy were high; he said to the Diarist, 'If you will send troops to settle my business with Tanjore and Trichinopoly, I will give many villages as an *inam* (besides those you now enjoy) and pay the Governor one or two lakhs and reward you also suitably. . . French troops will march to Aurangabad; and Masulipatam and other sea-ports shall be given to the French. I will also give a *jaghir* there. Moreover I will conquer all the countries from Mysore up to the Narbada and rule as the Nizam did formerly. The Marathas are coming to assist me with a lakh of horsemen under the Peishwa Sau Baji Rao, Fatteh Singh Bhonsle and others. .'[2] But in spite of the brave show and high hopes indulged in by Chanda Sahib, he was nervous lest he would not have enough money and French auxiliaries for the expedition. Muzaffar Jang himself was not to be greatly relied upon; he was, in the words of the Diarist, 'like a child that will lie in any one's arms;' also he was very close-fisted about money and constantly dunned his ally for a fresh supply. Moreover he was anxious to go north, since he heard that Morari Rao was marching down on the Carnatic with several thousands of horsemen and Pindaris, turning everything upside down and planning to march on Arcot, while Nasir Jang himself had begun

[1] The French had stipulated that as a condition of their help that they should be given the *jaghirs* of Villiyanallur and Bahur. And Muzaffar Jang had, in his abundant gratitude, given in addition the sea-port of Masulipatam and the district of Bahur which last included the villages immediately surrounding the limits of Fort St. David. Dupleix was particularly anxious to hoist flags and tie *toranams* in the thirty-six villages of the Bahur jaghir on the day of Chanda Sahib's departure (see p. 220 of vol. vi of *Diary*). The tying of *toranams* was a formal announcement of possession. He was also anxious that if English soldiers or peons came from Fort St. David or Madras and seized the inhabitants by stealth, they should be stopped and expelled. The Bahur villages were taken possession of on November 2, 1749. 'To Dupleix this may have seemed no more than a convenient rounding off of French territory; but to the English it bore the menacing aspect of a scheme to cut off all trade and communication with the interior of the country. Their fear was confirmed by certain sinister occurrences in the neighbourhood of Madras; (the action of Padre Antonio in taking possession of San Thomē); and thus the English Council were compelled to embark on a policy of opposition.'—Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 39.

[2] Diarist's report of a conversation that took place between him and Chanda Sahib on October 6, 1749, p. 215 of vol. vi of the *Diary*.

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to march southward from Aurangabad with 30,000 horse. Dupleix's chief concern now was to have the grant of the proposed *jaghir* completed before his allies should depart from Pondicherry ; and there now arose a new difficulty regarding Mylapore, about which mention has been made already.

III. English occupation of San Thome

After Madras came back into the possession of the English, one of the first questions dealt with by them was the attitude that they should take towards the Catholic priests and others who were believed to have played a treacherous part at the time of the French capture of the place. Admiral Boscawen declared that the four priests of the Great Church in White Town (the Capuchin Church of St. Andrew in the Fort built in 1675) were greater enemies to the Company than any others and no man doubted of their affection and goodwill to the French and that he had 'certain proof of Mr. Dupleix has wrote to Goa desiring the Portuguese Viceroy to send the padre Antonio a Commission as Governour of St. Thomē and its Dependancies and a supply of men and money. . . '[1] Admiral Boscawen advised in September that Father Antony de la Purification of San Thomē should be

[1] Fort St. David Consultation, dated September 2 (old style) 1749. Father Antonio had been appointed Procurator of the Portuguese at San Thomē by the Viceroy of Goa and *havildar* of Mylapore by Chanda Sahib. San Thomē's history is briefly as follows :—

San Thomē and Mylapore formed one town as it were. Mylapore was a place of ancient importance, identified by some scholars with the Maliarpha of Ptolemy, the Geographer (*cir.* A. D. 150). It was rendered illustrious in Tamil literary and religious tradition by its close association with the Saint Tiruvaḷḷuvar, author of the *Sacred Kuṛaḷ*, which treats of the Trivarga ; and also with the activities of the great Saiva Nayanar, Tirugnanasambanda, as well as of an early Vaishnava Alwar. It is sacred on account of its Saiva temple, dedicated to Sri Kapālīsvarar, and was mentioned as an important place along the coast by the European travellers of the sixteenth century. San Thomē's fame rests upon its close association with the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. It is not certain whether the Church of San Thomē was first founded by the Apostle himself or by a later personage of the name Thomas. The tradition that the Apostle suffered martyrdom at St. Thomas' Mount, a little to the west, has been current from the time of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, who touched the Coromandel coast towards the close of the thirteenth century. When the Portuguese became powerful on the west coast, they visited the Betumah (house or chapel of the Apostle) which, according to tradition, had been existing on the Madras coast. Gaspar Correa, the historian, visited the spot and made repairs to the chapel in 1521. The Portuguese are said to have founded the Church of St. Thomas in or soon after 1522 ; and the Church

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deported as treasonable papers had been found in his house. The despatch of Governor Floyer of Fort St. David to the Company, dated

was consequently the most ancient European building on the coast. A monastic settlement was probably formed at St. Thomas' Mount about 1522 ; in 1547 the famous Bleeding Cross was discovered at the Mount by the Portuguese and built into the church wall behind the altar and gradually a town grew up at the base of the Mount.

The rise of San Thomē was rapid after 1550. It shot into great importance in the last quarter of the sixteenth century and came to be equipped with a fort. It was the seat of a bishop ; and besides the principal church, it contained several others both within and outside the walls. The settlement included Mylapore and was known as San Thomē de Meliapour and was under the control of the Captain of the City who was usually a Portuguese nobleman. San Thomē began to decline in trade, particularly after Madras was founded, and it fell into the hands of the Mussalmans of Golconda in 1662. It remained under Golconda rule till 1672 when it was attacked and taken possession of by the French. The Mussalmans seem to have strengthened the fortifications whose area seems to have been nearly three times that of Fort St. George.

The French occupation of San Thomē was neither long nor peaceful. It lasted a little more than two years and was one long period of beleaguerment, first by the forces of Golconda and then by the combined forces of Golconda and the Dutch, till the place was starved into capitulation. The first siege was slow and ineffective ; it was raised in March, 1673 ; and De la Haye, the French Commander, occupied the Triplicane village and temple, though the place had been given over to the English by the Golconda representative in the previous year. The English Governor, Langhorne, protested against this action of the French, but without any effect. Meanwhile Martin, the future founder of Pondicherry, proceeded to Masulipatam and negotiated for a *farman* from the Sultan for San Thomē.

War had meanwhile been declared by Holland against England and France. Van Goens, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, was soon before San Thomē with a powerful armament and began a blockade on the seaside, while the Golconda troops invested the place on land (August 1673). The English at Madras were too jealous of the French at San Thomē to co-operate actively with them. At last, after more than a year of resistance, De la Haye capitulated and surrendered himself into the hands of the Dutch who, according to agreement, delivered the Fort to the Sultan of Golconda (September, 1674). The English Governor of Madras urged the demolition of the San Thomē fortifications, as he was afraid that the French might recover the Fort, either by force or by negotiation. But the Dutch gained over to their side Madanna Pant, the minister of Golconda ; and the French hope of recovering the place was frustrated.

One important consequence of the French evacuation of San Thomē was the withdrawal of François Martin, with a few followers to Pondicherry, where he founded a settlement on a small site for a factory which had been granted in the previous year by the governor of Jinji on behalf of his master, the Sultan of Bijapur. Thus originated the city of Pondicherry.

Urged on by the Dutch, who were apprehensive of French designs, the Sultan of Golconda ordered in 1675 the destruction of the fortifications of San Thomē ; and only the chief buildings and the churches were spared from demolition. The English cast covetous eyes from time to time on the place. Their chief merchant,

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October 18, 1749, tells us that Father Antonio forbade, under the severest penalties, any provisions to be carried through or out of his dependencies, with other insults until the English Council requested Boscawen's assistance; and the latter at once made the *padre* a prisoner and wanted to carry him to England and he also took possession of his papers.[1] Boscawen and the English Council had definite information that Dupleix was determined to get possession

Casa Verona (Kāsi Vīranna), farmed the place from the Muslims, tried hard to re-populate it and spent large sums in building houses there. When Golconda's authority was superseded by the Mughals in 1687, the Madras factors began negotiations with the imperial officers for the grant of the town to them. In 1697 the Mughal representative in the Carnatic demolished such fortifications as still remained in San Thomē. Nawab Daud Khan, who was generally ill-disposed towards the English, often threatened to develop San Thomē at the expense of Madras; and it was from San Thomē that he frequently threatened the safety of Fort St. George in the time of Governor Thomas Pitt (1698–1709). Thus the place continued under the authority of the Nawabs of the Carnatic with very little trade and a decaying population. In 1710 the Armenian merchants of Madras were suspected of having designs on San Thomē and intending to use it as their port. Successive Nawabs visited the place; and in the course of Mahfuz Khan's defeat at the hands of Paradis, the town was plundered by French troops in a ruthless manner.

[1] The letters found in the *Padre's* house showed that Dupleix advised him to carry matters with a fair face till Chanda Sahib's affairs were more settled—see p. 82 of Dodwell's *The Madras Despatches, 1744–55*. From the entries of Ranga Pillai, it can be seen that, on the *Padre's* representation, Dupleix had the *parwana* that Chanda Sahib gave to one Muhi-ud-din Sahib for San Thomē cancelled; and that Raza Sahib gave the required *parwana* for the place to the *Padre* in the presence of Madame Dupleix who was a relation of his and used her own influence in the matter. Moreover Dupleix asked the Diarist, when he had news of the deportation of the *Padre* by Boscawen, to tell Chanda Sahib that the Viceroy of Goa would be very angry about this affair and that he would write to him for a squadron of warships if Chanda Sahib would promise to bear the expense (pp. 178, 199 and 219 of the *Diary*, vol. vi). Chanda Sahib was later asked by Dupleix to write a Persian letter to the Viceroy of Goa to this effect.—'In order to make their (the Portuguese) name shine here, we (Chanda Sahib) appointed Padre Antonio, a Portuguese, amaldar of Mylapore and conferred on him a name by which to give orders. But the English were jealous of Portuguese prosperity near their city. So Mr. Boscawen sent soldiers and peons to seize the *Padre*; they wounded four or five persons with him, plundered Mylapore, destroyed its beauty, captured the *Padre* and sent him on board ship. I cannot endure that the English should thus dishonour the Portuguese, and so I write to you. If you send ships of war, soldiers and ammunition to attack Madras, Cuddalore and Fort St. David, I will march with my forces, fight with them and punish them. Please regard the letters which M. Dupleix, the General of Pondicherry, writes to you about this at my request, as my own and act as the letters require.' Meanwhile Dupleix thought that he could, with the help of the Portuguese soldiers who should be asked to come overland, overthrow Nasir Jang with ease. For the outcome of this letter to Goa see the sequel.

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of San Thomē as a counterpoise to the loss of Madras. The Fort St. David Council wrote to Boscawen that the *Padre* was to come with a detachment of French troops to build the fort that he had already begun; and they wrote to Muhammad Ali Khan at Trichinopoly[1] that the French intended to keep possession of San Thomē and had actually begun to build a fort there and that Boscawen was determined to take possession of the place in his name. They requested the immediate despatch of a *farman* for that place which 'will engage the English strictly to adhere to your interest.' Accordingly Muhammad Ali despatched a *farman* dated October 2 (old style), delivering Mylapore (*alias* San Thomē) to the English; and Boscawen hoisted English colours at the place on the October 11 (old style). Writing to the Company on November 2, 1749, the Fort St. David Council justified their action, as the French occupation of San Thomē would have ruined the trade of Madras and enabled them 'constantly to observe all our transactions.'[2]. Chanda Sahib had not, till that date,

[1] P. Country correspondence; vol. iii. September 21, 1749, quoted by Col. H. D. Love in his *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, p. 399. The occupation of San Thomē was certainly proposed by Boscawen; but the Fort St. David Council did not seem to have tried to evade responsibility as was represented to the Diarist by Dupleix who said that they had written to Europe that it was done without their knowledge and attempted to shirk their responsibility (p. 255 of vol. vi of the *Diary*). Dodwell points out that there was no particular reason why the English Council should have done so.

[2] English occupation of San Thomē.—Note on the Padre de la Purification.

'*Extract from Dispatch from Fort St. David*,' *October* 18, 1749.

'The first act that he (Chanda Sahib) did, after arriving at this (Nabob's) Dignity was the recompensing his good allies, by granting them forty-two villages of the Villanour Country, which lay all round this Settlement (Fort St. David), and by way of reward to Mr. Dupleix in particular, the following towns and their revenues have been given to him and his relations, *viz* :—

Coibelong (Covelong) to Mr. Dupleix, Porto Novo to Madame Dupleix.

Alempara to Monsieur D'Autel, his brother-in-law.

St. Thomē to Padre D' (la Purification) a relation of Madame Dupleixes.

'So that we are surrounded in such a manner as for the French to have it entirely in their power to stop our trade or debar us from any supplies of provision from the Country, and we have great reason to believe, from what has already happened, they will not be wanting to make use of this advantage, for the Padre's zeal being either warmer than the other could not help discovering himself, by forbidding on the severest penalties, any sort of refreshments going to Madras through or out of his Dependances; and by insulting us in other respects, in so much that at last we were obliged to apply to General Boscawen for his assistance, who immediately sent and took the Padre prisoner, and is bringing him to England to be disposed of as His Majesty shall think proper.'

Forrest's (*Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol ii, 1688-1757.)

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entered on any hostilities on this account against the English, as he was just then busy with his expedition to the south against Tanjore and Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence who was in command of the Madras garrison, was prepared to open fire on any body who should dispute the English possession of the place. The Portuguese, as if in answer to Dupleix's advice, sent a letter of remonstrance to the English at Fort St. David, claiming that the place was under the sway of their King. To this the English Council replied that there were no Portuguese colours flying when Boscawen took the place and that *Padre* Antonio declared that he was the representative of Chanda Sahib and that they had a valid *farman* for the place from Muhammad Ali, the lawful Nawab of the province[1]. Dupleix told the Diarist, when Boscawen's fleet sailed to Cuddalore from Madras after San Thomé had been taken by him, that he feared that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang would attack Cuddalore as a measure of retaliation and therefore he had postponed his journey to Europe and was going to Cuddalore and Fort St. David.[2] Boscawen, however, had definite orders to proceed home.

IV. Chanda Sahib's Expedition to Tanjore

To return to Chanda Sahib :—He departed from Pondicherry on October 28, but the heavy rains prevented his rapid march; and for a few days he stayed on in the neighbourhood. He then camped in the vicinity of Fort St. David in the hope of being able to raise money on the mortgage of some villages; and it seemed as if he and Muzaffar Jang who accompanied him, set out 'to replenish their purses, rather than to complete their conquests.' Almost even before they had proceeded far, Muzaffar Jang quarrelled with Chanda Sahib about money matters and threatened to return to his headquarters at Adoni. Chanda Sahib had to mollify him by promising to pay him two lakhs of rupees in ready money and to put him in possession of

[1] See the Portuguese Viceroy's letter to Fort St. David, dated February 5, 1750, and the Council's letter to him in reply dated, May 14, 1750—both quoted by Love—vol. II, pp. 400–1.

[2] Entry of the Diarist for October 24 (new style)—p. 223 of vol. VI of the Diary. Boscawen's fleet sailed from Fort St. David on October 21 (old style); the French did not believe that he intended to quit India, but imagined that he only wanted to avoid the stormy monsoon of the coast. They took advantage of this absence, short as they imagined it, to send their allies to Tanjore the very next day.—*Orme*, vol. I, p. 133.

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Nellore, Sarvepalle and other countries worth about ten lakhs a year in the opinion of the Diarist. Muzaffar Jang promised to demand no more money for four months. There was also news of Nasir Jang's rumoured advance to the bank of the Godavari from Aurangabad and of the advance of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Kandanur to seize the fort and province of Adoni under instructions from the former. Muzaffar Jang got greatly frightened and ordered his troops to be ready to march back to Adoni; he said that as Chanda Sahib got the subah of Arcot with European help, he could manage affairs by himself, but that himself should go to Nasir Jang and reconcile himself to the latter somehow or other. It was with great difficulty that Chanda Sahib contrived to dissuade him from departing and to reassure him and finally to make him swear on the Quran that both would stand or fall together.[1] The situation was complicated by the arrival at Pondicherry of letters written to the French chief of Masulipatam by the Nawab of Rajahmundry, Khajah Namat-ullah Khan, son of Khajah Abdullah Khan, who was for a short time *interim* Nawab of the Carnatic in 1743 under the orders of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Herein the French were advised to give up the alliance of Chanda Sahib, join Nasir Jang and obey his orders; and they were told they could live at peace in Masulipatam if they acted as he wished. Copies of these letters and of the Mughal Emperor's *farman* confirming Nasir Jang as the *Subhadar* of the Deccan, which was sent along with them were despatched to Chanda Sahib by the Diarist according to Dupleix's instruction.[2]

Meanwhile Chanda Sahib, having failed to get any money in the country round Fort St. David, directed his attention to the Poligar of Udaiyarpalayam which was a considerable chiefship in the interior of the Trichinopoly District. The Poligar agreed to pay one lakh of rupees; but Chanda Sahib insisted on a lakh of pagodas. The

[1] Diarist's entry of a conversation he had with Jayaram Pandit on November 5, 1749, who desired that letters should be written to Raghuji Bhonsle, Fatteh Singh and other Maratha chiefs requesting them to maintain Chanda Sahib in his position and hinder his enemies from attacking them.—p. 236 of *Diary*, vol. VI.

[2] Khajah Namatullah Khan had shown his enmity to the French as early as 1747, when he attempted to waylay M. d'Espremenil who proceeded overland from Madras to Yanam and extracted money from him; and it was suspected at Pondichérry that Antannan, a French servant at the Yanam factory, was intriguing with the Nawab.

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Udaiyarpalayam people delayed the payment of the amount they agreed to give, in the hope that news of the coming of Nasir Jang might improve their position. Chanda Sahib spent about a fortnight before Udayarpalayam and succeeded in getting therefrom only about 70,000 pagodas. Even this was got only when three or four guns had been fired and the Nawab's troops had entered the bounds of the *palayam*. He then joined Muzaffar Jang who was encamped about 12 *kos* from Tanjore. Dupleix was anxious to get a *parwana* for the villages round Karikal that he wanted for himself from the Raja of Tanjore. He expected that the affair of the Raja might be settled for about half a crore of rupees, which was also the modest estimate of Chanda Sahib. Of course, in his accustomed vein of vainglory, Dupleix proudly exclaimed: 'Affairs have been settled with the Udaiyarpalayam and other *killedars*, because of their fear of me; else, at a time when Nasir Jang had given orders to advance, no one would have joined Chanda Sahib's army or paid him a cash.' [1]

Abdul Amin Khan, the younger son (or brother) of Abdul Nabi Khan, Nawab of Cuddapah, wrote to Chanda Sahib that it would be an easy task for him to capture Tanjore and Trichinopoly, but Jinji was very strong and should be kept in friendly hands; his elder brother was now the ruling Nawab of Cuddapah and he was the Nawab of Savanur and Bankapur; [2] he expressed a desire in the letter to open communications with Dupleix. He was to play later a prominent part in the intrigues that brought about the deaths of Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang in quick succession. When Nasir Jang marched south through Kalyan and Gulburga and his general, Sayyad Lashkar Khan, reached the banks of the Krishna, the Diarist heard that the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were moving against him; and the Nawab of Kurnool, Himayat Khan, the other member of this infamous triumvirate, appears to have actually attacked and defeated a small force sent to him from Nasir Jang.

Things did not advance well in Chanda Sahib's camp. Though some money was got from Ariyalur, there was general unrest among the troops on account of growing arrears of pay; while Miyān Ma'sud,

[1] See Diarist's entry for November 25, 1749—p. 272 of vol. iv.

[2] There is some doubt about the identity of this person. The Diarist speaks of him in another place as Abdul Majid Khan. The families of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Savanur were related. He probably confuses the Nawab of Savanur with Abdul Majid who succeeded Abdul Nabi of Cuddapah.

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the *diwan* of Muzaffar Jang, went to Chanda Sahib's camp before Udaiyarpalayam and demanded a lakh of rupees for expenses; when the latter expressed his inability, he behaved disrespectfully and said, among other things, that he (Chanda Sahib) should not continue to live. There was for some time great likelihood of a revolution breaking out in the camp, while Chanda Sahib complained that the northern poligars did not join him effectively, as one Dabbili Rayappa Raja, presumably an adventurer, who promised him a big sum of money for being allowed to seize Bommarajapalayam, was being detained in custody at Pondicherry.

Letters were received early in December at Pondicherry from Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali Khan. That of Nasir Jang promised to forgive the French their past offences if they should separate from their allies and be faithful to the Nizam in the future; otherwise he would order that the French factories should be pulled down and would write to Bengal to the same effect. Muhammad Ali's letter solicited French friendship and asked Dupleix to make peace with Nasir Jang and offered twice as much gains as the French might secure from his enemies. To this Dupleix replied exhorting Muhammad Ali to obey Muzaffar Jang's orders and win his favour, and through it, French friendship.[1] He had news—at least so he told the Diarist—that Sau Baji Rao had surrounded Nasir Jang and was harrassing him and the latter had abandoned the idea of coming down to the Carnatic and so Chanda Sahib need not fear him now. He was intent that Chanda Sahib should settle the Tanjore affair for at least 50 lakhs of rupees, so that he might get back all the amounts he had advanced to Muzaffar Jang.[2]

V. Operations at Tanjore

The united forces of Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib crossed the Coleroon into the Tanjore country on December 13. The French contingent with them was composed of 800 Europeans, a train of field

[1] Diarist's entries for December 7 and 9—pp. 289 and 290 of the *Diary*, vol. VI. The English records have another version of Nasir Jang's letter received from Muhammad Ali by Dupleix—see Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 60.

[2] The Diarist heard from Dupleix that these amounted to 40 lakhs; but Dodwell estimates that even if the advances made to Chanda Sahib were included, the total would still fall far short of 40 lakhs. Muzaffar Jang's debts to Dupleix and the French Company fell short of 7 lakhs, according to M. Cultru, even at a much later date—(Dodwell's note on p. 292 of vol. vi. of the *Diary*.)

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artillery and 300 Coffres and Topasses. Chanda Sahib was being pressed for money on all sides. He was anxious to settle the affair for a large sum with the help of the Frenchman Duquesne who was in camp; he applied to Dupleix for guns, flints and cartridges; he complained of the importunate demands of Muzaffar Jang for money and of the slights he received at his hands. He kept Dupleix in good humour by sending his own *inam parwanas* for Tirunallār, Kōttaichēri and another place on whose possession the French Governor was bent and promised to send the Tanjore ruler's *parwanas* for these three places as soon as a settlement should have been arrived at with him.[1] Dupleix agreed to send a supply of guns and ammunition to Karaikal whither Chanda Sahib might send to fetch them. For six weeks Chanda Sahib allowed himself to be duped by protestations of good faith and promises of speedy payment made by Pratap Singh, the Raja of Tanjore. Chanda Sahib first gave him a peremptory order to pay all arrears of tribute due from the death of Nawab Safdar Ali in 1742, and contended that whatever might have been paid in the interval to Anwar-ud-din was not a tribute to the legitimate suzerain, but only a forced contribution exacted by and paid to a rebel authority. Pratap Singh shut himself up in his capital and offered to pay a ransom which was more agreeable to Chanda Sahib than either the reduction of the capital or the conquest of the kingdom. He did not permit his troops to approach nearer than three miles of the capital and requested the French troops not to commit hostilities.[2]

[1] Chanda Sahib's autograph letter received by Dupleix on December 14, said.—'Nawab Hidāyat Muhiud-din Khan has received great sums for one or two affairs he has settled, and slights me. If I quarrel with him, we shall fare ill; so I have entrusted this matter to M. Duquesne as then no one will question what is done. Vol. vi, p. 305 of *Diary*.

[2] 'The wily Tanjorean knew that by protracting time, he should increase the distress of his enemies, and in his letters expressed himself with so much seeming humility that Chanda Saheb suffered himself to be amused to the middle of December (O.S.) without having settled the terms of accommodation. In the meantime the king, corresponding with Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly, joined with him in exhorting Nazir Jang at Golcondah, to come and settle the affairs of the Carnatic in person. . . He likewise solicited the assistance of the English, who exhorted him to defend himself to the last extremity; but sent to his assistance no more than twenty Europeans who were detached from Trichinopoly and entered the city of Tanjore in the night.' (*Orme*, vol. i, p. 134-5.) See Diarist's details of the Raja's haggling in p. 399 of vol. vi.

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News reached Pondicherry on December 19, that Nasir Jang who had advanced as far as Gulbarga had again gone back to Satara, but had ordered Sayyad Lashkar Khan to seize Adoni, Rayachoti and other places (belonging to Muzaffar Jang) south of the Krishna and that the latter had already captured Rayachoti and hoisted his flag there. Also the English were creating disturbances in the neighbourhood of Covelong which had been granted to Dupleix and over which French authority was being attempted to be enforced.[1]

Report reached the next day that Chanda Sahib had asked the French commandant in his camp to write to Karikal that *toranams* might be tied in the villages of Tirunallar and Kōttaichēri *nadus*, as a token of the establishment of French authority, though the Tanjore Raja's *parwana* had not been received. Chanda Sahib and Duquesne had surrounded the Tanjore fort, as Manoji Appa, the general of the Raja, insisted on a fight, in spite of his master's dissuasion and encamped in front of them.[2] The fight, according to the version of the Diarist, is at variance with the generally accepted version. The Diarist heard that in the engagement on December 17, the Tanjore forces were scattered and begged for quarter which was granted and then the French advanced and seized a gate of the Fort. According

[1] Letter of M. Bruno, French representative at Covelong, near Chingleput, to the Diarist (pp. 309–10 of *Diary*, vol. vi).

Grant-Duff, the historian of the Marathas, thus details the circumstances of Nasir Jang's troubles with the Marathas.—'Very shortly afterwards, intelligence was received of the defeat and death of Anwar-ud-deen . . . on which Nasir Jang applied to Rughoojee Bhonslay, for a body of his troops, promising to grant some cessions of territory as the reward of their service. He also summoned the whole of the Moghul dependents and tributaries in the Carnatic to be prepared to join his army, as he advanced to the southward. Moorar Rao Ghorepuray, as Jagheerdar of Ghooty, the Raja of Mysore, the Nabobs of Kurpa, Karnoul and Savanoor, and Muhammad Ally, second son of the late Anwar-ud-deen, with his supporters, and the President of the Council at Madras (Fort St. David?) were the principal authorities who joined or sent their troops to accompany Nasir Jang.' Before Shahu's death which occurred in December, 1749, Raghuji had sent his son Janoji to accompany Nasir Jang into the Carnatic with 10,000 horse.—pp. 511, 512 and 520 of *History of the Mahrattas*, 4th ed., vol. i.

[2] The Diarist wrote that he heard that Manoji Appa had raised a battery in the middle of the Mariamman Temple outside the Tanjore Fort and camped there with 4,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 500 or 600 English and Dutch (the figures are greatly exaggerated) and that he retired into the Fort after a fight on the 17th; M. Duquesne's letter received by Dupleix is alleged to make mention of an English flag in the Tanjore ranks which the French people took; the French then seized a gateway of the Fort of Tanjore (Diarist's entry for December 22, 1749).

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to Malleson and Orme, the details are different. Malleson says that Duquesne, acting under positive instructions from Dupleix, captured three redoubts situated at a little distance from the walls on December 26; and three days later, after some fruitless negotiations, he assaulted and carried one of the gates of the town, after which the Raja gave in and concluded a treaty on the 31st, which included, among other provisions, that he should pay Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang 70 lakhs of rupees, remit the annual ground-rent due for the Karikal territory and add to the French possessions new territory comprising 81 villages[1]. According to Orme, Dupleix, finding that his exhortations to Chanda Sahib had no effect, ordered the French captain to break off the negotiations by some signal act of hostility; and by this time Chanda Sahib likewise thought it necessary to deliver an attack and made a hostile demonstration round the walls for four days continuously; and on the fifth day, the French troops attacked three redoubts about 600 yards from the walls and carried them. Early the next morning the Raja sent proposals for accommodation. Chanda Sahib allowed him two days to consent to his proposals; and on the third, directed the French commandant to bombard the town with shells which act so frightened the Raja that he sent emissaries who in their turn wasted three days without concluding anything. The French commandant then renewed the bombardment and assaulted and carried one of the gates of the city[2]. Then the Raja became serious about the conclusions of peace and ratified the treaty on December 21 (o.s.).

Anandaranga Pillai writes of letters from Duquesne, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang, received at Pondicherry on December 22, and containing news of the fight with the Tanjoreans, their retreat, the French advance to the gate of the Fort and their capture of it, the grant of some armistice and the demand made for a crore of rupees by the allies. The seeming discrepancies between these versions are not very serious except perhaps the statement that a gateway of the Tanjore Fort was carried by the French attackers, much earlier according to our Diarist, than according to Orme and Malleson. Certain posts outside the town were certainly seized by the French on December 18, and envoys were sent out that day or the next day.

[1] *History of the French in India* (1893)—pp. 247-8.
[2] *History of Hindostan*, (fourth ed.),—Vol. i., pp. 135-6.

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But Duquesne seized, according to these historians, one of the gates of the city on December 28—a discrepancy of dates which can be accounted for only by a confusion of the new and old styles of reckoning. The Diarist wrote, on December 28, that the Raja of Tanjore, despairing because his counsellors (like Manoji Appa) had brought matters to such a pass, and preferring death to the loss of his fort and country, fell upon the enemy who had crossed the ditch and seized the entrance to the Fort and drove them back to the Mariamman Temple where they were discussing terms yet. On January 5, Dupleix told the Diarist joyfully that Duquesne had written to him that the Tanjore affair had been settled by him for seventy lakhs of rupees, and a *parwana* for the French occupation of Tirunallār and other villages, eighty in all, had been obtained from the Raja as an *inam* attached to Karikal and that he had secured the yearly *peshcush* of 2,000 pagodas for Karikal; lastly, the Raja having paid a part of the amount agreed upon, the army was encamped two *kos* this (northern) side of Tanjore. A supplementary letter received three days later said that Chanda Sahib was to receive thirty lakhs in ready money and have some territories mortgaged for the balance and that he was to be requested to accept the amount in instalments. As usual there was a lot of wrangling and procrastination over the payment of the stipulated sum. The French Commandant of Karikal complained that the Tirunallār *jaghir* of eighty-one villages were but worth 40,000 pagodas, instead of 70,000, as first reported.[1]

Throughout January and February the negotiations about the actual payment of money went on. It was the custom in those days that in these military collections, the first payment rarely exceeded a fourth part of the whole assessment. The Raja was a past master in the art of procrastination and contrived to delay the payment in full of the first instalment for several weeks.[2]

[1] According to the Diarist, Dupleix is said to have told him—'He (Le Riche, the Commandant) wants to cheat the Company. As you are the Company's courtier, you must manage them to the Company's benefit. Appoint proper men to manage them.' So far from Dupleix realizing even the estimated sum from the newly added villages, they actually realized only about 30,000 pagodas between 1750 and 1754, (vol. vi, of the *Diary*, *p*. 358).

[2] 'One day he sent gold and silver plate, and his officers wrangled like pedlars for the prices at which it should be valued; another day he sent old and obsolete coins, such as he knew would require strict and tedious examination; and then he sent jewels and precious stones, of which the value was still more difficult to

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Dupleix saw clearly the danger of such procrastination especially as Nasir Jang was fast approaching the Carnatic. The death of the Maratha Raja Shahu at Satara in December 1749 had its remote repercussions even in Tanjore. Chanda Sahib, as soon as he received the news, seriously thought of renewing hostilities and capturing the fort of Tanjore; he even raised some batteries with that object and wrote to Dupleix requesting him to write to the French captain and the *jamadars* of sepoys not to plunder the fort when it should be captured.

The Commandant of Karikal wrote to Dupleix that Chanda Sahib entertained the design of capturing Tanjore and establishing his son as its ruler.[1] Dupleix who had a wider perspective of the political situation, was apprehensive that such an action on the part of Chanda Sahib might anger the great Maratha chiefs like the Peishwa Balaji Baji Rao, Fatteh Singh, Raghuji Bhonsle, Sripat Rao and others and incline them to support Nasir Jang;[2] and so he advised that

be ascertained. Chanda Saheb saw the drift of these artifices, and knowing them to be common practices, submitted to wait, rather than lose the money of which he was so much in want.' (Orme, vol. i, *p*. 136).

By February 10, articles of gold and silver and jewels worth about 7 lakhs only were paid to Chanda Sahib (Diarist's entry for the date—p. 362 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.).

[1] Letter of Le Riche to Dupleix, dated February 10, 1750—quoted by Dodwell from the Pondicherry Records (*Diary*, vol. vi, p. 363).

[2] The death of Raja Shahu produced a revolution in the Maratha State. The Peishwa acted with promptitude, made himself master of Satara fort, put down all pretensions of Shahu's widow and the aged Tara Bai who set up a spurious grandson of hers as king, got over Raghuji Bhonsle to his side by confirming him in his eastern possessions and giving him full powers in Bengal, Berar and Gondwana and quieted the opposition of other ministers like the Sachiv. He made himself the ruler of the Maratha state, since the inveterate malice of Tara Bai led to the imprisonment of the new king and the fall of the house of Sivaji. So far from Maratha leaders taking any offence at the action of Chanda Sahib, they were very busy at home, in the domestic revolution that followed the death of Shahu. Balaji himself was engaged in consolidating his own position of supremacy till the late monsoon of 1750.

Sripat Rao, the Pratinidhi, whom Dupleix mentions among the great Maratha leaders who might take offence at Chanda Sahib's proposed capture of Tanjore, died in November 1746, three years before Shahu; and his younger brother, Jagjivan, was now the Pratinidhi, but was degraded and imprisoned by Balaji Rao at this time for his adhesion to Sukwar Bai, the elder wife of Shahu (Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, vol. ii, pp. 295 and 311). Fatteh Singh was like an adopted son of Rajah Shahu and was confirmed by the Peishwa in the possession of his *jaghirs* and in the title of the Raja of Akalkote. Raghuji Bhonsle was mollified as already told; his son Janoji Bhonsle who was with Nasir

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Chanda Sahib should consider the future and avoid evils that might happen. He gave orders to the French captain and the *jamadars* of sepoys not to plunder the fort of Tanjore, even if Chanda Sahib should capture it [1] and obey the latter's orders.

VI. The Coming of Nasir Jang into the Carnatic and the retreat of Chanda Sahib

Nasir Jang had advanced by February 10 as far as Sīrpi; he sent two emissaries to Chanda Saheb at Tanjore to treat for peace. Dupleix was anxious that Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang should not make any agreement without his knowledge and the emissaries of Nasir Jang should be told that 'though we (Dupleix, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang) have three bodies, our life is one; peace cannot be made without me (Dupleix); and if the matter is to be settled satisfactorily, they must come here (to Pondicherry). [2]

Moro Pant and Khazi Dāyem—these were the two emissaries of Nasir Jang—are said by the Diarist in one place to offer terms to Muzaffar Jang, that Chanda Sahib was too busy with the Tanjore affair to care about the enemy's approach and that he was unwilling to do anything until the fort should be captured.[3] Dupleix suspected that Muzaffar Jang might be purposely spreading the rumour that Nasir Jang was coming down rapidly into the Carnatic, because Chanda Sahib was not letting him manage the Tanjore affair and he hoped, by spreading such news, to cause confusion and prevent him from taking the fort.

But in spite of rumours that Nasir Jang had turned back, news arrived early in March that he had reached the Chengama passes.

Jang's army did not assert himself. Thus as Grant-Duff says:—'The arrangements before and consequent to (Shahu) Raja's death had, as already adverted to, prevented the Mahrattas from seizing an opportunity of enlarging their conquests in the Deccan, afforded by the absence of so great an army in the Carnatic. . . .' Vol. i (4th ed.), p. 524.

[1] Chanda Sahib actually forbade Goupil, the French captain, to deliver an attack on the fort on February 24.

[2] Diarist's entry for February 10, 1759 (p. 367 of vol. vi).

[3] On February 19, Chanda Sahib forbade an attack on the city in spite of Goupil, the French Commandant, desiring and urging it. Regarding this Dodwell remarks that as yet Dupleix had not really become the master of the situation. 'The French were as yet neither masters, nor even partners, but auxiliary troops serving for hire.' (*Dupleix and Clive*, p. 45).

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Chanda Saheb had, meanwhile, retreated from Tanjore[1] and had encamped on the northern side of the Coleroon in the neighbourhood of Chidambaram which was surrounded and plundered by a body of Maratha horse under Murari Rao who retreated on the approach of the Muhammadans. Murari Rao was joined by Moro Pant and the former fought a small action with the enemy near the old Coleroon, a little to the south of Chidambaram. Being continually harrassed by the Maratha troops, and often repulsing them with the fire of the French field-pieces, Chanda Sahib, Muzaffar Jang and the French troops reached Tiruvathi (a temple-fort on the Pennar, near Panruti Railway Station). Rumour came that the Marathas were actually joined by a body of English troops from Fort St. David, though it was not true. The Marathas had come up to the place, even before the French reached it and the fear of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang was very great. The former reached Pondicherry on March 11. Immediately afterwards began their importunate demands for money. Dupleix refused to give him any amount, but promised to supply plenty of powder, shot and guns and also to pay the French soldiers and sepoys. But Chanda Sahib was timid, declared that this was not the proper time to attack Nasir Jang and desired to stay at Pondicherry till he should go away. Dupleix answered that he should advance and meet Nasir Jang, as otherwise he would be dishonoured.[2] Muzaffar Jang entered Pondicherry on March 15, and likewise importuned Dupleix for money. The latter scraped up somehow or other three lakhs of rupees, one lakh of this

[1] Dupleix seems to have advised now the seizure of Tanjore where Chanda Sahib and his ally might have 'maintained themselves until famine compelled the hosts of Nasir Jang to withdraw.' He also suggested that, according to the advice proferred by the killedar of Jinji, a body of European troops should be sent there along with ammunition (Diarist's entry for February 10—p. 369 of vol. vi of the Diary). But even this did not seem to have been taken advantage of by Chanda Sahib. Note Dupleix's words according to the Diarist—'I ordered them to march towards Jinji, but they have not gone there. I wrote . . . that if they occupied the Valudavur Fort . . . they could even drive Nasir Jang's army through the passes.'

[2] 'If you refuse to attack him you will dishonour me, your ally. . . Put your trust in Him (God) and attack Nasir Jang. If he falls in battle you shall march to Aurangabad ; and I will give you the subahs of the Deccan ; but if it falls out as you fear, it is the will of God.' (Entry of the Diarist for March 14, 1715)—p. 394 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.

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sum being got from the Company's merchants; and Muzaffar Jang gave a bill of exchange for this sum as well as for four lakhs that Chanda Sahib owed, on the treasury of the province of Adoni. The allies pitched their camp at Villiyanallur, almost under the very walls of Pondicherry, as if for protection from its guns. Large arrears were due to the troops and every day some tumult or mutiny among them was feared. Muzaffar Jang did not give to Chanda Sahib anything out of the sum that Dupleix advanced. The sepoys, horsemen and bazaar people belonging to Muzaffar Jang's camp had to be sternly ordered by Dupleix, on pain of being shot, to quit the bounds of Pondicherry where they were loitering, and join camp.

VII. First Encounter with Nasir Jang

On the March 18, Nasir Jang's troops occupied Jinji; but the *killedar* that was appointed to that fort allowed the French at that place to depart with their money in peace; while Chanda Sahib's garrison at the fort quietly gave it up to the enemy. Chanda Sahib's sepoys and horsemen greatly troubled him for the payment of the arrears due to him; and Dupleix had to order M. d'Auteuil to encamp with French soldiers at Villiyanallur and see that the sepoys ceased to disturb Chanda Sahib. But in spite of French reinforcements and protection, Maratha horsemen hovered on the outskirts of the camp, broke into a choultry at Villiyanallur and killed some Coffre troops. The sense of insecurity that prevailed in the camp was great; and a rumour got about that Nasir Jang had reached Trichinopoly. On March 23, Chanda Sahib sent his *gumastah*, Rajo Pandit and Muhammad Raza Sahib with letters from himself and Nasir Jang's emissaries to the effect that they were willing to let Chanda Sahib retain the subah of Arcot, as he had been connected with that province for a number of years from the time of Nawab Sadatullah Khan and as the French Governor would not be content unless he were confirmed as the Nawab of the Carnatic. This and another communication received from Chanda Sahib the next day, made the Diarist suspect that 'he (Chanda Sahib) was waiting to see which way the cat would jump' and hoped that Dupleix would advise the making of peace with Nasir Jang,

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particularly as he himself was to be confirmed in the possession of Arcot.[1]

Uncertainty continued to prevail till the end of March when the sixth volume of the *Diary* terminates. An action took place on April 4, between Nasir Jang's forces and the allies; but little injury was done to either side; on the evening of that day, thirteen French officers insisted on resigning their commissions and returning immediately to Pondicherry. This action, made in face of the enemy, is condemned as 'even more disgraceful than the mutiny of the English officers in Bengal in 1766.' The French troops had become unreliable and their officers demoralized. It is indeed true that the French contingent had borne the brunt of fighting at Ambur and before Tanjore. But the fighting before Tanjore was not serious; and many of the French officers, when the army had returned, insisted on being relieved from field-duty. Those who replaced them had been placated by the advance of a month's *batta*; but even so they hesitated. D'Auteuil wrote to Dupleix from camp on April 1, that fifteen officers refused to fight, because 'our army is too small to attack the enemy's 50,000 horse, besides 2,000 sepoys and ten or twelve guns belonging to the English . . . we can be safe only under the walls of a fortress; how can we conquer an enemy who has both men and walls, whereas we lack both?' Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib also wrote that all the officers and soldiers opposed d'Auteuil's fighting, as the enemy was strong with great stores of powder and shot, guns and good artillery men, the Muhammadans could not shoot well before the English and could not fight without shelter or bear the heat.[2]

[1] Muzaffar Jang, whom Nasir Jang was resolved to abase, seeing that Chanda Sahib was wavering, sent a letter to Dupleix in which he urged that d'Auteuil and his army should attack the enemy and this was not the time to halt. Dupleix himself had, on the receipt of the offers made on behalf of Nasir Jang, ordered the French troops to halt, expecting that peace would be made (Dodwell's note based on Dupleix's letter to the Company, dated October 3, 1750, quoted on p. 426 of the *Diary*, vol. vi.)

[2] Diarist's entry for April 1, 1750 (pp. 9 and 10 of vol. vii. of the *Diary*. Later the *Diary* tells us that the Governor sent M. Bussy to advise the mutinous officers to obey and the latter went to the camp and persuaded them to agree to fight. (Chanda Sahib's explanation to the Diarist made on April 5.)

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After the cannonade of April 4, and the mutinous refusal of the French officers to continue in camp, d'Auteuil, finding that the soldiers refused to fight without their officers, retired on Villiyanallur, much to the chagrin and mortification of Dupleix, accompanied by Chanda Sahib and 4,000 of his horse. Muzaffar Jang, however, refused to move, saying that Nasir Jang's people had come to treat with him after the engagement of the previous day and that he preferred to remain where he was, even at the risk of his life. This meant that Muzaffar Jang had deserted his allies; Dupleix ordered a strict guard to be placed over the house where his family resided. Chanda Sahib was inclined to throw the blame for this cowardly retreat on d'Auteuil; he declared that the Maratha officers were ready to abandon Nasir Jang who, just before the engagement, was inclined to retreat; but Muhammad Ali, Mahfuz Khan and others tried to restrain him from such a dishonourable action. At such a moment he urged d'Auteuil to attack Nasir Jang; but he obstinately refused as all his officers had departed; the Europeans scattered in all directions; d'Auteuil and a few soldiers went one way; Muzaffar Khan, the *jamadar*, went another way; and his sepoys, a third. Muzaffar Jang declared that he could not incur the disgrace of running away out of fear; Chanda Sahib was pursued by Maratha horsemen and could not reach Muzaffar Jang's camp; when in the early morning the retreating army was surrounded by the enemy, they fought so well that Mahfuz Khan fell and Muhammad Ali was wounded—quite false news told by Chanda Sahib, who wanted to persuade others that he could have won in the engagement, if d'Auteuil had not retreated. Chanda Sahib also wanted to persuade the Diarist that Muzaffar Jang was in no way at fault, that he had not any previous design of joining Nasir Jang in which case he would have secured the restoration of his family from Pondicherry and that affairs were spoiled by d'Auteuil and not by Muzaffar Jang. Of course Dupleix threw the entire blame on Muzaffar Jang; but he permitted Chanda Sahib to negotiate with Murari Rao and his companion to abandon Nasir Jang, in return for Tadpatri and the neighbouring country which were to be given to him[1].

[1] Diarist's entry for April 5,—pp. 17–22 of the *Diary*, vol. vii.

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Nasir Jang, on entering the Carnatic, first summoned Muhammad Ali to join him from Trichinopoly and wrote letters to Fort St. David requesting the English to send him a body of European troops. He ordered his own army to concentrate under the hills of Jinji and the protection of its walls. Nasir Jang himself seems to have reached Jinji about the last week of March. Muhammad Ali joined him with about 6,000 horse at Valudavur, about 10 miles from Pondicherry; the English detachment under Cope which had been sent previously to Trichinopoly to Muhammad Ali, accompanied him. On March 28, Nasir Jang was encamped between Villupuram and Koliyanur; the English troops were said to be about 200 English soldiers, 100 *mestizos* and 200 *topasses* besides 400 sepoys.[1] Moreover additional troops from Fort St. David were sent under the command of Lawrence. The camp stretched for about five miles from north to south and three miles from east to west. It was heard and recorded by the Diarist that the Marathas and Kallars in Nasir Jang's camp made a sortie or two on the French camp on that afternoon, but there was nothing that could be called fighting. Even in this situation, an emissary from Nasir Jang arrived to treat for peace, to whom, in the presence of Bussy, Muzaffar Jang replied that there could be no talk of peace without the approval of Dupleix. The emissary offered to grant *jaghirs* to both Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib and to repay the amounts they had borrowed from the French. Muzaffar Jang to whom the emissary came, sent for a French representative to be present during the conversations and his reply was given in the presence of Bussy.[2] Dupleix wrote to Chanda Sahib that any negotiation should be conducted only through himself; otherwise he was not for any compromise at all. Shortly afterwards Nasir Jang's engagement took place, on account of which the English Captain Cope, and the French Commandant, d'Auteuil, exchanged 'mutual recriminations regarding the breach of peace between the two nations.' Lawrence, with an English embassy was also present in Nasir Jang's

[1] The figures are not accurate.

[2] Diarist's entry for March 31—pp. 435-48 of vol. vi. This is an effective support of Chanda Sahib's opinion that Muzaffar Jang had no preconceived plan of making his own terms with and submitting to Nasir Jang and that Dupleix's estimate of him was not fully justified.

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camp; and he no doubt inspired Cope's recriminations with d'Auteuil.[1] Thus the beginning was made of the direct conflict between the two Companies on the eve of the great revolution that was to see the fall of Nasir Jang and the triumph of the French.

[1] Orme estimates the troops under d'Auteuil at 2,000 Europeans; and the English troops that came with Lawrence at 600. But Dodwell shows that besides the detachment of 100 under Cope that came from Trichinopoly, only about 200 men were sent subsequently from Fort St. David (Dupleix and Clive, p. 46, footnote 5.)

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Gollapallee Diamond Mines

BY

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[NOTE:—This was presented to the Indian Historical Records Commission in December last at its Patna Session and is published here by permission.]

SIR STREYNSHAM MASTER'S ACCOUNT OF THE GOLLAPALLEE DIAMOND MINES.

THE extract given below is taken from the Diary of the President of Council at Fort St. George, Sir Streynsham Master, who succeeded Sir William Langhorn as President of the Factory, and was in turn succeeded by Sir William Gyfford. The period of his office extended from January 1678 to July 3, 1681. The Diary here extracted actually refers to the dates April 20, 1679 to April 22, 1679. Master went to Masulipatam and places in the vicinity. Having completed his business of inspection and examination of accounts, he started on the return journey, and made a diversion from Madapollam to Ellore with a view to visit the diamond mines, which apparently were known to him, as Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley, another of the Company's servants, made purchases of diamonds in the mines for the Company. As is clear from the Diary itself, the road from Ellore to Bezwada passes through the mines at the foot of the hill to Mustabad, and thence to Bezwada, the whole mining area being covered by the road. There are many points of interest in the account of the mines as given by Master. This mine came into existence in 1670 first of all, was soon abandoned, and the license for mining here was renewed in 1673, when the other famous mine at Kollur had been abandoned, apparently owing to exhaustion. The licensing of this mine began soon after Abul Hasan Qutb Shah had established himself on the throne of Golkonda in succession to Abdullah Qutb Shah. The description given of the mine, the processes of manufacture in the extraction of the diamonds, the public arrangements under which the operations of mining were permitted, and the mineral value of the industry as such—all of them come in for remark by Master. This detailed description challenges comparison with that given by Tavernier, who visited other mines in the vicinity, and not this one in particular, as this had not come into existence at the time Tavernier visited these mines.

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Tavernier's visit to the mine of Kollur, not very far off, and to that at Ramallakotta, just before that, both took place in the reign of Abdulla Qutb Shah, the predecessor of the ruler who licensed actually the Gollapallee mines. The visit apparently took place in the fifties of the seventeenth century, actually before the year A. D. 1655, when he visited Mir Jumla at Gandikotta. What Tavernier has to say, therefore, of the working of the mines of Golkonda, both at Ramallakotta and at Kollur, both of them in the Kurnool District and its immediate neighbourhood, have reference consequently to the arrangements under Abdulla Qutb Shah. Of course, Tavernier's account is not always reliable in every detail. He claims to be the first European to describe these mines, whereas three or four others before him,[1] have left accounts of these mines. He says in his account of the visit to Ramallakotta mines thus, 'I am able to claim that I have cleared the way for others, that I am the first European who has opened the route to the Franks to these mines, which are the only places in the world where the diamond is found.' A few sentences before, he mentions that he had been at four mines, the four being according to his account Ramallakotta (Ravalakonda in the Kurnool District); Coulour (Kollur or Gani Kollur now in the Sattanapallee Taluq of the Guntur District) and Soumeilpur in the Lohardaga District of Bihar. The fourth mine is not specifically mentioned by him, and has been identified with an abandoned mine near Damarapad and Malavaram where old excavations were visible when Ball examined the sites. So we see Tavernier travelled in about the same locality; but the actual workings at Gollapallee, as a matter of fact, came into existence after his time.

The details of the working, etc., he gives of the Kollur mines, which he visited, he describes in chapter xvi of his work. He puts this down at seven days' journey east of Golkonda and says 'it was called Gani in the *language of the country*, and Colour in the Persian tongue.' From the description given of it, the place has been located correctly enough at Kollur, situated in the loop of the river Krishna where an outcrop of the Nallamalais spreads itself and provides a suitable ground for this industry. It is almost in the middle of a line

[1] Cesáre Federici, Methold, Linschoten and Fryer, not to mention the anonymous Portuguese gentleman who visited Vajra Karur in 1610.

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drawn from Bellamkonda to Jaggayyapetta, and is in the Sattanapallee Taluq of the Guntur District. This was apparently called Gani Kollur, sometimes merely Gani, to distinguish the place from another Kollur lower down on the river Krishna, also called Kollur *in the language of the country*, that is by the people, the language being of course, Telugu. The word therefore means a mine, as it is even in Kanarese, as one might say in the vernacular languages of the country, as the Kolar Gold Fields now are generally referred to by the name Gani. It is not a Persian word, as Tavernier, and even Sir William Crooke, the latest commentator on the work, take it. The word is neither Persian, nor is the construction of the word given correctly. It is in fact *Sans.* Khanin adopted into the Dravidian languages. In describing this mine, he speaks of a diamond of 900 carats; it is 900 *ratis* elsewhere, equivalent to 787½ carats. He further refers to the mine as of importance because of the unusually large number of larger diamonds that have been found there. He then goes on to describe the way in which the Indians examined the stones, and mentions that there were as many as 60,000 workmen engaged, including men, women and children, and notes that the working here was different from that which he noticed at Ramallakotta. The process of lixiviation, for washing the stones of the earth sticking to it, is given here differently. A space is enclosed by a short wall running round it with holes at the bottom for running off the water. All the diggings are carried into this place and water is thrown the earth to soften first of all. After a day or two of this treatment, it is reduced to the consistency of a pulp; and then they pour more water and open the holes to drain off the water. Then again they pour more water to wash away the rest of the earth. They let it dry in the sun and after winnowing the dust, they pass on to the second process. They spread the gravel-like pebbles on even ground, and make it level. By means of wooden dampers they pound it and after winnowing again, they sit down to pick the diamonds from among the gravelly pebbles. This differs, of course, from the process that Master describes in some particulars, and so far as these processes are concerned, they are bound to differ from locality to locality, according to the character of the soil from which diamonds are actually dug out.

In regard to the arrangements for mining itself, here is what Tavernier has to say, and it will be found that this differs to some

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extent materially from Master's description. The following is Tavernier's. 'I come to the government of the mines. Business is conducted with freedom and fidelity. Two per cent on all purchases is paid to the king, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine. These merchants having prospected with the aid of the miners, who know the spots where the diamonds are to be found, take an area of 200 paces in circumference, where they employ fifty miners and sometimes a hundred if they wish the work to proceed rapidly. From the day they commenced mining till they finished, the merchants pay a duty of two pagodas per diem for fifty men, and four pagodas when they employ a hundred men.' 'These poor people get only *three pagodas per annum*, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work. As their wages are so small, they do not show any scruple when searching the sand in concealing a stone for themselves when they go and dig naked, save for a small cloth, which covers their private parts, they adroitly contrive to swallow it.' This differs in two particulars from Master's narrative. The licensing fee that has to be paid is *two pagodas per diem* according to Tavernier, but according to Master, it is *three pagodas per mensem* up to forty men, and four or five pagodas if more men are employed. In regard to the other point, their *annual earnings* are only *three pagodas per annum* according to Tavernier; Master notes that they receive *a pagoda and a quarter per mensem* in money and corn. What is more, he notes the appearance and condition of the worker as good by direct observation. Perhaps this second discrepancy may be explained away by taking it that the labourers received three pagodas per annum in cash, and grain for the rest of it, Tavernier noting down only the cash perhaps forgetting the grain. This is a little too much of a modification of the author's statement, and there are no grounds which would justify our assuming it. This objection to the assumption is strengthened by the statement that we find made in the Earl Marshal of England's paper presented to the Royal Society, London, published in 1677, just one year after the first edition of Tavernier's work itself. It would perhaps go to show that Tavernier's statement is correct for the period that he recorded, and for the particular mine to which it has reference. But unfortunately, we have no knowledge of the sources of information for the Earl Marshal's paper. It is generally taken that it is information supplied by Nathaniel Cholmley, who was

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employed for buying diamonds for the Company at Fort St. George. Cholmley was a contemporary of Master, and was engaged in this work at the time, to which Master's notes refer, and he left Madras at the same time as Master himself. If Cholmley were actually the source from which the Earl Marshal drew his information, it is much more difficult to understand the inconsistency of statement which really becomes an inconsistency between Cholmley the diamond buyer and Master, almost his employer, who visited the mines at Gollapallee. The differences could not be altogether due to the differences of locality. One explanation seems possible and that is, Tavernier's statement refers to a period when Abdullah Qutb Shah was the ruler, and the organization of the mines and their work were those of Mir Jumla; whereas Master's notes have reference to a mine that actually was licensed to be worked by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah his successor, and the organization might be those of his ministers, Madanna and Akkanna. In such a case, the difference may be explainable as being due to a really more liberal arrangement under the new ruler who perhaps improved upon the rack-renting arrangements under the previous regime, and it may well be so, as the Gollapallee mines started work after the Kollur mines had ceased to yield.

The route by which Tavernier reached the Kollur mines presents problems, which are not perhaps quite capable of a final settlement as yet. We shall not take that up here, as in all the discussions in connection with these and even in the notes by Sir William Crooke, valuable as they are in very many particulars, no reference is made to the entry in the Diary of Master,[1] and hence it seems worth while drawing attention to this note of Master.

Extract from Streynsham Master's Diary

Having finished what was thought necessary to be done in this visitation of these factories, in the morning about 8 o'clock, we set forward upon our journey to return to Madraspatnam intending to go the upward inland way and to make an elbow to take a sight of the Diamond

Miles: 9 Vera-sheroone.

[1] *Diary and Consultations for* 1679-80, pp. 100-1.

Sir Richard Temple: *Diary of Sir Streynsham Master* II, pp. 170-77. The extract from the Diary appended is slightly modernized and punctuated for the convenience of the ordinary reader of the *Journal of Indian History*. (*Editor.*)

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Mines. We went this forenoon to Verasheroone[1] which is about 9 or 10 miles from Madapollam, those two places and Pollicull making a triangle. We viewed the Company's two houses at Verasheroon which stand one over against the other in one street, both of them part fallen to the ground, and that which stands of them it was not safe to adventure in to see them. The compounds of the houses are small but well situated, being raised high from the streets, above a mile from the town. There is a very large mango garden of the Company's by which the tent was pitched for us; but the Country Governors claiming the right to the fruit of the trees by reason we have neglected it, the Agent gave order to Mr. Hatton to send 4 or 5 peons from Madapollam every year about mangoe season, which is at this time of the year, to watch the trees and gather the fruit to send to Madapollam, thereby to preserve the Company's right and title to the garden. There are also two other small gardens nearer the town belonging to the Company ; but all lie waste, and only the great trees standing to shade the cattle and travellers from the sun. These with many others that are (about) this town would very well accommodate weavers to work under, if the place were rented of the King by the Company[2] and kept under their government which was now adjudged to be for the Company's interest, keeping only a ware-house at Verasheroone, and the factory to continue at Madapollam. But the towne of Verasheroone is now ruined and empty of people through the tyranny of the Government.

22½ Pente-poll.

In the morning by break of day we parted with Mr. Hatton, etc. the factors that came to accompany us thus far on our way, and about noon we reached Pentepoll [3]reckoned 2½ gentu leagues.

27 : Elloor

We set forward early in the night, and by 9 or 10 in the morning came to Ellore 3 gentu leagues. This Ellore is reckoned one of the geatest towns in this country. The King in his last progress coming to see it, where are made the best carpets after the

[1] This is Vīravāsaram in Bhīmāvaram Taluq, Godavari District. Important Eng : Factory from 1635 ; only one person 1661 ; in decay 1668, and laid down 1674. Finally abandoned in 170?. (Temple Diaries of Sir Streynsham Master II, pp. 170-7.)

[2] Marshall gives a similar account in his notes and observations of East Indies : (*Diaries of Sir Str : Master*, Ed. by Sir Richard Temple II, 170, n. 3.)

[3] Penṭapād in the Tanuku Taluq, Godavari District.

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manner of those in Persia, by a race of Persians who they told us came over above 100 years ago, the manner of making them we saw, and is in brief, thus, the loom is stretched right up and down made of cotton threads and the carpet wrought upon them with the woollen yarn of several colours by young boys of 8 to 12 years old. A man with the pattern of the work drawn upon paper stands at the back side of the carpet, and directs the boys that work it, how much of each colour of yarn should be wrought in. Every thread being wrought they shear or cut it with a pair of scissors and then proceed to the next.[1] At this place a horse of the Company's which we took with us from Madapollam falling lame, we left him here with one of our English men and a peon to return to Madapollam.

At Ellore we lodged in a house of Aga Jalal's whose brother-in-law prepared us victuals, and gave us hens and sheep, to whom for his kindness and, in respect to Aga Jalal who married his sister, we presented three yards of scarlet at parting.

About two o'clock in the morning we set out of Ellore, and about 7 arrived at Gollapelle[2] upon the Diamond Mines and lodged in the house where Mr. Cholmley made his investment of diamonds the last year. In the afternoon about 4 o'clock we went to the mines about a mile and half out of town upon a hill to see them dig and look for the diamonds, which is done after this manner; the ground is loose, of a red fat sand and gravel, great and small, black, red and white stones. One or two of the miners loosen the earth with an iron *grow*,[4] and others with iron *pawraes*[4](*a*) or spades heave it up to a heap from whence others with baskets wind the small dust from it with the wind. Thence it is carried to a trough made up of stones and earth, and filled with water which is brought thither above a mile upon men's heads, where all the gross earth is washed away from the gravel; for the earth melts like sugar, and runs out of

Easterday ye: 13th Gollapallee ye: Diamond Mines.

63 miles.

[1] Ellore still maintains this reputation for its carpets.

[2] Gollapalle in the Nuzvid Zamindari 25 miles N.-E. of Bezwada. See Madras Presidency Sheet Atlas, Sheet 3.

[3] The pits are in gravelly laterite resting on sandstones according to Biligrami and Wilmott's *Nizam's Dominions*, I, p. 234.

[4] Error for crow used for crowbar in the 17th century.

[4](*a*) This seems another vernacular expression for a digging apparatus more or less like a crowbar, a big, long pick or pike.

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a hole with the water, so the gravel is all that remains. That they carry thence and spread upon a smooth flat place prepared for the purpose. There the same men (that dig, dust and wash the earth), sit all the heat of the day in a rank one by another with their faces towards the sun, looking for the diamonds. And the man that employs them sits over against them, to see that what they find they deliver to him. In this manner they find the diamonds in the same fashion and shape as they are sold rough. By what we observed the cost and labour of finding them countervails the value and worth of the diamonds. Those that employ the miners do not buy the ground as some have reported; but they and any one that has a desire to employ his money that way first acquaints the governor of the mines with it. Then he grants him license to spring a mine where the employer thinks best, paying 3 pagodas per mensem if he employ no more than 10, 20, 30 or 40 men in it. If more, then 4 and of some 5 pagodas per mensem.[1] The miners or those labourers that work in the mines are paid 1¼ pagodas per mensem in money and corn,[2] and this is all the charge the adventurer in the mines is at, except it be that they overbid one another sometimes for a good piece of ground which one hath lighted upon, and another hearing of it bids the governor money for it and he that gives most has it. But besides the rent of 3 to 5 pagodas per mensem to the governor for the king there is a custom or excise set upon all corn at about 50 per cent above the market; upon salt, betel and tobacco at above double and treble the market rate. All the miners and those that deal there (except a privileged Englishman or such like) are compelled to live upon the mines in those towns where that excise is raised. The town of Gollapallee though within a mile and a half of the mines is without those limits, and therefore none of the miners or dealers in diamonds are allowed to live there, but at Mellwillee[3] about 4 or 5 miles from Gollapallee, where the

[1] In the mines at Ramallakotta, according to Tavernier, 'the merchants pay a duty of *2 pagodas per diem* for 50 men, and 4 pagodas when they employ 100 men.' (Tavernier, Crooke's Edn. II, 46. According to Thevenot, 'the king exacted a pagoda every hour they work there whether they find any diamonds or no.' Quoted in Biligrami and Willmott's *the Nizam's Dominions II*, 505.

[2] 'These poor people only earn 3 pagodas per annum, although they must be men who thoroughly understand their work.' Crooke's Tavernier II, 46.

[3] This name appears as Mullally in sheet 94 of Indian Atlas. The following extract from the Earl Marshal's paper of 1677 in the Philosophical Transactions

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governor of the mines lives. The whole rent of these mines is reckoned to the King worth 60,000 pagodas per annum, and as much more to the governor to bribe the courtiers to hold the place. There was none of the mines that we saw this day which were dug above three feet deep from the surface of the earth, and most of them about two feet. The ground first overgrown with shrubs and bushes which the miners dig up with the earth. These mines lie upon a flat hill upon the top and on the side of it, where are found small and great diamonds of good and bad waters but very little bort,[1] and they say that the adventurers in these mines seldom lose in their undertakings.

This morning came several of the most eminent merchants from the mines to visit us at Gollapallee, and to try how we were inclined to buy. At first they asked moderate rates, which when we bought they raised and afterwards would not shew more but what they asked dear for, so we could not lay out 1,000 pagodas amongst us all for fear of injuring the market. At 3 in the afternoon we set out of Gollapallee, passed over the mines to Mellwillee and Raizpent[2] which is about 6 miles, almost all that ground being spread with miners. And the mines in the valleys were much deeper than those upon the hills, being some of them 10 and 12 feet deep, and some mines were sprung upon ground where corn had been sown and reaped a few months since. The governor of the mines at Mellwillee sent to compliment

gives the history of the mines. 'Melwillee or the new mine, so called because it was but lately found out (or at least permitted to be made use of) in the year 1670, it had then a year employed the miners, but it was forbidden and lay unoccupied till 1673, when complaints being made at Quoleur (Kollur), that the vein was worn out, the king again licensed its settlement. The earth they mine in, is very red and many of the stones found there have (some) of it sticking to them, as if it had clung there while they were of a soft glutinous substance and had not attained that hardness, maintaining its colour on its skin (to be roughened with it) that it cannot be fetched out by grinding on a rough stone with such seeming, which they make use of to clean them. The stones are generally well-shaped . . . most of them have a thick dull skin, incline to a yellowish water not altogether so strong and lively as the other mines, very few of them of a crystallized water and skin. (Temple ; Master's Diary ii, 173-4.)

[1] Diamonds of a quality too coarse to be fit for jewellery.

[2] These places are neither of them found in the new Indian Atlas issued by the Survey of India. Temple gives reference to sheet 94 as stated above, but the Atlas with me does not show it ; nor does the Route-Map of the Madras Presidency in sheets.

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the Agent and excuse his not coming out to meet him as he said he intended to do, to which a civil answer was returned. The two towns at Melwillee and Raizpent upon the mines are very large and populous; but the buildings all thatched hovels. The people are well favoured, well clothed, and look as though they fed well to undergo their great and hot labour. The corn etc., being at excessive rates,[1] the place must needs be full of money to pay 30, or 40,000 labourers in the mines besides many others, the diamonds being also always bought with ready money. The country pleasant like England about London; by Raizpent is a large pleasant green valley full of flocks of woolly sheep; thence to Mustabad [2] where we lodged this night, we travelled through a mountainous country, by very pleasant valleys with tanks of water, and came to our journey's end about 8 at night, having travelled two Gentu leagues.

Mustabad.

Supplementary Note on Mullavelly

'A village near Ellore. It belongs to the Nizam who, in ceding the Circars, specially reserved the villages in which diamonds are found.

'Diamonds are found in its vicinity. Some account of the geology of the place is extant, from which the following extract may be offered: "Near the village the plain is strewn with blocks and fragments of a very hard conglomerate sandstone, some pieces of which are of a purplish colour. There are also some large blocks of garnetic gneiss, in a state of decomposition; but the red sandstone abounds most, although rolled pieces of quartz, with a covering of a ferruginous clay, or carbonate of iron, together with the conglomerate sandstone, are scattered over the plain. The hollow flat, where the diamond pits are excavated, is surrounded by a bank, or rising of the soil in a circular

1. Ball notes: 'We are told in the Earl Marshal's paper that in Golkonda, the miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy duties on provisions, tobacco and betel.' (Crooke's Tavernier II, 354.) If Mr. Nathaniel Cholmley is to be given responsibility for this statement, how is this to be reconciled with Mr. Master's?

2. A station on the railway line between Bezwada and Ellore in the Nuzvid State.

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manner. It has the appearance of having been once a lake. The banks are formed of the red ferruginous sandy soil, prevailing all round the place. Through this plain no river or rivulet flows, and the pools in its lower part, dry up about the month of March, when the excavation may commence, and not before."

'A few hills in the vicinity lie to the northward, not above two or three hundred feet above the plain, and are covered with underwood, interspersed with large trees. Some miles beyod these hillocks runs another range, loftier than the nearer ones, having however the same direction.

'The diamond pits are in general excavated at the north end of the bank that surrounds the hollow, to a depth of not more than twelve feet. The strata penetrated during the search for diamonds, are a grey, clayey, vegetable mould, about a foot or two thick; below this an alluvium, composed of the following pebbles (not including the diamonds) which have evidently undergone attrition, their angles having been worn off; sandstone, quartz, siliceous iron hornstone, carbonate of iron, felspar, conglomerate sandstone, and a prodigious quantity of kunkur, or concretionary limestone. Besides the numerous pieces of this concretionary rock, scattered on the surface of the soil, and also intermixed in large quantities in the diamond alluvium, it forms regular strata or veins in a horizontal position, both in the vegetable earth, and in the diamond alluvium, precisely like flints in chalk. Many of the pebbles of quartz, and hornstone, are not only varnished as it were, with a ferruginous *enduit*, but it penetrates into their substance.

'The kunkur contains not a trace of quartz, or any other mineral; and that in strata, in the vegetable soil, and in the diamond alluvium, is more friable than that exposed on the surface of the ground. It is in this alluvial detritus that the diamonds are found. The diamond is never found imbedded, or in any way attached to any of the pebbles, with which they are invariably associated in this locality. They are always found loose, mixed with other little stones, and never attached to kunkur. The pebbles most constantly associated with it, and forming infallible indications of the existence of diamond, are iron ore and hornstone.

'Notwithstanding the prodigious quantity of carbonate of lime in this locality, the water does not contain any traces of it; and the

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inhabitants use even that collected in the pits. The detritus, forming the diamond stratum, must proceed from the hills north, the only ones near this place; being probably the continuation of the sandstone range, which extends easterly from Banganapilly, Condapilly, and Mullavelly, in all of which localities the matrix of the diamond lies in conglomerate sandstone.'

Note.—The above is an extract from *Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India*, pages 56 and 57. This work was published in 1855 and the condition of the mining locality about that time is what is reflected in the quotation.

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Reviews

'A HISTORY OF KERALA, WRITTEN IN THE FORM OF NOTES ON VISSCHER'S LETTERS FROM MALABAR'

BY

K. PADMANABHA MENON,

AND EDITED BY

SAHITYAKUSALAN T. K. KRISHNA MENON

[Vol. ii, 1929—Printed at the Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam.]

THE first volume of this book, published in 1924, had for its nominal subject, the first eight letters of Jacobus Canter Visscher, a Dutch chaplain who lived at Cochin in the years 1717–23, embodying his observations on the manners and customs of the people of Malabar, their kingdoms and modes of administration, laws, rites and ceremonies; and this volume takes us further through the Letters ix–xix. Visscher's *Letters* have been made use by of by other writers on the History of Cochin. Mr. Padmanabha Menon, who wrote a *History of Cochin* in two volumes in Malayalam, made use, according to the Editor, of some portion of the valuable notes he prepared for Canter Visscher's *Letters*. Objection may well be taken to the title of the book which is really a series of topics dealing with various aspects of the ancient history and civilization of the people of the Malabar Coast. The *Letters* of Visscher which form the formal basis of the work, include topics of varying importance. Dutch sources of information for the history of Cochin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are numerous and valuable and include worthy observers and writers like Baldaeus, Nieuhoff, Canter Visscher and Stavorinus among others. Visscher touched in the previous volume upon the situation and significance of the name of Malabar, traditions of its first colonisation, a description of Cochin, Calicut and other places, the customs of the Portuguese, the methods of Dutch colonial administration and the state of the English trade; in the present volume his Letters deal with the royal houses of Malabar, prevalence of trial by ordeal, Cochin revenues

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and government, national assemblies collected in times of emergency, coins, customs of the people, accounts of the Syrian Christians, the Roman Catholic priests, the Jews of Cochin, the Moors of the coast and the ecclesiastical and temporal grandees of the country. In the elaborate annotations of the book, we find that the matter sometimes becomes necessarily disjointed and varying in length as well as in importance. The Editor has attempted in the preface a justification of this method of treatment into which we need not now enter. Certain it is that some of the longer notes are very valuable and informing, particularly those dealing with the Zamorin and the Syrian Christians, and with the prevalent ordeals and administration of criminal justice.

In the first chapter of Notes, the Attingal Kingdom and its connection with the origin of the Travancore Dynasty are clearly brought out; and we are told that Attingal is identical with *Kupadēsam* mentioned among the Chola conquests in the inscriptions of Raja Raja I and the *Kalingattu-pparani* as well as in a Travancore inscription of A.D. 1576. The statement is also made that the present Ruling House of Travancore represents the early Chera dynasty in all likelihood, though the caution is given that an uninterrupted line of succession cannot be traced. Quilon, known as Signati (Desinganād or Jayasimhanād), played a very prominent part in the early struggles of the Portuguese; but it subsequently declined in importance until it was annexed by the powerful Martanda Varma. The Cochin family claims direct descent in the female line from the last Cheraman Perumal; while the Hebrew version of the Perumal's grant of privileges to the Jews of Cochin is said to contain a statement that the Raja of Cochin was not called on to witness the deed, because he was the Perumal's heir. The Zamorins cut a conspicuous figure in the political arena of Malabar from very early times and trace their origin to a grant of the last Perumal to two Eradi brothers who were empowered to carve out as much land as they could with the aid of a sword with which they were invested. They continued to play a prominent part till late in the eighteenth century, when they were subdued by Hyder Ali. The Colastri Rajas receive a long note, particularly full about their dealings with the Europeans. The author supplies at the end of this chapter a list of the Nair militia which was in the service of the lords of Malabar, as preserved by Captain Alexander Hamilton who got it

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from the papers of Heer Van Rheede, then Dutch Commissary-General for the East.

The chapter on the administration of justice describes the methods by which oaths were administered and the ordeals which were intensively prevalent till almost the beginning of the nineteenth century. These ordeals were not confined to the Hindus and were in use among the Moors also, according to the testimony of Barbosa. That Christians were also subjected to these is evident from the sixteenth decree of the Synod of Diamper (A.D. 1599) which warned them against submitting to such heathen tests. Ordeals were first resorted to mostly in criminal cases, but gradually came to be popular in the adjudication of civil disputes also. Slavery, its origin and its recruitment are all described in a compact and clearly arranged note. It was not till 1854–5 that slavery was formally abolished in Travancore and Cochin. The author points out the evident mistakes in Visscher's account of the prevailing land-tenures and supplements the note with a short account of the systems of land-tenure extant in Malabar. He attributes a military origin to the Kanam tenure and details the series of transactions which had to be fulfilled in order that full freehold could be transferred to the purchaser, who got consequently an ownership in the soil as complete as was ever enjoyed by an English freeholder. The art of conveyancing was very highly developed before the stamp and registration laws came into force and was embodied perfectly in the *Vyavaharamala* which has now become a sealed book to most people. A description of the various items of taxation and revenue is accompanied by an account of the national institution of hunting, in connection with which the local chief had the right to appropriate to himself specified portions of each wild game animal slain. *Changātam* or protection fee and *rakshabhogam* which bears a close resemblance to tribute for general protection, were levied; and there seems to have been no regular land-tax as such which was unknown in Malabar till about A.D. 1736–7. Mr. Logan controverts this view; but he was challenged with arguments that he could not easily answer. Our author is inclined to hold the view that the land-tax was introduced only sometime about the date of the Mysorean conquest, and that the land-owners were only subject to occasional contributions in times of war and invasion.

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The administrative system of the land, it is maintained, had a continuous development till the time of the Mysore conquest, based on the *Nad*, *Desam*, *Gramam* and *Tara*. The history of coinage has a chapter for itself. Coins, both European and Indian, appear to have been current from very early times. *Topasses* the various classes of Malabar Christians, the tradition of St. Thomas, the history of the Malabar Christian Church, the tradition about the Jews, their settlement and history, the Moors and Mappillas—all these are put forward and described with an admirable amount of concentrated information culled from many sources. Different opinions might be held by scholars on minor points connected with these topics ; but in this book we find a regular condensing of the best part of the literature available on each topic. The Editor is to be congratulated on the publication of this volume in which the peculiar treatment followed has been qualified by a careful, sober and discriminating—withal plenteous—annotation of topics which should be useful alike to the lay reader and the scholar.

C. S. S.

'AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF PURNEA IN 1809–10'

BY

FRANCIS BUCHANAN, AND EDITED FROM THE BUCHANAN MSS. IN THE INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY

BY

V. H. JACKSON, M.A., I.E.S.

[Patna : published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1928. Price Rs. 10. Pp. 620 + xxlvii.]

THE Bihar and Orissa Research Society have been publishing the Journals of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton (1762–1829) who was a versatile scientist and the first writer of gazetteers for the Bengal and Bihar Districts; his well-known *Journal Through Mysore, Canara and Malabar* compiled during a tour through those territories in 1800–1, still continues to be a valuable source-book for their economic and social conditions on the eve of the establishment of British rule in them. Extracts from his manuscript which is preserved in the India Office

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were issued by Montgomery Martin in 1838 (Martin's name alone appearing on the title-page) in three volumes containing ill-arranged information about the agrarian conditions that prevailed in the regions. The scheme of publishing in their entirety all the manuscripts of Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton about Eastern India was conceived and pushed forward by the late Mr. V. H. Jackson of the Government College, Patna: and it has been realised by the publication in the *Journal* of the Society of the journal of daily record written for the survey or during his tour in the districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811–2 (edited by Mr. Jackson), in the district of Shahabad in 1812–3 (edited by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham); and in the district of Bhagalpur in 1810–1 (edited by Mr. Oldham), while that of the Purnea district appears to have been lost.

The Purnea Report was prepared for publication by Mr. Jackson who arranged the matter on the model of the *Report of the Dinajpur District* (entitled *Account of Dinajpur*) published in Calcutta in 1833, and being the only one of his Reports which have been hitherto published. The book lacks the introduction which it was the intention of Mr. Jackson to provide, but which was prevented by his untimely death. The arrangement begins with an account of the extent and boundaries of the district, its soil, elevation and appearance; a preface containing historical notices of the district which contains the ancient regions of Gaur and Mithila and traces the later history of the district down to the middle of eighteenth century; it might perhaps have been better if this account had been annotated so as to improve upon and bring up-to-date our historical knowledge of the region. The ruins of Gaur, in which no monuments of the ancient Hindu kings were observable, but wherein, outside the works of Lakhnauti, the remnants of the supposed residence of King Adisura are pointed out, are described very fully, particularly concerning the monuments of Muslim rule. Succeeding chapters forming the second part give us plenty of information about the condition and manner of living of the people, the prevalence of slavery, the languages and dialects spoken, pandits and their scholarship for which the district has been justly famous, the different kinds of Brahmans and other classes, the caste system, etc.

The third part of the Report deals with the fauna, flora and minerals of the region; and the last two parts are devoted to a description of

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agriculture, arts, manufacture and commerce, including the culture of indigo, which under the system of plantations managed by Europeans, even then occasioned much discontent both among landlords and tenants. Coins, weights and measures were mostly the same as those that were current in Dinajpur. Stress should be laid on the value of Dr. Buchanan's account of Hindu and Sanskrit scholarship and the condition of the knowledge of pandits and others. The plans of the district and of the city of Gaur are interesting and useful. The index is very detailed and has been compiled by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri.

C.S.S.

'A SHORT HISTORY OF BRITISH EXPANSION'

BY

JAMES A. WILLIAMSON

[(Second Ed.)—Vol. I: The Old Colonial Empire; Vol. II: The Modern Empire and Commonwealth. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930. Pages xxii + 470 and xvi + 315. Price 15s. net each.]

THE second edition of this history of the British people in its external aspects is, on its modern side, practically a new work. Parts V and VI which make up volume II now contain 'seventeen chapters in place of the former eight and about three-fourths of the text is new.' The book is a conscientious and accurate statement in a very handy and readable form of the best results of modern research into some of the most important aspects of British history. Though it covers a wide range of subjects, the narrative is always clear and well-proportioned. The topics selected for study and the sequence in which they are treated help the reader to follow the expansion step by step and see clearly the interaction of various forces on national character and policy at every stage. The analytical table of contents, the maps and indexes are well calculated to make reference easy and the bibliographical notes are models of concise and suggestive criticism of recent literature on the subjects treated in the book.

Mr. Williamson has been generally successful in commanding a strictly scientific outlook; even in instances where he differs from the conclusions of other writers, as for instance in Vignaud's account of Columbus, he provides a clear and fair summary of the arguments on

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the other side and helps the reader to judge for himself. He deprecates 'the attempt to give a romantic colouring' to the achievements of the Elizabethan age as it renders the whole picture untrue. The Puritan emigration of the seventeenth century 'was an unnatural phenomenon in the national life, arising not from a healthy instinct for expansion, but from a schism in the Church and the State so deep and so embittered that the passions to which it gave rise never wholly subsided in the Puritan colonies.' It was on the whole well that the separation of America from England took place when it did; else the government of the composite Empire filled with cosmopolitan immigrants of Germans, Slavs, Latins and disaffected Irish, 'would have moved ere long from the banks of the Thames to those of the Hudson' and 'the people of the British Isles might now or in the future—if the suggestion is not too fantastic—be contemplating their own forlorn war of independence against the great non-British combination which had engulfed them!'

In recent times, in dealing with the problems of the Pacific 'there has been much double-dealing and shifty diplomacy.' 'In its international aspects, the Pacific situation bears some resemblance to that in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the threat of disturbance to peace has never been quite so acute.' The changes in the Imperial constitution of the British Empire during the Great War and after are very well stated in the concluding chapters of the book, 'The British nations had gone into the War as an Empire, . . . They emerged from it as something different, something that is not quite accurately described as an alliance of independent states; for there is no treaty of alliance, as in other such unions, but only an unwritten working understanding and there is a formal bond, of quite undefinable nature in the common sovereignty of the Crown. The divergence between the legal and constitutional positions was by 1919 wider than ever.' The Locarno Pact threatened the unity of the British Commonwealth still further in 1925 and the resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1926 contained nothing new and like most British constitutional documents it placed 'on formal record a state of affairs already in existence' and left institutions to evolve under pressure of circumstances.

'In writing of modern India', Mr. Williamson admits, 'it is hardly possible to avoid error, for authoritative opinions are completely

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at variance on almost every important question.' The chapter on modern India is very instructive as a record of the impressions of an earnest English scholar derived from a careful study of the literature to which he has ready access; and the bibliographical note (p. 308) shows its nature. England, says Mr. Williamson, did not conquer India, but conquered and tamed her conquerors and Indians know this in their hearts and this more than anything else explains India's response to the call of 1914. But one may doubt the validity of Mr. Williamson's psychology when he draws from this the comfortable conclusion that 'the rioting and sedition and incendiary talk, and even the murderous outrages of the preceding years, were but the tropical expression of that criticism of the existing order which is universal in intelligent communities.' On the other hand, few will question the the need for his wise, if somewhat strident, warning: 'The results of Asiatic Swaraj approached by way of democratic theory are evident in China, where the overthrow of autocracy has created misery for the victims of the experiment and a chronic nuisance to the world. Reform must be realistic and combine the lessons of China with those of Japan.'

We may congratulate Mr. Williamson and his publishers on the thoroughness and excellence of his work which will, one hopes, be soon found in all the libraries of our colleges and schools.

K. A. N.

'THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS'

BY

A. R. KEITH

[Messrs. Macmillans, London.]

THE rapid development of the incidents of Dominion Status is of absorbing interest to the student of politics. Starting as mere dependencies of England, these Dominions have now reached a practically sovereign and independent status with an assured membership in the family of nations (in their own right). Prof. Keith traces the story of this progress in its legal and constitutional aspects with skill and judgment in the pages of his book 'The Sovereignty of the British Dominions.'

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When the Balfour formula was accepted in the Imperial Conference of 1926, nothing remained but to work out the problem of how to effectuate the actual independence of the Dominions in the matter of legislation of an extra-territorial character in the appointment, status and functions of Governor-General and as also details regarding diplomatic technique. The Privy Council's jurisdiction over Dominion causes had already been effectually questioned and frustrated by the action of the Free State authorities, and it was a dead issue. Prof. Keith's effort to argue its unconstitutionality and its inconsistency with the obligations under the treaty has only given point to the fact that British Imperial history is not always the record of logical growth under strictly legal or constitutional forms. As regards Parliamentary sovereignty in legislation, the Dominion Laws Conference, whose report was published after the work under review came out, has quite clearly laid down the principle that such sovereignty does not exist, and that the machinery of Parliament is only to be availed of with the consent of the Dominions and for purposes of convenience. There is little doubt that the Dominions will now get the right of extra-territorial legislation in respect of their citizens, as even India has the right to-day. Thus, the Dominions have, in fact as in law, to-day risen to a status of equality with the Mother Country.

As regards their status in international law, the position is not clear equally. Some of them are of course members of the League of Nations. But New Zealand and Newfoundland are not yet members of the League. They continue to be represented by England. Even as regards the other Dominions, while it is clear that each of them is entitled to the full rights of membership and has occasionally taken up positions hostile to the views of England, the claim has been made that they are members of the League only *qua* members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Irish Free State has resisted this reading of the relations between the Dominions individually and the Empire as a whole, and has claimed that at any rate the Irish Free State is a perfectly independent international entity. Prof. Keith points out with great clarity the implications of this claim. The practical questions arising from this are these. Should one of the Dominions desire to sever her connection with England and the Empire, will she be entitled to ask the League to intervene and assist her to fight the attempt of the United Kingdom to resist the secession? The

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League guarantees the territorial integrity of its members; and if the whole of the Empire is considered one unit, the League would be bound to prevent any attempt at dismemberment of the Empire. On the other hand, if the Dominions are international persons in the accepted sense of that term, the League would be bound to intervene to prevent wars in which attempts are made by one member to assert constitutional rights over another. In other words, does secession involve the snapping of a constitutional tie or an international one? The answer of the Irish Free State and of S. Africa to this question would be unambiguous. They look upon the Empire as a smaller edition of the League of Nations, co-equal and independent; leagued it may be by reason of facts of history but nevertheless admitting of no doubt as to the present equality of status of the Dominions; units of the Empire, each to the other. This equality is conceived increasingly in the spirit of international law. The transition is slow, but very clearly perceptible. Very similar would be the difficulty in the event of war. Is any Dominion entitled to go to war with any state on her own responsibility? Should the United Kingdom declare war against any state, are all the Dominions to be in a state of belligerency? Attempts have been made to assert that it is possible for a Dominion to be neutral while the rest of the Empire may be at war. The way of getting over this very delicate situation is not yet clear; but it appears that the solution will be in the direction of having Dominions' representatives in London, with whose previous consent alone international decisions, especially of war and peace would be taken. A clear-cut legal definition of status is yet impossible but there is no doubt as to how any particular question in regard to this has actually to be answered at the present moment.

Prof. Keith has very rightly not considered the case of India as she is no Dominion as yet. In fact India's battles are being won by the other Dominions. There is the promise of Dominion status for India, and every augmentation and advance of that status will ultimately ensure to the benefit of India as well. To publicists in this country, therefore, the invaluable study of Dominion Status which Prof. Keith has offered, is of the utmost practical interest.

We have only to add a word more. The Dominion Laws Conference and the present Imperial Conference have really taken matters far ahead. There are many chapters in Prof. Keith's work, in which

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expressions of views will have to be very largely modified in consequence of the actual manner in which the various questions have been authoritatively settled. Prof. Keith has approached the questions from a strictly legal and constitutional point of view. But, are not these questions predominantly political, once an equality of status is asserted and conceded? If only Prof. Keith will discuss in greater detail the political actualities of the Empire to-day, incorporating the progress achieved during the last four years, the second edition of his work should prove immeasurably useful to students of British Imperial problems.

(NOTE.—Official Report of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, 1930, is not yet available.)

N. D. V.

'THROUGH THE HEART OF AFGHANISTAN'

BY

EMIL TRINKLER

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

B. K. FEATHERSTONE

[London, Faber & Gwyer. 1930. Pp. 246 and illustrations. Price 15*s*. net.]

AMIR Amanullah and his fateful, though brief, rule have created world-wide interest in Afghanistan which, even till the reign of Habib-ullah, was forbidden ground to the unauthorized private European traveller. We in India have but known too well that the doors of the Khyber and other passes have refused to open to all save a few among the seekers of adventure who have attempted to pass that way. Lowell Thomas, the author of the well-known book, *With Lawrence in Arabia*, has written in his own inimitable manner of the Khyber Pass and of Afghanistan beyond it with the diplomatic groupings, British and Chinese, Turkish and Russian, Persian and Bokharan, that waited in the ante-chambers of Amanullah's palace; and Sir George Macmunn has given us quite recently a more serious account of the wild Afghan country and its chequered history from the age of Darius Hystaspes to the epoch of Amanullah. Now we have an account of his experiences in the country by Emil Trinkler, who

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travelled into it *via* Russian Turkestan and prospected in the Hindu Kush region for coal and iron at the request of the modernizing Amir Trinkler is a geologist of reputation, but he has carefully omitted from embodying in this book all the scientific results of his travel and put in only such extracts from his diary showing the adventures of his journey and his capacity for observing details and his humorous methods of description. He had been fascinated even as a student, by the countries of Central Asia; and his journey as the agent of a German-Afghan trading company was made through Tashkhent, Samarkand, Merv, Kushk and Herat and thence across the mountains to Kabul, Charikar and Bamian among the Hindu Kush ranges and finally through Peshawar and India, back again to Europe. His distressing experiences at the frontier stations of Soviet Turkestan do not speak well for the frontier officials either of the Soviet or of the Russian Government. His account of Herat is that of a decayed city fallen from its ancient magnificence and refers to the references made to it by Babar in his *Memoirs* and Central Asian historians. We have also frequent references made to Arthur Conolly's travels from Kabul to Khiva in 1831, to the Bamian valley so full of Buddhist relics described in all their freshness by Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese pilgrim and to the accounts of these antiquities by Moorcroft, Jaworski and Foucher. In one place the author comments strongly on the difference in condition between Peshawar and Kushk, between the Punjab and Russian Turkestan, between English and Russian rule, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. Lastly he describes the rising of the Mangals against the Amir, which was the beginning of the troubles that led to the revolution. The writer's visit to Delhi, Jaipur and other beauty-spots in Northern India ending with his embarkation for Europe from Calcutta are good; but one is afraid that if his mistakes are as bad as those that he makes about his touching at Madras, where he strolled 'along the Strand Promenade, the Morena to the town' and 'took lunch at the Garden Hotel,' there may be a great deal of charge of inaccuracy levelled against his narrative, however excellent and readable it may be. The book is supplemented with a brief glossary of the non-European terms used and with a sketch-map of the Afghan country, indicating the route of the author.

C. S. S.

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'THE INVASIONS OF EUROPE BY THE BARBARIANS'

BY

J. B. BURY

[Macmillan & Co. 1928. Pp. xii and 296.]

PROFESSOR BURY succeeded Acton in the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge and interpreted the term 'Modern History' very liberally, as beginning not with the Renaissance, but practically from the disruption of the Roman Empire. He was of the opinion that history should supply the material for political and social science, but would not admit Acton's claim that it should sit in judgment on men and movements. Though it might supply material for literary art or philosophical speculation, it was by itself 'simply to be a science, no less and no more.' His researches into the history of the Later Roman Empire were supplemented recently by his revised and amplified *History of the Roman Empire, 395–565 A.D.* (1923). This book is in the form of a series of lectures delivered from time to time before the University of Cambridge and covers roughly the two centuries of transition from Roman to Mediæval Europe (A.D. 375 to 575). As Professor Hearnshaw, the editor of this posthumous work, says in the Preface that he has contributed, these lectures contained 'little or nothing which was not being incorporated in greater detail and with an elaborate apparatus of notes and references in the larger works which were being produced simultaneously with them.' As summaries of his considered conclusions on a number of points connected with this period, the lectures are very useful. Thus the part played by the readjustment of the military organization of the Empire in the struggle that it waged with the German invaders, the gradually increasing Germanic penetration into the Empire, the danger of which was not realized at first, the importance of the battle of Nedao in A.D. 454 in which the Germans utterly defeated the host of their Hun lords; the double phase of Odovacar, the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy which is indicative of the comparative failure of East German peoples; the relation of Clovis to the Roman Empire and Emperor; and the legislative administration of the Lombards—these are only the more important of the topics discussed on which much new and refreshing light has been thrown.

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The work of Professor Hearnshaw has been (1) to supply an appropriate title for each of these fifteen lectures, and (2) to divide each lecture into sections and sub-headings so as to give a clearer idea of the contents and facilitate references on particular points.

Professor Bury is particularly vivid in the matter of the reign of Theoderic in its constitutional and administrative aspects and he deals at length with the extent of Germanic influences in it. He is fuller than other historians regarding the relation of the Empire to the rule of Clovis and the contributions of the Lombard law-givers, Rothari and Liutprand. The Professor has by this book, completed his own survey of the Roman Empire and connected two separated links of his treatment there.

S.

'THE HISTORY OF JAHANGIR BY FRANCIS GLADWIN'

EDITED WITH NOTES BY

RAO BAHADUR K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A.

[Messrs. B. G. Paul & Co., Madras. 1930. Pp. xxiii and 184. Price Rs. 5.]

FRANCIS Gladwin, who was in the Bengal Army and was encouraged by Warren Hastings in his studies in Oriental Literature, became later the first Professor of Persian in the College of Fort William and translated a portion of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, *The Gulistan* and other works. He also compiled a *Persian-Hindustani-English Dictionary*. He planned a *History of Hindustan* during the reigns of Akbar's successors, but only brought out *The History of Jahangir* which was published as the first volume of the *History* in 1788 at Calcutta. This *History* abstracted copiously from the work of Khwaja Kamgar Gairat Khan. He was a nobleman of the Mughal Court under Jahangir and Shah Jahan and took a prominent part in the suppression of the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. It was usually styled *Jahangir-Nama* by Indian writers, but is said to have been given the name of *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* by Gladwin. About one-sixth of it is devoted to the proceedings of Jahangir previous to his accession to the throne This particular portion is said to be 'very independent and free-spoken in its tone' by Sir H. M. Elliot and affords a favourable contrast to the *Iqbal Nama* (of Mutamad Khan) which was written for the

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purpose of courting the Emperor's favour.' However it has been remarked that the manner in which the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* describes the murder of Abul Fazl scarcely bears out this encomium of superiority to flattery ascribed to it. The work has not yet been printed; two extracts from it, dealing respectively with the murder of Abul Fazl and Shah Jahan's move after the coup of Mahabat Khan, are given in translation in the sixth volume of Elliot and Dowson (pp. 442–5). The chief point of value of the work is, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, in the first portion dealing with Jahangir's actions before his accession, where it supplies information contained neither in Jahangir's *Memoirs* nor in the *Iqbal Nama;* and in the later portions of the Emperor's life, it mainly follows these two works.

The *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri* is, according to all authorities, the main basis and quarry for Gladwin; it is regarded as a partisan work in favour of Shah Jahan in whose reign the author was promoted to the governorship of Thattah with a *mansab* of 3,000.

Perhaps it would be too much to maintain, as the Editor does, that Gladwin's history 'merits republication as a sober scholarly work based on a careful study of the original sources in Persian.' Vincent Smith himself who is invoked in support of its value, would regard it as 'a sound book, chiefly valuable for the life of the Emperor as Prince Salim in Akbar's reign.' Gladwin's book did useful service, as the Editor points out, in counterbalancing the influence of the spurious version of Jahangir's *Memoirs*, translated by Major David Price, in the Oriental Translation Fund Series and he made good use of the copy of the Memoirs which he had secured. His style is good and the annalistic form in which the narrative is made does not create any feeling of dulness inspite of the old-fashioned spelling of proper names which is retained. The notes supplied by the Editor elaborate the extant sources from which the author had largely taken his matter as well as various other points which are indicated in the literature on the period since published. It may be wished that the indicative footnotes were somewhat fuller in places and that more care had been taken in avoiding small mistakes in spelling, as in Blochman in p. 150 and Aviecanna in p. 67. The re-publication is however welcome. Its usefulness is enhanced by the introductory note on Gladwin.

S.

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'FOREIGN BIOGRAPHIES OF SHIVAJI'

BY

DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN

[Book Co., Ltd., Calcutta]

THIS is a work consisting of extracts from a number of writers generally foreign, bearing on the life of Shivaji. Mr. Sen has already published a translation of the *Sabhased Bakhair* on Shivaji in a translation and this constitutes a supplement to that work. Another source of material for the history of this period is being exploited in another publication, the *Source Book of Mahratha History* published under the auspices of the Government of Bombay. Some extracts from English writers that one would expect should be included in this are omitted for the reason that they would constitute a portion of this Bombay series. What is included in this work is an extract from Cosme da Guarda's account of Shivaji, an account of Shivaji by Barthelemy, and the sequel to this account by the same author, an account of the Karnatak expedition of Shivaji by Francois Martin, Description of Surate by Francois Valentine, some extracts from Dutch records and English embassies to the court of Shivaji. This is supplemented by a few additional notes.

The work naturally consists of these extracts translated, providing the material for a life of Shivaji. So far as that part of the work is concerned, we should say it is very well done and is a creditable performance of considerable value to the student of the Mahratta history of the period. Prefixed to this is an introduction of over fifty pages, which attempts an estimate of the relative value of these sources for purposes of history. The summary given by Dr. Sen is a good one and deserves careful perusal by the serious student of history. In a matter like this one set of sources alone cannot give the final word, and for a tenable judgment the various sources will have to be considered together in their cumulative result. While therefore one may differ in detail from Dr. Sen in regard to his conclusions in this particular, this very introduction furnishes the evidence of earnest-minded investigation of the various questions on which these various sources shed light. We congratulate the author upon this excellent work of his and welcome the work among those contributing to a satisfactory study of Mahratta history.

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'ISLAM: BELIEFS AND INSTITUTIONS'

BY

HENRI LAMMENS, S.J.

[Translated from the French by Sir Denison Ross. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.]

THE author of this work is Professor of Arabic in the University of Jerusalem and goes to the work of describing the beliefs and institutions of the votaries of Islam from a detached point of view. The fact that it is translated by such a high authority as the Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, is guarantee that the work is quite a reliable one in expounding Muslim history and theology. The work is based on first-hand sources of information like the *Koran* and the varying ramifications of Islamic tradition. In a brief compass, the work provides a thoroughly reliable and comprehensive survey of Islam through the thirteen centuries of its existence, and ought to be welcome to those that wish to know something of Islam at first hand, but could not go to the sources, be they Muslims or non-Muslims. It is a compact little book, very precise and clear in its statement and covers practically every detail of Islamic religion and institutions. We welcome the work as a very important addition to the literature of a difficult subject.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary

August, 1930 -

J. CHARPENTIER: 'Pindāri.'

KAMTA PRASAD JAIN: 'A further note on the Svetambara and Digambara sects.'

MUDALIYAR, C. RASANAYAGAM: 'The origin of the Pallavas.'

Mr. Mudaliyar puts forward a vigorous defence in support of his theory of the Chola-Naga origin of the Pallavas. The late Mr. Kanakasabhai has mentioned five Tirayars of whom Pallava Tirayar were one. The earliest Pallava Tondaman Ilam Tirayan was a Pallava Tirayan who reigned at Kanchi just as the later Pallavas.

K. DE. B. CODRINGTON: 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes.'

This is an attempt to picture Indian culture as illustrated in the Ajanta frescoes, under the following heads: (*a*) costume and embroidery, (*b*) textiles, (*c*) ships and boats, (*d*) house furniture, (*e*) arms, (*f*) pottery, (*g*) metal work.

R. R. HALDER: 'Chitor and its seiges.'

September, 1930—

K. DE. B. CODRINGTON: 'The Culture of Mediæval India as illustrated by the Ajanta frescoes' (*continued*).

SATINDRA KUMAR MUKHERJEA, M.A.: 'Samkara on the conditions of Knowledge.'

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'Tamil Arisi and Greek Orizon.'

Supports Bishop Caldwell's view that Greek *Oriza* was borrowed from Dravidian *Arisi*. The author opines that though Caldwell expressed only an opinion, yet it appears to be justified on closer analysis despite the objections raised by scholars.

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REV. H. HERAS, S. J.: 'The Portuguese Fort of Barcelor.'

The Portuguese fort of the above name is here located in the modern town of Kundapur; *Upper Barcelor* of the Portuguese records is identified with *Basrur.*

SIR R. C. TEMPLE: 'Scraps of Tibeto-Burman Folk-lore.'

October, 1930—

DR. S. N. PRADHAN (BRIHASPATHI): 'The site of the Rig Vedic battle between Divodasa and Sambara.'

The following conclusions are arrived at :—

(1) The country named Timingilāśana situated in the south according to Varāhamihira agrees remarkably with the title of Timidhwaja—used in the Rāmāyana for Sambara—and also with the description of Sambara's country as situated near Dandaka forest in the Rāmāyana.

(2) The battle according to Bharadvāja took place at Udabraja which is the most interesting and appropriate Rig Vedic name for Kathiawar.

(3) Several Rig Vedic expressions agree remarkably with the ancient names Purātanapura, etc., for Junagadh.

(4) *Urjayanta* of the Rig Veda. *Ujjayanta* of the 'Maha Bharatha' and Prabandha Chintamani Vaijayanta of the Rāmāyana. Ūrjayant of the Inscriptions of Skandagupta and Rudradāman, Girinagara of the Prabandhacintāmani and Rudradāman Inscription, establishes it that the great Rig Vedic battle was fought near the ancient castle Uparkot of Junagadh and was fought about 1500 B.C. in the middle Rig Vedic period.

S. CHARLES HILL: 'Origin of the caste system in India, (*continued*).

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR, M.A., B.L.: 'The Velar aspirate in Dravidian.'

SASHI BHUSHAN CHAUDHARI, M.A.: The Nine Dwipas of Bharatha Varsha.'

Bharatha Varsha bore a wider sense within which the islands of the Far East were included. The ninth Dwipa is identical with India proper and hence the other eight have to be identified.

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Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

July, 1930—

V. N. SARDESAI: 'Some problems in the Nasalisation of Marāthi.'

GUISEPPE TUCCI: 'A Fragment from the Pratitya Samutpāda of Vasubandhu.'

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D.: 'The author of the Gadāyuddha.'

Adduces a long list of reasons—16 in number—and supports the conclusions of Srinivasa Rangāchari that Ajitanāthapurāna and Gadāyuddha were the works of a Jain and a Brahmin respectively.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA, B.A.: 'Story of Vrishākapi and his transformation.'

P. S. GOVINDA RAO: 'Facts about the Elephant.'

D. VENKATA RAMIAH, B.A., L.T.: 'Swetāsvatāropanishad' (English metrical translation with notes).

C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIAR: 'Kongu Cholās A.D. 1000–1300.'

Mr. Chettiar points out that—

(1) The inscription in the Kongu country reveals a new line of the Chōlas—though feudatory to, but different from the Vijayālaya line.

(2) That this dynasty was the only one that continued without break till about 1300.

L. A. KRISHNA IYER, M.A.: 'The Sabarimalai Pagoda.'

The pagoda is situated some fifty miles west of Kottayam in Travancore and attracts lakhs of devotees every year. The God worshipped is Harihara or Śâsta—and the chief festival comes on the 1st of Thai or otherwise called Makara Vilakku. The author here gives an account of what a pilgrim going to that place should do? how he should conduct himself, the way to the pagoda, the march and return.

S. SOMASUNDARA DESIKAR: 'Ellappa Navalar.'

S. SRIKANTA SASTRY: 'Mulakas.'

PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA: 'Studies in the Bird Myths—No. XXXI.'

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Journal of Oriental Research

VOL. IV, PART III

July to September—

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRY, M.A.: 'An Examination of a new interpretation.'

Dr. Prān Nāth's new interpretation of the word *grama* into *estate*, is here called into question. On an examination of the authorities cited by the doctor himself, the learned Professor points out that they do not support the new interpretation.

O. K. ANANTALAKSHMI AMMAL, M.A.: 'Studies in the Upanishads' (*continued*).

T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A.: 'Lakshana Ratnāvalī.'

An unknown work of Srimad Appayya Dikshitar.

PROF. P. T. S. AIYANGAR, M.A., L.T.: 'Saka-Pallavas in Indian History,' (*continued*).

N. VAIDYNATHA SASTRI SIROMANI: 'Life of Chokkanatha Makkin of Kausika Gotra from literary sources.'

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.: 'Asoka's Religion—The evidence of Archaeology.'

Mr. Dikshitar here questions the orthodox idea that Asoka was a Buddhist. Archaeological remains and other evidences have, according to the learned lecturer, in no way, conclusively proved that the great Mauryan Emperor was a Buddhist. In his own words the monuments of Asoka cannot carry conviction hence to decide the religious leaning of the Emperor to Buddhism.

Journal of the American Oriental Society

VOL. L

March, 1930—

BARRET, LEROY CARR: 'The Kashmirian Atharvaveda.'

Book *15* edited with critical notes.

The Calcutta Review

August, 1930—

R. GANGULY, M.A.: 'The Agricultural land in Ancient India.'

PARIML RAY, M.A.: 'The History of Taxation of Salt under the rule of the East India Company.'

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJEA, M.A., B.L.: 'Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.'

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JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA, M.A.: Nepal's Relations with the outer World.'

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEA, M.A.: 'Slavery in Ancient India.'

Accounts for the existence of slavery, and traces its history in India down to very modern times.

Modern Review

August, 1930—

RAJANI KANTA DAS: 'Political Reorganization and Industrial Efficiency.'

Pointing out the inter-relation between politics and economics in general; the author considers the question of Indian industrial reorganization and her political condition under three heads:

(1) National Government.
(2) Constructive Research.
(3) Functional Education.

N. K. BHATTASALI: 'Influence of physical features on Indian History.'

Holds that some time-honoured conclusions regarding the success of the foreigners (Moslems, etc.), require revision and reconsideration. Special attention is drawn towards statements made in the Bengal Matriculation Texts. The author holds that the facts of Indian history show that the real weakness of India lay not in her hot climate, absence of a navy or courage, etc., but in the absence of a fighting race of men, constituting the whole nation, i.e., to say, the caste system gave a hereditary body of professional fighters which, though it gave excellent material, was not sufficient in numerical strength. When that class was extinguished or defeated, the other classes lay at the mercy of the enemy.

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The Round Table

Summary of Articles in the September Number

THE subject of the first article in the September number of *The Round Table* is, of course, 'The Crisis in India'. Its nature and history are explained, and the difference shown between the British and the Indian standpoints—those of the best British and the best Indian minds. The writer considers the gulf to be narrower than it is usually supposed to be, though he is sure that there is only one way in which a bridge can be found.

The next article is 'The Task of the Imperial Conference', a task left over from the 1926 gathering, and now brought back to the Imperial Conference again from the Committee to which it was referred, the Dominions' Legislation Committee, with definite recommendations. What degree of significance should be attached to these is explained. The writer reminds us that the problem now is not to look back, trying to save something here and there from what is left of Great Britain's old supremacy, but to construct something better in its place.

The next article takes us across the Atlantic to 'Hoover and his first Congress', and it is plain that not only the President, but the Senate have come with credit out of the Naval Pact business. It is obvious, too, from the account of other events in the American political world, that Mr. Hoover's stock is rising.

The fourth article is 'Imperial Economic Unity'. Lord Beaverbrook's scheme for Empire Free Trade is subjected to a searching criticism, and the causes of the world-wide depression are discussed. In the writer's view, there are other ways in which the peoples of the British Empire can endeavour to help one another with less risk of disappointment.

'England from Without' gives us a picture of ourselves as others see us. We get foreign impressions of our moral, social and political life, and the American, it seems, differs from the Continental. The view, apparently common enough, that we are on the downward grade, is discussed. Fortunately there are, as the writer points out, some consoling features.

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Next comes 'China in 1930' from the Far East itself, a front whe a quarter of the human race, and the pockets of all of us are affecte by the struggle. But in spite of everything—the despair of the peop has recently been increased by the new Communist terror—the write still sees the best hope of the future in the Nanking Government though the diplomatic body still clings to its Peking quarter.

Next comes the 'Reaction to the Simon Report' from an India pen. The Viceroy's famous pronouncement of last October has, in the writer's opinion, detracted from the importance of the Report, but for all that, consciously or unconsciously, its main conclusions seem already to have been endorsed by Indian opinion, although there are two points upon which the writer is sure that no good can ever be expected.

The 'Great Britain' article shows the plans of the various parties for meeting unemployment, as well as the effect which that problem is itself, directly or indirectly, having upon the parties.

The usual Irish article follows. The success of the new loan shows the progress achieved by the young Irish Free State, the only country, it would appear, whose foreign trade shows improving figures. Among the Dominion contributions, the article on the recent election campaign in Canada and the Australian comment on the proposals of the Dominions' Legislation Conference, to which the first section of the South African article also refers, will probably attract most attention.

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4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London University, London, Longmans, Green & Co., London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, London.
6. *Calcutta Review*, 3, Senate House, Calcutta.
7. *Hindustan Review*, Patna Junction, E.I.Ry.
8. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 96, Amherst St., Calcutta.
9. *Journal Asiatique*, Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, Paris.
10. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
11. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Managing Editor, 'The Ashrama, Luz, Mylapore.
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14. *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, Exchange Building, Sprott Road, Bombay.
15. *Muslim Review*, 3, Government Place, Calcutta.
16. *Nagari Pracharini Sabha*, Benares.
17. *The Political Science Quarterly*, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York.
18. *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Andhra Historical Society, Rajahmundry.
19. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Daly Hall, Cenotaph Road, Bangalore.
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21. *Yoga-Mimansa, Kun'javana*, Lonavla, Bombay.
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29. *The Telugu Academy Journal*, Cocanada.
30. *The Mysore University Journal*, Mysore University, Mysore.
31. *The People*, 2 Court Street, Post Box 116, Lahore.
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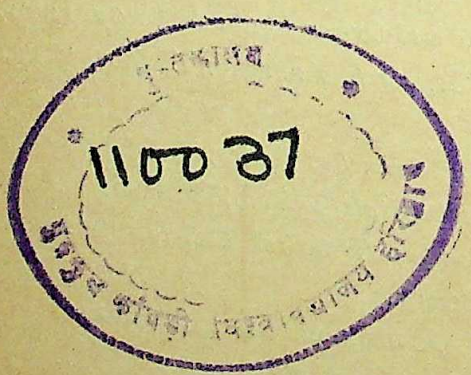

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